

ASYLUM SEEKERS AND UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS IN LESVOS, GREECE, 2020–2022

Turvapaikanhakijat ja epäviralliset muuttajat
Lesboksella Kreikassa, 2020–2022

مهاجران فاقدمدرك در لسبوس، يونان،
2022–2020

Demandeurs d’asile et migrants sans papiers sur
l’île de Lesbos en Grèce entre 2020–2022

طالبو اللجوء والمهاجرون غير الشرعيين في ليسفوس، اليونان، 2022-2020

Αιτούντες Άσυλο και μετανάστες χωρίς έγγραφα
στη Λέσβο, Ελλάδα, 2020–2022

Magangalyoddoonayaasha iyo dadka aan sharciga lahayn ee ku
sugan jasiiradda Lesbos, Gariika, sanadada 2020–2022

Asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in
Lesvos, Greece, 2020–2022

Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Sanni Huusari & Johanna Junnila

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1. Introduction

Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Lesbos, Greece, 2020–2022 focuses on who the asylum seekers and other asylum-related migrants were on the Eastern Mediterranean island of Lesbos in Greece and what their physical and digital (im)mobilities were, including their migration patterns and aspirations to reach Lesbos and further destinations, their daily lives in the Mavrovouni reception and identification center, and their Internet and social media uses in their country of origin, during their asylum-related journeys and in Lesbos. The research report here covers the asylum-related migration developments in Lesbos from early 2020 to summer 2022. Also discussed here are general developments in asylum-related migration in the Greek archipelago and at the EU (European Union) borderlands from the 2010s to mid-2022.

The early 2020s were very particular in both the area and more broadly regarding asylum-related migration in the EU. The notorious, large, and overcrowded Moria reception and identification center (RIC) burned down in Lesbos in September 2020. An emergency site was opened to host more than 12,000 asylum seekers. Then Moria and other former reception centers for asylum seekers on the island were closed and the emergency site was converted into a more solid and permanent Mavrovouni reception and identification center (Legal Centre Lesbos 2021; see Section 3.3).

The COVID-19 pandemic that emerged in the spring of 2020 substantially impacted the arrival of asylum-related migrants, increasing the top-down governance and micromanagement of their everyday lives (Jauhiainen 2020). Mobility restrictions were imposed to enact deterrence through hygienic-sanitary border enforcements (Tazzioli & Stierl 2021). In addition, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), observers and scholars claimed that many migrants were forcibly stopped on the Aegean Sea before they could ask for asylum in the EU; thus, they were collectively returned to Turkey (Aegean Boat Report 2021; Koros 2021). Despite the growing evidence, Greece's independent authority for transparency concluded that no basis was found for reports that mentioned Greek authorities' illegal turning back (pushback) of asylum seekers entering the country from Turkey (Associated Press 2022). Related practices and the debate continue.

Furthermore, the war in Ukraine in 2022 resulted in the arrival of millions of Ukrainians who collectively and immediately received temporary protection in the EU (UNHCR 2022a). At the same time, the Taliban-fleeing Afghans, the war-escaping Somalis, and other asylum seekers from many countries in which their lives would be in danger, waited years for their asylum application to be processed. Only a minority of them would receive asylum or other residence permits in the EU. Such double standards in the implementation of the EU asylum policy started to create criticism among concerned scholars (see Carrera et al. 2022).

In addition, in the early 2020s in Lesvos were plans to construct a new “closed controlled island facility” (Κλειστή Ελεγχόμενη Δομή Νήσων) for asylum seekers. Such a center was opened in 2021 in the island of Samos. It received criticism from many NGOs and the media (Amnesty International 2021; Joly & Staikos 2021) for constraining even more the everyday lives of asylum seekers. In Lesvos, this ‘pre-departure facility’ would be distant from the existing island population and infrastructure and restrict the mobility of asylum seekers within Lesvos. Its plan and construction generated protests among Lesvos inhabitants and stakeholders but in 2022, preparation for its construction in Lesvos began (Ekathimerini 2022; Euronews 2022). It is still unclear if and when it would be finished despite the fact that funding from the EU was available for it (Fallon 2021).

1.1 Research project

Lesvos (Λέσβος in Greek) is one of the largest islands (totaling 1,633 square kilometers) in the Aegean archipelago. It is 10 kilometers west from the western coast of Turkey, or Türkiye as it is called as well. The island’s population is about 90,000, including the largest town, Mytilene (Μυτιλήνη in Greek), with slightly less than 40,000 inhabitants, and the small village of Míthymna (Μήθυμνα) or Mólivos (Μόλυβος), with slightly more than 1,000 inhabitants in the northern part of the island (Figure 1.1). The close geographical location to Turkey, a major gateway for irregular migration to the EU, makes many Greek islands such as Lesvos attractive and somewhat accessible for many asylum-related migrants. In fact, Lesvos became during the 2010s one of the key entry points and EU migration hotspots in Europe for people seeking asylum in the EU (Angeli et al. 2014; Afouxenidis 2017). It continues to be a transit island for many asylum-related migrants on their way to the EU member states.

The total number of asylum-related migrants who have traveled through Lesvos is surpassing the threshold of one million people. However, there has been a substantial annual variation in arrivals to Greece across the sea from 856,000 persons in 2015 to 4,300 in 2021 (Figure 1.2). In addition, seasonal (monthly) variation means that, during winter months, fewer people reach the island due to weather-related reasons on the Aegean Sea as well as along migrants’ trajectories from their countries of origin to the Turkish coast.

Usually, many more migrants arrive in Greece by sea than crossing the short land border between Greece and Turkey. However, in 2021, more people arrived via land due to strong restrictions and control on sea travel. This was, on the one hand, due to the pandemic restrictions on migration. On the other hand, the Greek border authorities strongly rejected those who aimed to arrive at the Greek islands irregularly. The Greek authorities were accused of migrant push-back and using the COVID-19 pandemic as a pretext for not allowing asylum-related migrants to enter Greece (McKernan 2021; Tazzioli & Stierl 2021). According

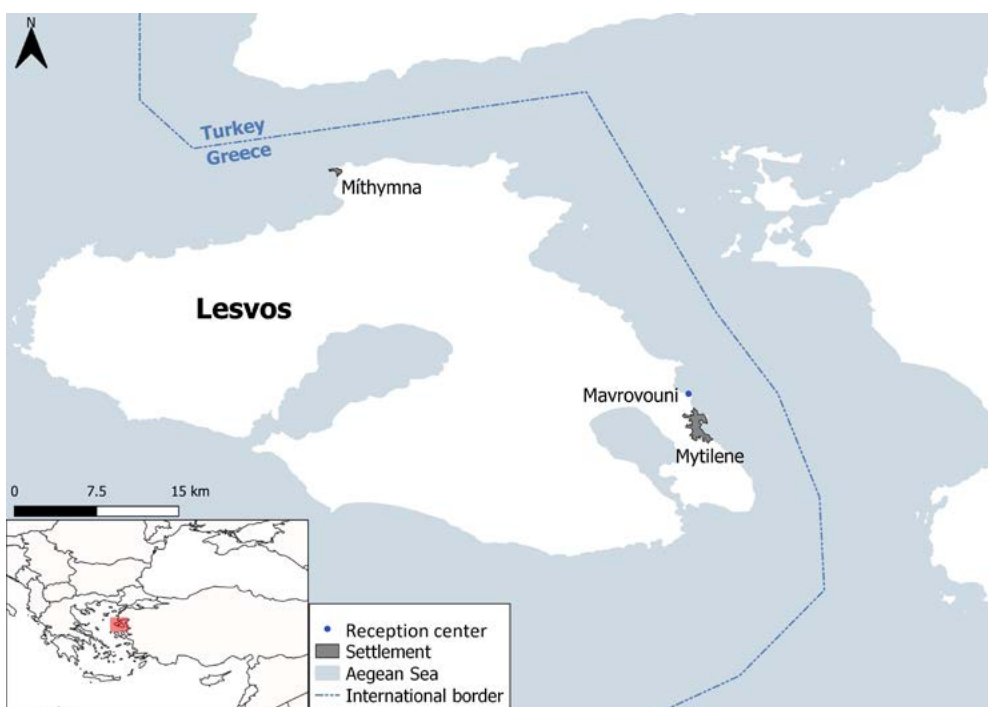


Figure 1.1. Lesvos, Greece.

to the UNHCR (2022b), more than 2,000 asylum-related migrants have officially lost their lives while trying to reach Greece across the Aegean Sea, but the total casualties might be more than that (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Arrivals of asylum seekers to Greece, January 2014 – June 2022. Source: Data from UNHCR (2022b).

Year	Sea arrivals	Land arrivals	Dead and missing
1–6/2022	3,020	2,420	...
2021	4,331	4,826	115
2020	9,714	5,982	102
2019	59,726	14,887	71
2018	32,494	18,014	174
2017	29,718	6,592	59
2016	173,450	3,784	441
2015	856,723	4,907	799
2014	41,038	2,280	405

Source: Data from UNHCR (2022b).

The post-2015 changes and the reduction of the asylum-related migration through Lesvos have been influenced by external factors. The management and governance of asylum-related migration at the EU borderland had become a particular biogeopolitics in which international, national, local, and individual interests are

intertwined. Various stakeholders have developed and designed their preferred geopolitical orders by biopolitical governance of asylum-related migrants who consist of nonnative migrants in the territories in which they are governed (see Jauhiainen 2020). Asylum-related migrants become bodily masses that are moved, directed, pushed and (mis)managed along the broader geopolitical interests of specific stakeholders in Greece, Turkey, the EU and beyond, and their physical and digital (im)mobilities are impacted substantially (see Chapter 3).

First, after 2015, the EU member states were keen to rapidly limit the arrivals of asylum seekers. In the spring of 2016, the EU–Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016 resulted in a substantial reduction in irregular migration via Turkey to Europe. Turkey agreed to take back all irregular migrants intercepted in the Turkish waters, including the few-kilometers zone between Turkey and Lesvos. In addition, Turkey agreed to accept the rapid return of all those migrants who crossed from Turkey to Greece and who were not in need of international protection. The EU agreed to remunerate Turkey with billions of euros to accomplish this task (European Council 2016).

There is an authoritarian attempt to prevent asylum-related migrants from taking the potentially risky journey to the EU. Triandafyllidou and Dimitriadi (2014) called this “deterrence through protection.” This included the implementation of border surveillance measures at the EU borderlands with the help of third-country partnerships such as the one with Turkey. Soon after the agreement, the number of asylum seekers diminished abruptly by more than 90% in the spring of 2016 (UNHCR 2017). Turkey does not provide international protection and refugee status for those who are not European. It applies the geographical limitation outlined in the 1951 Geneva Convention (Kuschminder 2018; Güler 2019). In addition, the Greek Council of State decided in 2017 that Turkey is a safe third country for nationals of Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Bangladesh, and Pakistan (EDAL 2017; ECRE 2021). Migrants from these countries made up more than two-thirds of asylum applications in Greece. In the Asylum Procedure Directive, an EU member state can consider an asylum application inadmissible when the individual could have found protection in a safe third country. Therefore, from the Greek state’s perspective, it is possible to return asylum-related migrants to Turkey or even prevent them from arriving in Greece at all because they could be entering Greece illegally. The Joint Ministerial Decision in 2021 confirmed in Greece the presumption of Turkey as a safe third country (Joint Ministerial Decision 2021). However, such policy and practice have been criticized as well. For example, according to Refugees International (2021), 40 NGOs argued in 2021 that this decision violates the asylum-seeking principles of the EU and related international agreements.

Second, the asylum-related migration routes over the Mediterranean Sea have changed depending on the EU member states’ policies and practices on undocumented migrants. After the Eastern Mediterranean route was ‘tapped’ in 2016,

the Central Mediterranean route, mainly from Libya and Tunisia to Italy, became the most common in 2017. In that year, 11,973 asylum-related migrants arrived in Lesbos – only a tiny fraction compared with the half a million persons a couple of years earlier. Following the tightening access and prevention of undocumented migrants' arrival in Italy, the Western Mediterranean route from Morocco to Spain became the most used in 2018. In that year, 14,969 asylum-related migrants reached Lesbos (Aegean Boat Report 2022). In 2019, the Eastern Mediterranean route, with 74,500 arrivals, again became the migrants' most frequented route to the EU (UNHCR 2022b). In September 2019, almost 20,000 migrants reached the Aegean Sea islands. In addition, around 40,000 interceptions were made in that month at the Turkish coastal waters, and these migrants were returned to the Turkish coast. In that year, 27,049 asylum-related migrants arrived in Lesbos (Aegean Boat Report 2022). The result was an immense congestion in the reception centers on all of the Aegean Sea islands, including Lesbos, and, in particular, that of Moria.

Third, the situation again changed quickly in the spring of 2020. At the end of February, Turkey ceased to prevent the migrants from departing for a couple of days. Greece reacted strongly by preventing their arrival. However, soon in March and April, strong overall mobility restrictions started because the authorities aimed to prevent the spread of COVID-19. The border between Turkey and Greece was closed temporarily. For the first time, throughout an entire week, no asylum-related migrants arrived at the Aegean Sea islands (Figure 1.3). The COVID-19 pandemic restrictions also impacted travel within Turkey and irregular arrivals to the country. In one year, between April 2020 and March 2021, only 2,104 asylum-related migrants reached Lesbos (Aegean Boat Report 2022). After the summer of 2021, the departures from Turkey to the Aegean Sea islands started to grow again, with around 2,500 people in July 2021 and around 5,000 in June 2022. However, the arrivals continued to be very low, usually only a few hundred people monthly (Aegean Boat Report 2022). This was due to migrants' immediate forced return to Turkish waters (see Chapter 3). However, in 2022, the Central Mediterranean route again became the most frequented, Italy receiving from the sea five to six times more asylum-related migrants than Greece (UNHCR 2022c).

Changes in arrivals also impacted the number of asylum-related migrants in Lesbos in 2019–2022 (Figure 1.4). In early 2019, there were around 7,000 such migrants in Lesbos, and this number rapidly tripled to more than 22,000 in the autumn of 2019. However, following the decline of arrivals and increased transfers from Lesbos to the mainland Greece, the number of asylum-related migrants fell quickly to less than 10,000 by the end of 2020. By the summer of 2021, there were 5,000 asylum-related migrants in Lesbos. This reduced the overcrowding in Lesbos to 2,000 people by the end of the year. During the first half of 2022, the decline continued so that the number went below 1,200 people in June 2022. In July, the numbers started to grow again because of increased arrivals (Aegean

Boat Report 2022). As a whole, such general development took place throughout the Aegean Sea islands. The number of migrants stopped on the sea grew much faster than that of those arriving in the Greek islands (Figure 1.3).

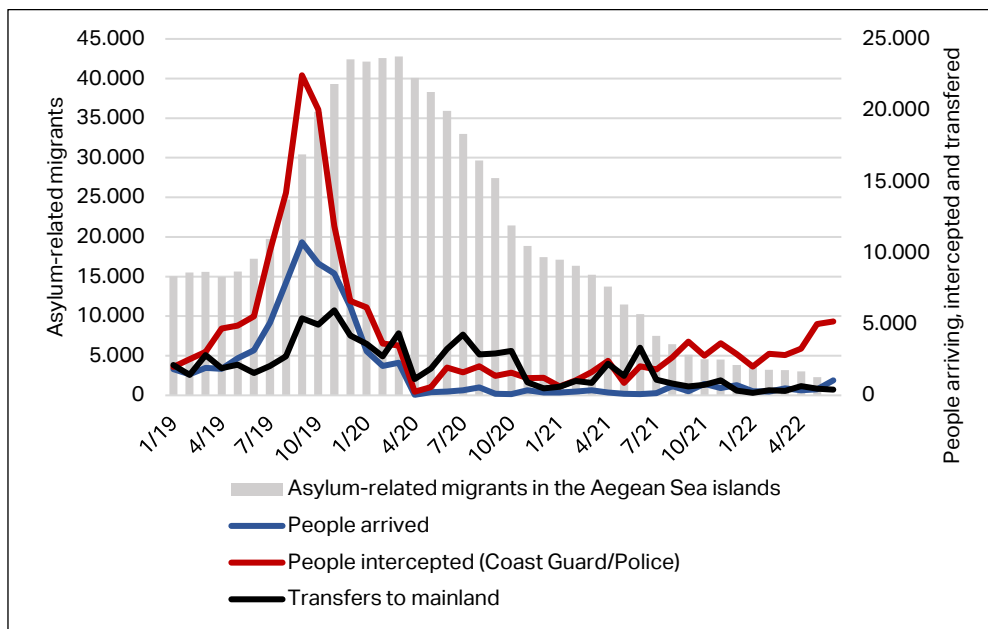


Figure 1.2. Asylum-related migration in the Aegean Sea from January 2019 to June 2022. Source: Data from Aegean Boat Report (2022).

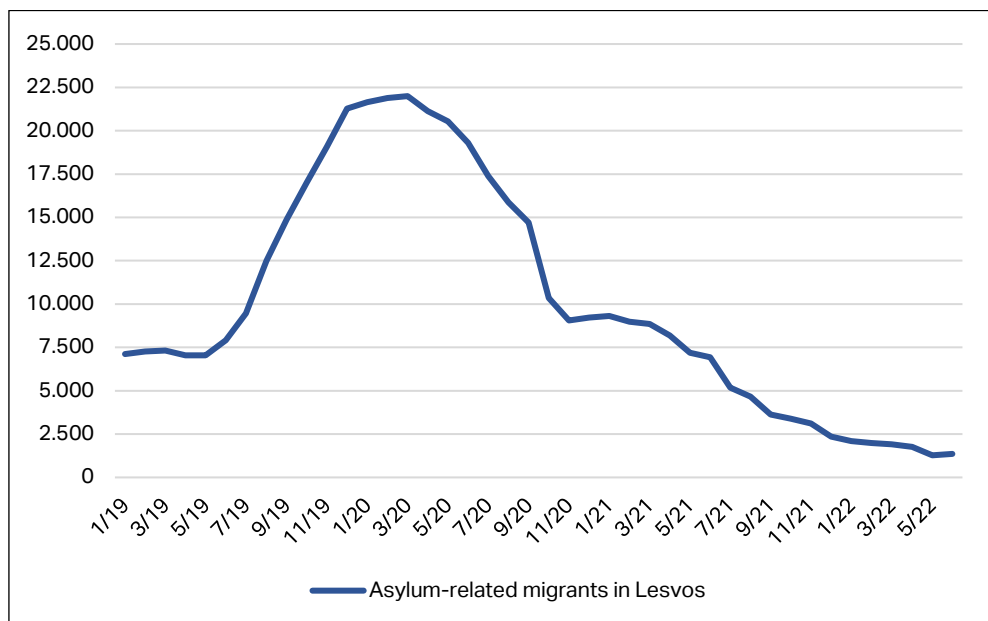


Figure 1.3. Asylum-related migrants in Lesvos from January 2019 to June 2022. Source: Data from Aegean Boat Report (2022).

1.2 Research questions, material and methods

The main questions of the research are as follows:

1. Who were the asylum seekers and other asylum-related migrants in 2022 on the island of Lesbos, Greece?
2. What was daily life like among asylum seekers and other migrants in Lesbos?
3. What kind of migration patterns and aspirations did asylum seekers and other migrants have in Lesbos?
4. How did asylum seekers and other migrants in Lesbos use the Internet and social media?

The main empirical material for the research derives from the field research conducted in Lesbos in May 2022. This material is complemented by information and statistics from various national and international organizations responsible for the governance of asylum-related migrants in Lesbos, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the international and Greek border control authorities, and the NGO Aegean Boat Report – the latter dealing also with information from the Turkish border authorities. The authors of this study utilized previous academic research, as well as their own, on the subject of asylum-related migrants in Lesbos (see Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen 2020; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020). In the past years, tens of academic and media articles and research reports have been published about the migrant situations in Lesbos.

The main new empirical material for this research consisted of responses from 205 asylum seekers and asylum-related migrants to a survey conducted on May 4–9, 2022 in Lesbos. The survey was completed in Arabic, English, Farsi, and French – other languages were also available but no one responded to these. The respondents were from 22 countries from the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, the largest groups being Afghans and Somalis (for details, see Section 4.1). The survey comprised 66 questions, of which 46 were structural, 15 were semi-open, and five were open. The structural questions (answer options: yes/no; yes/maybe/no; I agree/I don't know/I disagree) were about the asylum seekers' background (gender, mother tongue, university education, employment, etc.) and journey to Lesbos, as well as their feelings and experiences on the island. The semi-open questions dealt with more detailed aspects about their journey to Lesbos (reason for leaving, employment, experiences along the journey, etc.) and their stay at the reception sites (personal experiences on various issues, future plans, destinations, etc.) in Lesbos. The open questions dealt with the respondents' reasons for leaving their country of origin, their daily activities in Lesbos, and their broader aspirations and goals in their lives. The survey format was exactly the same as in our

survey conducted in Lesvos in 2016 and 2019 (see Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020). This allowed identification of changes in the migrants' situations and perspectives over the last few years (see Chapter 4).

The research ethics issues were followed rigorously. All migrants responded to the survey anonymously, and they were not identifiable in the research. The scope and ethical principles of the research were explained to the respondents and also written on the first page of the questionnaire. In practice, individual asylum-related migrants in Lesvos were approached in the areas where they lived and spent their time. This was in the vicinity of the reception and identification center "Mavrovouni" close to Mytilene. If the approached resident of the reception center agreed, he or she was provided with the questionnaire form to fill out. If necessary, a pen was also provided. If the person was not willing, he or she was not pressured to take part in the research. The person could also withdraw from filling out the questionnaire at any moment or leave unanswered questions he or she did not want to answer. Three persons, including two authors of this report and one research assistant, conducted the survey, usually from the late morning to the early evening. When the questionnaire sheet was filled out, usually in 15–20 minutes, the migrant returned it, and we wrote down the date and the location from which the sheet was returned. In the end, we only collected the surveys from one site.

In addition, informal interviews and talks were held with tens of asylum-related migrants. These lasted from a few up to 20 minutes, and sometimes the same migrant was met over several days. These direct contacts helped to better understand the everyday challenges, opportunities, and aspirations of the respondents and the governance over these migrants, as well as the migrants' actions upon it. The topics were mostly about their everyday lives in Lesvos, their migration to the island, their use of the social media there, and their migration aspirations.

We also derived empirical material from our systematic field observation during the fieldwork. In addition, we wrote notes about the interviews, talks, and observations on every fieldwork day. Following each fieldwork day, we discussed among ourselves the main issues and observations that arose during the day's fieldwork. Furthermore, we assigned running numbers to the questionnaire sheets (e.g., regarding location, language, and gender) that facilitated adjustment of the sample from day to day in order to be as representative as possible regarding the gender, age, and ethnic variety of asylum-related migrants present in Lesvos.

Furthermore, several NGOs and key individuals dealing with asylum-related migrants were visited in Lesvos, and interviews were conducted with them. The topics regarded the main activities of these NGOs and their reflections about the development of asylum-related migrant situations in Lesvos between 2020 and

2022. The NGOs provided information that helped to contextualize the survey findings. To guarantee their anonymity, the names of organizations and persons are not mentioned here.

Later, after returning to Finland, research assistants coded all responses of the individual survey questions under the first author's supervision. The answers to semi-open and open questions were provided in many languages. These answers were translated into English by proficient and experienced translators. Then, these were coded and inserted into the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) database. The consistency of the inserted data was inspected with systematic checks. Later, the survey data were analyzed quantitatively with descriptive statistics and cross tables.

This study is a result of a team effort. Cooperation between various actors enabled the current report, and we thank everyone who directly or indirectly contributed to its creation. We are enormously grateful to all respondents who put in the effort to fill out the questionnaires. We also appreciate the time the interviewees spent in sharing their experiences and insights in person. The asylum-related migrants at various sites in Lesvos offered their hospitality, friendliness, and willingness to cooperate with us. The invaluable assistance of research assistants Sanni Huusari and Selma Smolander in the field and Sanni Huusari, Johanna Junnila, and Ada Virnes at the office is greatly appreciated. In addition, the first author, Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen, served as the responsible author of the research, participated in the field campaign and data analysis, and mostly wrote the text.

1.3 Research highlights

- The island of Lesvos in the Greek Aegean archipelago, 10 kilometers from the western coast of Turkey, is the main entry gateway for asylum-related migrants to the EU, especially along the Eastern Mediterranean route.
- In 2015, over half a million asylum seekers passed via Turkey to the EU through Lesvos. Following the EU–Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016, this migration declined substantially.
- After a growth of arrivals in 2019, the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions on regular and irregular migration from the spring of 2020 onward rapidly decreased the arrival of asylum seekers from Turkey to Lesvos. The authorities in Greece prevented the access of asylum-related migrants to Lesvos and Greece in general.
- The former reception and identification centers in Lesvos (Moria, Kara Tepe, PIKPA) and several unorganized sites and squatted buildings were closed in 2020–2021, and the new Mavrovouni RIC was established in 2020 after the fire destroyed the Moria RIC.

- The transfers of asylum seekers to the mainland Greece reduced the number of asylum seekers in Lesbos from more than 22,000 in 2019 to less than 1,500 in 2022.
- Over three out of four asylum-related migrants (77%) responding to a survey in Lesbos in 2022 claimed to have escaped war and/or serious human rights violations in their country of origin. However, people were also escaping economic hardships due to personal challenges. Often the reasons for leaving their country of origin were combined with the need to escape the country.
- Some migrants made the journey to Lesbos within a few weeks, but the majority spent more than half a year on their journeys before reaching Lesbos by boat. The final passage was facilitated by smugglers at the Turkish coast; sometimes the migrants were intercepted and pushed back from the EU to Turkey, so many had to make several attempts before reaching Lesbos.
- Asylum-related migrants' everyday living conditions, access to basic amenities (toilets, showers, etc.), and perceived safety in Lesbos have improved since the closure of the Moria RIC and reduction of the congestion in the Mavrovouni RIC.
- Of respondents, 53% felt safe in the center, 77% indicated there were enough toilets and showers, and 43% felt treated well in Lesbos. These shares were substantially higher in 2022 compared to the situations in Lesbos in 2019 and 2016. However, the share of asylum-related migrants feeling to be mistreated because of their non-European origin had risen to 39% of all respondents.
- Germany was the country of destination for many asylum-related migrants, followed by Finland, Greece, the United Kingdom, and many EU member states. Most migrants wished to work in Europe.
- Access to the Internet and Internet use became more widespread among asylum-related migrants in Lesbos than in their country of origin; that is, the related digital divides narrowed.
- The asylum-related migrants must have the right to present their asylum request in Lesbos (as elsewhere in the Aegean Islands and the EU), and the asylum process needs to be transparent, fast, and just.
- Asylum seekers should be transferred without delay to mainland Greece and resettled in other EU member states as agreed, whereas a meaningful safe return should be provided for those not receiving a living permit in the EU.
- Complimentary Internet access for asylum-related migrants should be guaranteed during all asylum process stages in Lesbos and elsewhere in the EU.

2. (Im)mobilities of asylum-related migrants

People who migrate to seek asylum are mobile and immobile in various ways. Typically, journeys in asylum-related migration are fragmented (Collyer 2010), despite they can move physically from one place to another. The journeys consist of phases of different temporal lengths in which an asylum-related migrant is mobile and other phases in which they are immobile (see Schewel 2019; Crawley & Jones 2021; Schapendonk et al. 2021). In between departure and arrival, they need to stop, especially if the distance between the destinations is long. If the journey is long and difficult, the destination might not be reachable at all. The initial destination may also change due to external factors or because the migrating person decided so. Such migration may never stop but become circular between departure and arrival (Constant 2020; Paul & Yeoh 2020). Schapendonk et al. (2021) argue that from a mobilities perspective, migration is seen as one of many forms of movement that shape and produce the daily lives. Migration is not only about mobility but the broader notion of journey(s) includes also (failed) attempts to move and continuing mobility after reaching (temporary) destination. As Carling and Collins (2018, 904) have noted: migration is a multifaceted reality that is imagined, desired, resisted, experienced, managed, and represented.

Digitalization both facilitates and constrains physical mobility. The digital dimension has become an integrated part of the asylum-related migration in the 21st century (Leung 2018). Smartphones are essential for these migrants during different phases of their journeys. It is crucial to have digitally mediated connections to family and friends along the asylum-related migration to discover opportunities and to avoid challenges (see Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020). The result is that every migrant is digitally registered into various databases. Digital traces exist regarding all migrants even if one is not using a bank or credit cards, or electronic financial transactions. Physical passages of people are inspected via scanning digitally one's ID and accesses and movement of smartphones are noticed. In the end, asylum seekers are registered into various databases.

In this study, asylum-related migration refers to the irregular migration of people to Lesbos, their arrival at this island in Greece inside the EU and their request for asylum there (or trying to postpone asking for asylum in another EU member state), as well as the aims and plans of these people had to reach Lesbos and those to migrate farther: to mainland Greece, another EU member state or another country, including the return to their country of origin. Asylum-related migration includes these people's physical and digital mobilities and immobilities even if they would never reach Lesbos and the EU (see also Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 16–17; Schapendonk et al. 2021).

2.1 Physical (im)mobilities of asylum-related migrants

Migration has been formally defined as about the change of people's registered place of residence. More narrowly defined, it lasts from the moment when one leaves the permanent registered place of residence to the moment of arrival at another place in which he or she becomes a permanently registered resident. However, defined more broadly, the aspirations to migrate, regardless if one physically moves or not, are also about migration, including also stay(s) of undetermined length along the migration journey(s).

Earlier migration theories focused on physical mobility, and each migrant's change of place. In fact, to be a migrant, one needed to move and be mobile. People aimed to add to their material quality of life and contribute to their subjective feeling of well-being. Migration should thus result in enhancing migrants' personal safety, living standards, social bonding and social bridging (de Haas 2021). For this, one needed to change one's place of residence. In international migration this meant to migrate from one country to another.

In more recent theories, increasing attention is paid to immobilities of various lengths and types as part of migration (see Schewel 2019). Instead of focusing and narrowing people's mobilities into a supposedly linear move from one place to another, various kinds of forward and back movements are considered as part of migration, as well as different types of circular movement and fragmented journeys (Hillmann et al. 2018; de Haas 2021). Being stuck is common especially in non-voluntary migration such as among many asylum seekers along their journey(s), including feeling of undetermined temporality while one moves and stands still (see Turnbull 2016). However, a person can be digitally mobile and connect to different places even if one is physically relatively immobile (van der Waerden et al. 2019). There are various kinds of physical and digital mobilities and immobilities. However, as Tsagarousianou (2022) has pointed out, even being forcedly immobile, such asylum-related migrants, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants often are, these migrants develop and extend narratives of their past and current lives to the hopes of future. This allows them to 'escape' from the top-down regulation of their physical and digital mobilities.

Currently, these more recent perspectives on migration that also consider immobility suit better to study asylum-related migration than did the earlier considerations of linear migration. Immobility is more than migrants' temporary not-movement in their fragmented migration journeys (Schewel 2019). Overall, asylum-related migration is about aspirations and capabilities in which digital connections and abilities play an increasing role. Migration *aspirations* are thus individuals' general and subjective perceptions about opportunities and life out of the everyday environment. Migration *capabilities* are about people's ability, via staying or moving, to expand control over their lives and enhance their substantive choices to live the lives they value (de Haas 2021).

Asylum-related migration regards various kinds of mobilities and immobilities of people to apply for asylum in another country, as well as the aim or plan to enact such mobilities and the effects of such (im)mobilities. Sometimes, aspiring migrants cannot cross the border of their country of origin or do not want to even if they could start their physical journey to other countries. However, they can be digitally mobile (see Section 2.2. below).

Asylum-related migration requires crossing the national border because, according to the internationally agreed definitions of asylum and refugees and the processes leading into that status (see United Nations 1951), one can apply for asylum only outside one's country of origin or that of a habitual permanent residence. This means that physical mobility is fundamental to become an asylum seeker. If one is entirely physically immobile, one cannot become an asylum seeker except in particular cases of minors born outside their country of origin or if one loses the nationality, etc. However, at the same time, when an individual becomes an asylum seeker via mobility (that is, crossing the national border), then one's mobility often becomes restricted. He or she might be constrained to remain in a reception center for asylum seekers or that country's authorities may impose a geographical restriction for his or her mobility (for the case of Greece, see Fili 2018). Being obliged to remain in the reception centers reduces migrant's diversified physical mobilities. However, Ramadan (2013) argued that such centers and camps are not monolithic bodies with a single pure identity. Rather, they are diverse, dynamic and sometimes divided assemblages in constant motion. This allows their inhabitants to resist the top-down standardization of their everyday lives and to have many identities and agencies (Martin et al. 2020). Nevertheless, restrictions and regulations of their mobilities remain.

There are also internally displaced people, that is, those forced to leave their homes and relocate themselves to another part of the country of origin for security matters. This is not asylum-related migration because asking for asylum is not possible as part of this movement and change of place of residence. However, the reasons and motivations to become internally displaced reflect those who ask for asylum. Being internally displaced within one's country also connects with asylum processes. One reason for rejecting an asylum request in a foreign country is that the asylum authorities interpret the situation and decide that one can be safely displaced in the country of origin. Over the years, this safe internal displacement and flee has been used as a reason to reject asylum requests in the EU member states. For example, Denmark judged the Damascus region in Syria as safe and forced Syrians to return there from Denmark (Strzyżyńska 2022).

Asylum-related migration may take a shorter or longer time. If a broader definition of migration is used, it becomes increasingly difficult to define precisely when such migration started and when it ended. Asylum-related migration consists of phases of undetermined length at various places along the journeys.

During these fragmented journeys (see Collyer 2010), the initial destination countries may change, and the transit countries may become destinations. The length and process of asylum-related journeys have been addressed, for example, by BenEzer and Zetter (2015). According to them, the focus on journeys gives a better understanding of the profoundly formative and transformative experience of the journeys, it gives voices to migrants' unique experiences and it better informs related policies through such consideration of journey experiences.

The people who practice asylum-related migration can be called asylum-related migrants (see Jauhiainen et al. 2019, 19; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 16). They are individuals who (aim to) migrate to another country to seek asylum. In different phases they bear documents but if these create risks, they hide or get rid of these documents. Before requesting asylum, these migrants practicing irregular migration are often called undocumented migrants. The same term is also used when one falls out of the asylum process. The terminology regarding these people varies, also due to political reasons. The migrating people have themselves only a limited possibility to impact on how authorities and the media defines them (see Crawley & Skleparis 2018). Furthermore, as discussed below, the category for one concrete person can change many times along the asylum-related migration.

According to international agreements, in most countries, individuals should have the right to ask for asylum. Consequently, related authorities should study this request and make a justified decision. They have to decide whether that person would be given asylum (that is, international protection) by giving the right to reside in the territory of the country in which asylum was requested. The authorities can also decide to give another type of residence permit in that country. In 2022, the EU invoked a specific instrument of temporary protection applied on Ukrainians who escaped from Ukraine to the EU member states after the beginning of the war (European Council 2022; Jauhiainen et al. 2022a).

The person will be expelled from the country in which he or she asked for asylum in cases where the possible consequent asylum requests or related petitions to overrule the authorities' decision in the court(s) are negative. The forced return is usually to the country of origin or that of habitual permanent residence. In some specific cases, it can also be to the country that should be responsible for processing the asylum request. The latter case refers in particular to the EU and the Dublin convention. According to it, the responsible country to inspect the asylum request is that to which the person initially entered in the EU (or more precisely, a country belonging to the Dublin convention, that is, the EU member states plus a few more in Europe) to ask for asylum and where they were identified as asylum seekers (Dublin II regulation 2011).

In this study, an asylum-related migrant refers to a person who left his or her country of origin or that of habitual permanent residence and migrated toward

the EU intending to ask for asylum there. For many, the asylum request would be the tool to allow them to enter and remain in the EU, at least during the process when their asylum application would be inspected (see Jauhiainen et al. 2019). When they ask for asylum and the authorities agree the validity of this request, these migrants become asylum seekers.

In this case, the asylum-related migration progressed to the phase in which the migrant entered in the EU, that is, they were in Lesbos. The studied migrants here were also able to ask for asylum, that is, they requested it and were in different stages of the asylum process. Some were still waiting for their first hearing and the decision on their request. Others' initial request was rejected and they had made subsequent request(s). Some had received identification documents regarding their status while others were still waiting to obtain the documents that would indicate their position. Waiting is related to complex legal, political and administrative procedures in Lesbos (see Topac 2020). This included dividing asylum seekers into 'probable' cases and 'unlike' cases along their nationality, thus suggesting a faster, though still long asylum procedure for the former and a very long and indeterminate procedure for the latter (see Tunabouly & van Liempt 2021).

For these migrants, Lesbos was the entering point to the EU. All of them came via Turkey, as all asylum-related migrants in Lesbos arrive from there. The person might have had a valid administrative permission to enter Turkey, and he or she might have entered Turkey either legally or illegally. In many cases, the (il)legal entry to Turkey did not matter regarding their final trajectory from Turkey to Lesbos. That was done through irregular modes, in principle without authorization to leave Turkey and enter Greece and the EU.

The right to cross the Turkey–Greece border to search for protection is somewhat debatable from different stakeholders' viewpoints. As mentioned and discussed more in detail in Chapter 3, the Greek authorities maintain that Turkey is a safe country for nationals of Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Bangladesh and Pakistan (see UNHCR 2021). The EU–Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016 indicates a joint agreement between the EU and Turkey. According to the agreement, the Turkish authorities need to control irregular migration via Turkey to the EU and prevent the operationalization of new routes for irregular migration to the EU (European Council 2016). Therefore, from a Greek perspective, these nationals can be denied from their right to ask for asylum in Greece, and they could be returned to Turkey. However, according to Turkey's restrictions on the Geneva Convention on Refugees, only people from Europe can be granted with permanent international protection and refugee status in Turkey (Güler 2019). If the nationals of the earlier mentioned countries do not have right to enter Turkey, their entry to Turkey is banned and they should be expelled from Turkey. However, many organizations and EU member states do not agree that Turkey is a

safe country for all nationals of Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Therefore, they should have the right to ask for asylum in an EU member state, and if Greece is the first country they enter, their request must be inspected there. Asylum-related migrants arrive to Greece from Turkey only because of its geographical proximity (Hampshire 2016, 538). The issue with Syrians is administratively even more complex because most of them have been granted with temporary protection in Turkey (Ministry of Interior of Turkey 2022). However, among Syrians, there are also ethnic groups that the Turkish authorities consider hostile.

Many types of people enter Lesvos and they have various reasons for it. Almost all ask for asylum in Lesvos, thus these asylum-related migrants become asylum seekers. This means they have right to remain in the EU while their request is inspected. Some EU member states as well as other countries, such as Australia and the United Kingdom, have proposed that processing the asylum request could take place in a third country, that is, in a country other than the one in which they asked for asylum. In this case, the asylum process and the location waiting for the decision would be outsourced elsewhere. Australia has implemented such practice (Australian Human Rights Commission 2022). In 2022, there were several attempts to conduct such outsourcing by moving the asylum seekers from the United Kingdom to Rwanda (BBC 2022). There were many motivations for this. These include the prevention that those not receiving asylum or a residence permit would remain in the asylum request country as undocumented migrants against the authorities' will. It can also be less expensive to host asylum seekers in third countries. Furthermore, it can send a message to potential asylum seekers that it will be very difficult to enter and remain in the country they are aiming to and that during the asylum process, they have to remain in conditions that are not necessarily as good as in the country to which they were heading.

Some asylum seekers have legitimate grounds to be accepted as a refugee in an EU member state, and they will be provided with international protection. These refugees will gain a residence permit based on the need for international protection according to the related international, EU and national legislation.

Other migrants may also have legitimate grounds for asylum. However, they are not able to present these properly during their asylum application inspection or the authorities do not consider these grounds, thus they do not become refugees. However, they might get a (temporary) residence permit based on subsidiary protection. Their stay might be (temporarily) tolerated in an EU member state because of challenges in their return.

Asylum-related migrants, regarding whom the authorities do not find to have enough grounds to gain international or subsidiary protection, receive a negative decision on their asylum applications. Usually these migrants do not

fulfill other legal requirements of either entering an EU member state or residing there. This usually means their entry into the country in question is rejected. As a consequence, because their right to reside in the country during the asylum inspection expires, they must leave it due to ban of entry. These former asylum seekers become again asylum-related migrants. They should return to the country of origin or that of habitual permanent residence. Commonly, there is a separation of powers between those who decide on the asylum decision and those who need to implement the ban of entry, that is, between the migration-related authorities and the police. Depending on the situations, also a forced departure of rejected asylum seekers can be executed, that is, their accompanied deportation (having or not having initially the right to reside in that country).

However, some asylum seekers fall out of the asylum process because they cannot proceed as it is required by the authorities. For example, in Lesbos and in Greece more widely, they might be dropped from the process if they miss the obligatory asylum interview in which their asylum grounds are inspected, if they refuse to be relocated to another reception center, or if they fail to renew online their asylum documents. The latter can take place if one is not enough skilled in the use of the Internet or do not have proper access to it. The online renewal became the practice during the COVID-19 outbreak (Tazzioli 2022a, 433; for digital divides, see Section 4.5). If they fall out of the system, they become undocumented migrants (sometimes called paperless immigrants) with substantially reduced rights in Greece and the EU (see Jauhiainen & Tedeschi 2021).

Nevertheless, some migrants, who have been rejected in the asylum process, refuse to leave and can avoid deportation. The irregular mobilities of asylum-related migrants thus extend to periods before and after the authorities' decision on asylum. Namely, some asylum seekers leave the reception centers and the asylum process before the asylum decision. Such move is unregistered and the person becomes an undocumented migrant. They remain unauthorized in the country in question. Furthermore, these migrants may have been irregularly mobile also between reception centers and between the center and the near-by urban areas (Papatzani et al. 2022).

Sometimes the country might tolerate their stay because they cannot be deported to their country of origin or habitual permanent residence. The return countries may not accept their return if that is not voluntary or they may not accept them at all, even if they are citizens of that country. Sometimes the security situation in these countries worsens, thus the actual removal and deportation will not happen. There are also people whose country of origin remains unknown to authorities, so they do not know where to return them. The rights of undocumented migrants are more limited than those of asylum seekers. In some countries, their children have access to education whereas in others they do not. The same applies with health care and employment. Being in legal limbo

without proper status is common for many undocumented migrants around the world (Gonzales et al. 2019; Nimführ & Sesay 2019; Jauhiainen & Tedeschi 2021).

However, some former asylum seekers return to their country of origin. The return can be voluntary and the EU member states and the International Organization of Migration (IOM) financially support it, or they will be forcibly expelled. Nevertheless, some of them restart their asylum-related journeys and might appear in Lesvos or elsewhere in the EU during that round of asylum-related migration.

Asylum-related migration is connected to governance as a complex combination of policies, practices and techniques to direct, control and regulate the present and future of asylum-related migrants, their activities and the organizations involved. These migrants are subjected to uncertainty, precariousness, and unpredictability as a specific governance in the asylum system (Nassar & Stel 2019). This regulation of mobilities and immobilities of asylum-related migrants – the migrant bodies – becomes part of the broader biopolitical and geopolitical orders in the territories with which these bodies are acquainted and these bodies' political, social and biological function. It is about biogeopolitics in which different stakeholders develop their preferred geopolitical order via biopolitical governance and (mis)management of asylum-related migrants. In Lesvos, asylum-related migrants become 'bodily masses' that can be moved, directed and (mis)managed in the attempt to achieve what is aspired as part of broader geopolitical interests (see Jauhiainen 2020).

2.2 Digital (im)mobilities of asylum-related migrants

As mentioned above, digital mobility and immobility are part of asylum-related migration. Physical and digital mobility and immobility come together in many ways (see Carling & Collins 2018; Carling & Schewel 2018; Paul & Yeoh 2020; Schewel 2019; Schapendonk et al. 2021). Many asylum-related migrants enhance their agency by digital connections to gather, mobilize and act across borders while being simultaneously structurally constrained and physically less mobile (see Leurs & Smets 2018; Nedelcu & Soysüren 2022). This connection between physical and digital mobility and immobility changes over different phases of the asylum-related migration.

Imagining and aspiring to stay, leave, and/or return without physical mobility should be considered as an important part of migration (see Carling & Collins 2018; Schewel 2019). The digital mobilities, such as the Internet and social media use, increasingly facilitate this. The aspiring asylum-related migrants may search the Internet for information regarding potential destinations. They may exchange ideas, wishes and experiences through social media and they may need digital mapping to plan their routes. They may be in contact with people who successfully made the journey and those who failed in it. Being still, rather,

immobile physically does not necessarily mean that one would be digitally immobile. On the contrary, in the digitalized era of asylum-related migration, digital mobility often precedes physical mobility.

Regarding asylum-related migration, the discussion about digital divides – disparities in the access, use and effect of information and communication technologies (ICT), the Internet, and social media – and their persistence in involuntary or coerced movement of people away from their home region or country increased in the 2010s. The use of mobile phones, the Internet, and social media became common among asylum-related migrants who left involuntarily their countries (Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020; Jauhiainen et al. 2022a).

There is a growing evidence of how asylum-related migrants find, analyze, store, create, communicate, exchange and disseminate personal and other information with ICT. Commonly, during the physical mobility phases of asylum-related migration, changes in digital mobility also take place. For some asylum-related migrants, it is enough to move to the neighboring country. It might be easy to continue to use the mobile devices and the Internet. The price and the initial access might create challenges but these can be overcome with time. However, other asylum-related migrants need to pass through several countries. This affects their needs and possibilities to be digitally connected. Their devices, usually smartphones, may not be so easily usable in a foreign country because they do not have the required SIM card and access to mobile phone networks. In certain areas Wi-Fi is available but it is usually only for specific and more stable moments during the journeys.

When the asylum-related journeys become more stable, in particular after one has been able to ask for asylum and no longer needs to hide from the authorities, the migrants start to use mobile devices, the Internet and social media more often. Those who have been frequent users of digitally mediated communication gradually recover their use patterns. Those who have been rare users, start to use the Internet and social media more often. In general, many of the non-users turn into users when the asylum-related journeys become more stable, again, in particular after one has applied for asylum. In this case, this refers to the EU and Lesvos. The first-level digital divides (access to the devices and the Internet) and the second-level digital divides (resources and skills to use the devices and the Internet) narrow among asylum-related migrants (see Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2021).

However, the constraints of physical mobility reduction in the reception centers may apply also to digital mobility, that is, whether, how much and where the asylum seeker can have access to the Internet and which contents he or she may search for on the Internet. Very often, these centers have basic Internet access challenges, as well as those of mobile communication tools and even electricity. A particular digital paralysis emerges in which the person may wish to use

the Internet and social media and knows how to use them, but is denied from it. At the same time, various kinds of data regarding this asylum seeker are collected, including digital traces of his or her asylum-related migration, and this data is digitally stored.

Furthermore, authorities in many locations control and create intentional obstacles for asylum-related migrants' digital access and uses while maintaining them as physically immobile. This regards the third-level digital divide, namely the effect of using the Internet and social media. The migrants' gathering of information and communication is constrained. They have to change practices of how they connect to people and places in the country in which they asked for asylum, their country of origin (and that of possible return) as well as the places and countries to which they aspire to further migrate. This can be characterized as dependable instability in their digital uses and practices to overcome challenges in related technology maintenance (see Wall et al. 2019).

The digital mobilities change again as the asylum-related migration proceeds further, following the asylum decision. If the asylum seeker receives international protection, subsidiary protection or even temporary protection, as the case of Ukrainians in 2022 evidenced (see Jauhiainen et al. 2022a), the digital mobility increases. The migrants who become less mobile internationally will be connected actively internationally. Some of them become anchor points to pass important and even necessary information to other asylum-related migrants. They may also establish stronger digitally mediated contacts back to their country of origin. However, some migrants cease to maintain these contacts to their past. Of those who fall out of the asylum system, that is, who refuse to leave the country and become undocumented migrants, many will continue with digital mobility even if they are physically quite immobile. The latter would put them more at risk for the authorities to catch them and then face consequent expulsion from the country (see Jauhiainen & Tedeschi 2021). Those whose expulsion was executed may still maintain the contacts they received during the asylum-related journeys and use these contacts to decide upon their physical mobility, that is, whether and how to try again asylum-related migration.

The above does not mean that every asylum-related migrant is digitally mobile. In fact, former studies show that they typically are not digitally connected and do not use the Internet and social media. These include being an older non-user in the country of origin, being temporarily constrained to not use the Internet such as having lost the device or being in exceptional circumstances when the use is too risky or expensive. Overall, digital mobility is the lifeline for both physically mobile and immobile asylum-related migrants (see also Gillespie et al. 2016).

3. Asylum-related migrants in Lesvos, Greece

The governance of asylum-seeking migrants, the reception sites and the whole asylum process is very complex, with connections to international policies and (biogeo)politics, management and actions and (un)intentional negligence and consequences (see Jauhiainen 2020; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 25). According to Topak (2020), Lesvos, a hotspot for irregular migration, has become a biopolitical border zone. The asylum-seeking migrants experience violent practices and effects of the borders with diminished or suspended human rights. However, although these migrants are the target of these policies and activities, different migrants have different levels of agency and capacity to improve their lives.

3.1 Asylum-related migration to Lesvos

Lesvos is the most well-known island in the EU regarding asylum-seeking migration for two reasons. First, during the peak year of 2015, over half a million asylum-seeking migrants traveled through it. Second, the island hosted the infamous, overcrowded Moria RIC. The number of asylum-seeking migrants traveling through Lesvos will soon surpass one million.

In recent years, the annual number of asylum-seeking migrants who have reached Lesvos and remained there has varied greatly. The annual and monthly changes base on how many migrants attempt to leave Turkey for Lesvos and how many will be intercepted before arriving to the island. After 2015, the EU-Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016 substantially diminished irregular migration via Turkey to Europe (for details, see European Council 2016; Dimitriadi 2016; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 25). However, the return mechanism of asylum-seeking migrants from the EU to Turkey was never implemented as extensively as expected.

Moreover, the asylum-related journeys across the sea from the Turkish coast to Lesvos have become very complex. Smugglers have been sending these migrants to the sea, providing them a rubber dinghy, a small motor and life vests (for details regarding smuggling, see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 27; Yildiz 2021). However, crossing this 10-kilometer trajectory is not easy. On the one hand, the Turkish forces are patrolling their territorial waters. They prevent, to a certain extent, the departures and passages of migrants to the Greek waters in the EU. On the other hand, it has become increasingly evident that crossing the sea to the Greek side may not be enough to reach Lesvos and seek asylum there. In 2017 and 2018, Turkish authorities claimed that Greece pushed back to Turkey over 58,000 people between November 2017 and October 2018 without assessing their status. In Turkey, the returned Syrians were directed to their place of residence in Turkey, in which they had temporary protection status. Many other

migrants were sent back to their country of origin or released in Turkey after a short detention (Christides & Lüdke 2019; Topak 2020, 1878). Many migrants tried repeatedly until they reached Lesbos. The EU-Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016 generated changes concerning the smugglers' modalities and services but did not prevent asylum-seeking migrants relying on smugglers to reach Lesbos and other Greek Aegean Sea islands (Yildiz 2021, 141).

“Pushback” refers to situations in which the state has organized a set of measures by which undocumented and asylum-seeking migrants are forced back over a border they have crossed. Usually, this action occurs immediately after they have crossed the international border so they cannot apply for asylum. These measures are implemented on asylum-seeking migrants without consideration of their individual situations and possible need for protection. Pushback is a highly political issue, as it is usually enacted counter to international agreements regarding people's right to seek protection outside their country of origin and the agreement to inspect migrants properly before deciding whether to grant them asylum. Koros (2021) states that the pushback operations in Greece have become a standardized frontline tool of border management as part of a generalized anti-immigration policy.

The evidence, testimonials, debates and critique regarding pushback from Greece became more evident in 2020. From late February to early March 2020, Turkish authorities let tens of thousands of asylum-seeking migrants leave Turkish territory for Greece. The result was that the Greek authorities decided not to let them enter Greek territory. They prevented their access to Greece and consequently the EU as much as possible (BBC 2020a). On the sea the common practice was to capture asylum-related migrants, place them on board of rescue rafts and let them drift back to Turkish waters and shores (Heller 2021, 118).

In the Greek waters, besides the Greek Coast Guard, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, FRONTEX, has been active. In 2020, it became evident that many migrants were not allowed to land on Lesbos and ask for asylum. The UNHCR, the FRONTEX and several NGOs expressed concerns about the presumed pushbacks, but they were also criticized due to their passive position on the issue (UNHCR 2020; Waters et al. 2020). Nevertheless, the Greek authorities repeatedly mentioned that pushback was not exercised on the Aegean Sea. An independent NGO, Mare Liberum, observed until the end of 2021 from its own ship the patrolling vessels' activities, potential rescue activities and pushbacks (see Mare Liberum 2022). However, the FRONTEX director resigned in April 2022 “in the wake of an investigation by the EU's anti-fraud office into allegedly illegal returns of migrants” (Pascual & Malingre 2022) from the Greek waters to Turkey in the Aegean Sea.

The development between 2019 and 2022 of irregular migration to the Greek islands on the Aegean Sea is shown in Figure 3.1. It indicates the number of migrants who departed from the Turkish coast and those who arrived at the Greek Aegean Sea islands as well as the average monthly rate of intercepted migrants returned to Turkey. The percentage of interceptions of people on the Aegean Sea between Turkey and the Greek islands usually ranged from 61% to 68% (average: 66%) from the spring of 2019 to the spring of 2020. Then, one of every three migrants leaving the Turkish shore actually arrived at one of the Greek Aegean Sea islands. In addition, due to the weather conditions, fewer arrivals usually occur in the winter months than in the other seasons (Figure 3.1). Weather is an important factor but does not solely determine travel by sea from Turkey to Lesvos.

Since the spring of 2020, it has been harder for asylum-seeking migrants to reach Lesvos and other Greek Aegean Sea islands. The number of arrivals dropped substantially, and the percentage of intercepted people returned from the sea to Turkey rose substantially, ranging from 79% to 92% (average: 87%). In this period, less than one out of seven people who departed from the Turkish coast arrived at the Greek islands (Figure 3.1).

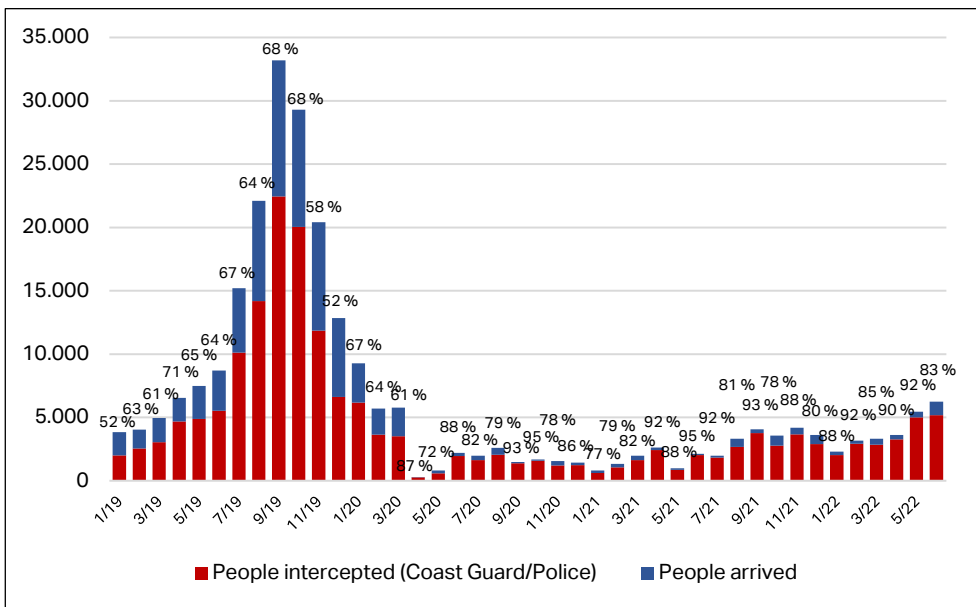


Figure 3.1. Departures, interceptions and arrivals on the Aegean Sea between January 2019 and June 2022. Source: Data from the Aegean Boat Report (2022).

The change in irregular migration patterns from Turkey to Greece was also evident in Lesvos. In 2019, on average, 14 boats and 518 migrants arrived in Lesvos each week, and at least some boats arrived each week. In the spring of

2020, the sea border between Turkey and Greece was temporarily closed, on the one hand, to prevent the extension of the COVID-19 pandemic (see ECDC 2020; WHO 2021) and, on the other hand, to restrict irregular migration to Greece (for deterrence humanitarianism, see Tazzioli & Stierl 2021; for deterrence through protection, see Triandafyllidou & Dimitriadi 2014). In 2021, on average, 5–6 boats and 29 people reached Lesvos weekly. In the first half of 2022, on average, 1–2 boats and 31 migrants arrived in Lesvos each week (Figure 3.2). However, entire weeks passed without any arrivals (Aegean Boat Report 2022).

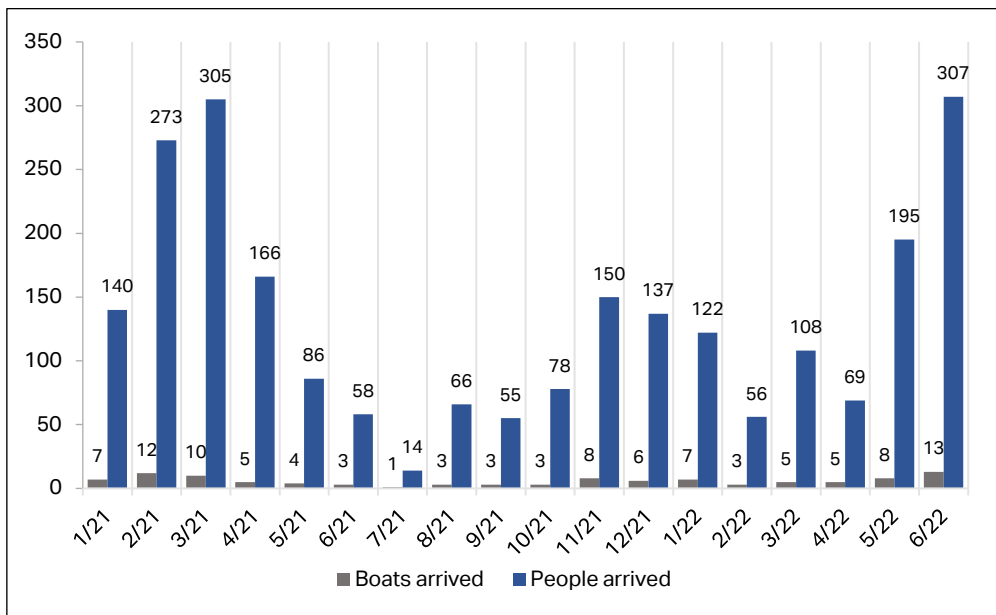


Figure 3.2. Asylum-related migrants and boats arrived in Lesvos between January 2021 and June 2022. Source: Data from Aegean Boat Report (2022).

The overall number of migrants per boat (dinghy) changed, as well. In 2019, each boat that arrived in Lesvos contained, on average, 30–35 migrants. The number of people in intercepted boats was about the same. Since the spring of 2020, the average number of migrants by boat gradually declined from nearly 40 people in the spring of 2020 to around 25 in the summer of 2022. However, during the same period, curiously the number of people in intercepted boats remained rather constant, around 30–35 people. On average, there were more people in the intercepted boats than those reaching Lesvos (Figure 3.3).

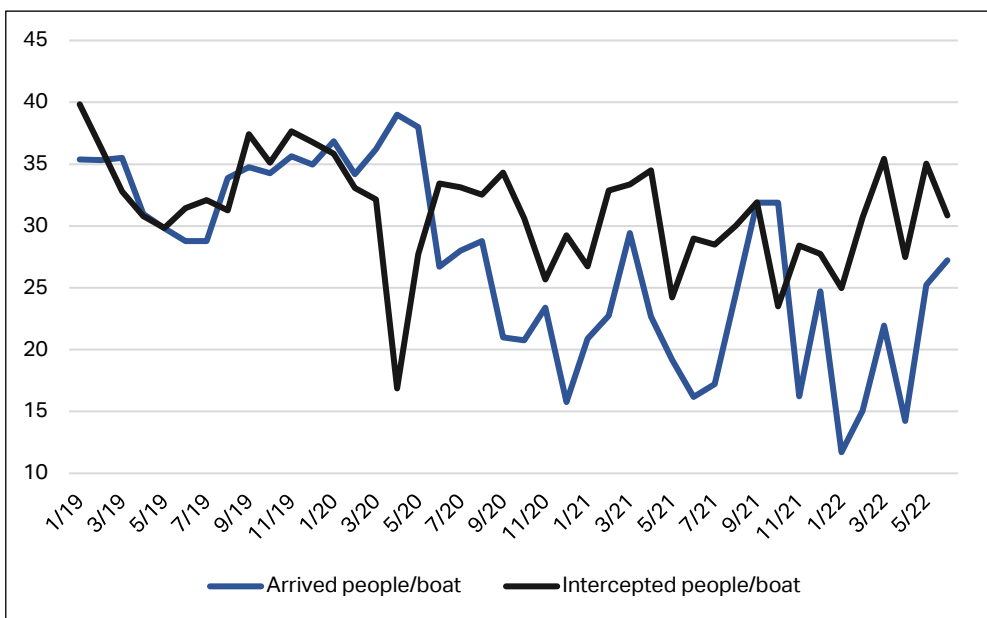


Figure 3.3. Average number of passengers per intercepted and arrived boat in Lesvos. Source: Elaborated from Aegean Boat Report (2022).

3.2 Reception centers for asylum seekers in Lesvos

Over the past ten years, the number of reception centers and sites for asylum-seeking migrants in Lesvos has grown and declined, based on the arrival and presence of migrants there. In 2015, because of the very large number of people in transit, several provisional sites were located in several places around the island. Many migrants were forced to stay outdoors in public spaces, parks and streets. However, in 2015, they usually were able to pass in short time through Lesvos to mainland Greece. Usually, the authorities transferred them to Athens. Lesvos was then officially designated as one of the EU migration hot-spots (Papada et al. 2019).

However, as aforementioned, when the EU-Turkey Statement was enforced in the spring of 2016, the number of arrivals declined suddenly. At that time, the initial asylum registration processes were conducted in Lesvos. Asylum seekers needed to remain much longer in Lesvos, and gradually, the length of their stay in Lesvos became longer from days and weeks to months and later even years (Jauhiainen 2017; Iliadou 2019). Over the years, the sites for asylum seekers became congested. In 2019, their number in Lesvos grew to over 20,000, over five times the formal accommodation capacity in the island’s migrant-reception centers (National Coordination Center 2019a; 2019b).

Two major sites were formed in 2015 to host asylum-seeking migrants in Lesvos. The largest one was the Moria RIC. The UNCHR and the Greek national

authorities governed it. Initially, it hosted a few thousand migrants. However, with the increase of arrivals and slow asylum process, by 2019, it hosted well over 15,000 migrants at a site initially meant for a couple thousand. Thousands of asylum-seeking migrants were obliged to stay in provisional accommodations, such as tents in the open air outside the constructed reception center (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 34–39). Overcrowding also gained regular international media attention, and violent activities occasionally occurred, such as in the autumn of 2019 (BBC 2019).

Another large site was the Kara Tepe reception center, which the local authorities designed and governed. Many of its asylum seekers were families, and there was continuous movement of selected suitable asylum seekers from Moria to Kara Tepe, which was closer to Mytilene. The site hosted slightly over 1,000 asylum seekers (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 39–42). In general, the facilities were better in Kara Tepe than in Moria.

Furthermore, other formal and informal sites hosted asylum seekers. One of the long-term sites was the (ex-)PIKPA site, which the local NGO Lesvos Solidarity ran. In a small summer camp area close to the airport, it usually hosted tens of migrants, many of them with challenges or disabilities (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 42–43).

In addition, the Iliaktidi center usually hosted a few hundred mostly vulnerable and underage migrants. Squat buildings, former factories and warehouses also existed in which asylum seekers had self-organized ways of living. Usually, few migrants lived at each site and in some larger sites, more than ten migrants. Occasionally, a few migrants were placed in guesthouses or hotels that had been converted to accommodate them. One site on the northern coast of Lesvos accommodated the newly arrived migrants before they entered the asylum process. Despite the difficulty of landing, many migrants arrived at the northern coast of Lesvos and were rescued there from the sea.

However, dramatic changes occurred in Lesvos from 2020 to 2021. First, the COVID-19 pandemic reached Lesvos in March, and the first cases among asylum seekers were identified in May (IRC 2020). At that point, not much was known about the virus, and no vaccine was available, so a national lockdown was enforced in Greece in March. This lockdown, on the one hand, reduced the number of new arrivals in Lesvos and in practice stopped them for some time. On the other hand, restrictions on asylum seekers' mobility, contacts and support were announced, which hindered the activities of many NGOs in Lesvos and their support for asylum seekers on the island (see Iliadou 2020). The Internet and social media were important tools to transmit information peer-to-peer and helped families and friends remain in contact. One special online course on making movies was available for enrolled asylum seekers in Lesvos. More administrative duties, regulations and requirements were imposed on NGOs of

which many had to close their activities in Lesvos. Having less NGOs around, the measures of the state control over the everyday lives of asylum seekers increased on the island.

Later, the presumed pushbacks from Greece to Turkey became more practiced and NGOs provided evidence that these extended also to those asylum-related migrants who had reached the island and landed on Lesvos (Aegean Boat Report 2021). According to the international news (Agence France Presse 2022), “UNHCR has recorded almost 540 separate incidents during the period 2020–2021, 40 involving at least 17,000 people who were reportedly returned by force, informally, to Turkey”. However, the Greek ministry source added that “such claims are “already under investigation as to their validity” but insisted that past checks had so far “never confirmed illegal actions (by Greece) whilst guarding its borders.”” Nevertheless, evidence on this matter has been gathered and disputed in various legal actions (see Radjenovic 2021).

Gradually, more information about COVID-19 reached asylum seekers in reception centers. However, in the congested sites, it was impossible to maintain social distancing of two meters as the authorities had suggested. Maintaining proper hygiene and using face masks was more difficult in the centers. However, the majority of asylum seekers were young, so the virus was less dangerous for them compared to the island’s much older population. The first COVID-19-related casualty among the Lesvos Greek population occurred in April 2020. It is not known whether COVID-19-related casualties also occurred among asylum-seeking migrants. The need to prevent the spread of COVID-19 was also a reason for the authorities to govern more intensively the everyday lives and bodies of the asylum-seeking migrants – a process called biogeopolitics (see Jauhiainen 2020). Tsavradoglou and Kaika (2022) presented how the COVID-19 prevention-related activities in Lesvos brought together two opposing practices. The first was the intensified state-led practices of hyper-isolation and stigmatization of asylum seekers. This included the ideas that the arriving and remaining asylum seekers increase the risks of the dispersal of the pandemic. The second was asylum seekers’ bottom-up practices of self-care and community care. These included the creation of measures against COVID-19 and the creation new sociospatial connections and caringscapes inside and outside the reception centers.

Second, fire destroyed the Moria RIC on 8 September 2020 (BBC 2020b). The events leading to the fire are still unknown. However, four Afghan asylum seekers were convicted in 2021 of intentional arson and sentenced to 10 years in prison (BBC 2021). In September, emergency hosting became necessary for more than 12,000 asylum seekers. A provisionary hotspot site with tents was established on public land close to the existing Kara Tepe center. Obviously, the facilities were poor and the site was congested, as it had to be organized very quickly. Some NGOs and journalists called the site “Moria 2.0” because of the

site's lack of facilities in the autumn of 2020. Moreover, separating the migrants with COVID-19 from the rest of asylum seekers was difficult (MacGregor 2020).

Third, the central authorities decided to close the small PIKPA site in November 2020 and the Kara Tepe center in April 2021 (OXFAM 2021). Some asylum seekers were moved to the nearby provisional site, and others were transferred to mainland Greece. Later, a provisional site was constructed as the Mavrovouni reception and identification center (see Section 3.3 below).

As of 2022, plans were made to construct a new, more guarded pre-departure center much farther from Mytilene. It would be a closed, controlled island facility similar to the one in Samos. While preparations for its construction continue in 2022, when and how it will be finished is unknown (Ekathimerini 2022).

3.3 Mavrovouni reception and identification center

Following the reorganization of the reception center system in Lesvos, including the closure of former reception centers in 2020–2021, all asylum-seeking migrants were concentrated into the newly formed reception and identification center, Mavrovouni. Asylum seekers' situation in Lesvos changed dramatically after 2019, when more than 20,000 asylum-seeking migrants were on the island. Later, in 2020, the number of arrivals substantially decreased and the number of transfers substantially increased. In the summer of 2021, more than 5,000 asylum seekers were staying in Lesvos. That number declined to 1,300 people by the summer of 2022 (Table 3.1).

The Mavrovouni reception center is located four kilometers from downtown Mytilene along the main road toward Loutrá Termis. The site extends from close to the former Kara Tepe center for 700 meters down to the main road and about 800 meters to the shoreline on the eastern part of the road. It provides access to the sea and has a hill, but it is throughout fenced (Figure 3.4).

The Mavrovouni center, run by the Greek authorities and financially supported by the EU, started as an emergency site organized in a few days after the Moria fire in September 2020. It was designed as a temporary site waiting for the construction of the new site farther from the existing population and infrastructure. However, an agreement could not be reached locally to proceed with construction. Gradually, the temporary site became more permanent. The provisional tents were replaced with containers and more solid, supportive infrastructure. At the same time, many asylum seekers were transferred to the mainland. The site's population became more appropriate for service provision there. However, many NGOs reported a lack of services, even in 2022, almost two years after the center was opened (Are You Syrious? 2022; Ceselli 2022).

The entire Mavrovouni center is fenced. The controlled and regulated access to the site is on the northwestern corner by the road. Very limited public in-

Table 3.1. Arrivals of asylum-seeking migrants to Lesbos, transfers from Lesbos to mainland Greece and the number of asylum-seeking migrants in Lesbos from mid-2021 to mid-2022.

		Arriving	Transfers	Change	Migrants in Lesbos
5-11.7.2021	week 27	1	132	-131	5071
12.7-18.7	week 28	0	131	-131	4993
19-25.7.	week 29	3	105	-102	4848
26.7.-1.8.	week 30	10	103	-93	4667
2-8.8.	week 31	0	85	-85	4655
9-15.8.	week 32	0	111	-111	4277
16-22.8.	week 33	36	35	1	4290
23-29.8.	week 34	30	96	-66	3932
30.8-5.9.	week 35	0	76	-76	3564
6-12.9.	week 36	0	64	-64	3496
13-19.9.	week 37	0	102	-102	3432
20-25.9.	week 38	26	95	-69	3400
27.9-3.10	week 39	29	77	-48	3391
4-10.10.	week 40	0	47	-47	3348
11-17.10.	week 41	15	35	-20	3348
18-24.10.	week 42	34	57	-23	3340
25-31.10.	week 43	29	261	-232	3127
1-7.11.	week 44	37	277	-240	3009
8-14.11.	week 45	65	296	-231	2669
15-21.11.	week 46	0	159	-159	2399
22-28.11.	week 47	34	74	-40	2345
29.11-5.12.	week 48	72	43	29	2339
6-12.12.	week 49	0	18	-18	2333
13-19.12.	week 50	11	35	-24	2189
20-26.12.	week 51	36	15	21	2019
27.12.-2.1.	week 52	68	34	34	2061
3-9.1.2022	week 1	23	4	19	2093
10-16.1.	week 2	11	13	-2	2103
17-23.1.	week 3	45	36	9	2098
24-30.1.	week 4	6	25	-19	2069
31.1-6.2.	week 5	0	35	-35	1904
7-13.2.	week 6	13	23	-10	1900
14.-20.2.	week 7	43	32	11	1929
21.-27.2.	week 8	0	50	-50	1879
28.2.-6.3.	week 9	0	21	-21	1869
7-13.3.	week 10	42	6	36	1901
14.3-20.4.	week 11	0	35	-35	1839
21.3-27.3.	week 12	60	44	16	1860
28.3-03.4.	week 13	6	49	-43	1737
4-10.4.	week 14	6	67	-61	1566
11-17.4.	week 15	9	75	-66	1379
18-24.5.4.	week 16	11	27	-16	1306
25.4-01.5.	week 17	48	13	35	1276
2-8.5.	week 18	64	30	34	1221
9-15.5.	week 19	54	26	28	1245
16-22.5.	week 20	22	27	-5	1216
23-29.5.	week 21	50	35	15	1238
30.5-5.6.	week 22	0	28	-28	1187
6-12.6.	week 23	17	16	1	1169
13-19.6.	week 24	116	53	63	1224
20-26.6.	week 25	135	12	123	1316
27.6-3.7.	week 26	40	28	12	1342

Source: Data from Aegean Boat Report (2022).



Figure 3.4. Mavrovouni reception and identification center in Lesvos, Greece. Source: Are You Syrian? (2022).

formation is available about the center compared to the Moria and Kara Tepe centers, partly because as of 2022, the center has existed for a shorter time, a couple of years. Also, the international and national media have paid less attention to the site. In 2020 and 2021, the COVID-19 restrictions and lockdowns made getting information about the situation inside the center difficult.

In July 2022, an unofficial overview of the site emerged. It was based on information from some of its residents and the NGOs operating there (see *Are You Syrious?* 2022). The overview provides insights into asylum seekers' everyday lives in the center, or camp, as it was called. However, it is not possible to verify the accuracy of all the overview's details. In general, it gives a critical view of the position of asylum seekers and related practices inside the site. These are subjective viewpoints of some individuals from the site that can be compared to our observations and the survey results (see Chapter 4).

The Mavrovouni center contains various types of accommodations and services for asylum seekers (Figure 3.5). According to the overview (see *Are You Syrious?* 2022), the area is divided into zones based on gender, family dynamics and nationalities. All families and most single women lived in containers in 2022. These so-called ISOboxes were also in use in the Moria and Kara Tepe centers. The containers rarely have sinks or running water and do not always have machinery for heating, cooling and ventilation. Some single women and single men remained in large white tents that are visible at a distance outside the center. The site also has offices for the UNHCR, the EASOU, the Greek police and a couple of NGOs. Basic medical health services, including those for mental health, are provided. There is also a small shop for groceries inside and some kind of small school or kindergarten.



Figure 3.5. Overview of the Mavrovouni reception center and its accommodation structures. Source: *Are You Syrious?* (2022).

In the Moria RIC, most people could leave the site freely, and many lived in the surrounding area. Over time, asylum seekers' opportunities to leave the Mavrovouni center have varied, also due to the COVID-19-related mobility restrictions. Access to the site is limited to asylum seekers and people working there. In various parts inside and outside the center were located the police and security forces in visible positions as well as special units by the entrance gate. In May 2022, a busload of riot police was located by the entrance gate. The latter was common also at the Moria center's entrance gate. The gate is the key entrance to the reception center (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6. Overview of the Mavrovouni reception center entrance.

Usually from morning to evening, one can see from a few to tens of asylum seekers walking or cycling alone or in small groups outside the center, along the main road leading to and from Mytilene. The guards by the entrance gate regulate their departures and arrivals. As of May 2022, asylum seekers could leave the site, but they could not go and come as they wished. Only those with necessary personal identification could enter and leave. Without prior notice, they could be prevented from leaving the site. Opportunities to enter and leave changed over time. According to *Are You Syrious?* (2022), in the summer of 2022, migrants could leave and return every day of the week, but such movement was

more limited during the spring of 2022 (Caselli 2022). However, the departures could take place in the morning, and returns had to happen by early evening. The belongings of people entering and leaving were inspected.

According to our observations, most migrants needed to leave for asylum-related administrative meetings nearby. Some migrants visited closely located NGOs to receive food and clothing. Some spent their time as assisting NGOs by volunteering or for their own pursuits. Tazzioli (2022b) regards volunteering also as labor exploitation of asylum seekers. In particular this refers to the situations in which they accomplish tasks that should be conducted by the asylum authorities. We met asylum seekers who found meaningful tasks to do by volunteering in the premises of certain NGOs. Though they were not paid (in terms of money), they could gain occasionally some material or social benefits, and meaningful tasks to do to feel better and sometimes also to help their peer group of migrants. We also met asylum seekers who helped the authorities by being interpreters in asylum-related interviews and other tasks. Here the boundary is blurred between being a volunteer or being exploited by the authorities.

'Having time' only for oneself is a mean to escape from being stuck in an undetermined period of detention (see Turnbull 2016) that many felt inside the reception center. They also strolled to purchase food from the nearby supermarket, Lidl. It had become an important site and practice for asylum seekers, as it was located close to the former Kara Tepe center. Some migrants regularly attended religious services or sport events held outside the center. Generally, people moved by foot to near sites or used bicycles for more distant places or to move more quickly. Many had push-cars to carry food or heavy items as well as very small children. Compared to earlier years, the proportion of bicycle and push-car users was substantially larger. This microscale mobility can also be a sign of migrants' agency and possibility to disrupt the top-down spatial control of their everyday lives (see Papatzani et al. 2022). Such mobility took place earlier also between reception centers in Lesvos but after 2021, all migrants are placed in one reception center.

According to *Are You Syrious?* (2022) and Caselli (2022), electricity-supply cuts sometimes occurred in the Mavrovouni center, as had occurred in the Moria RIC. These cuts made heating in the winter and cooling in the summer as well as charging mobile phones difficult. Food was provided inside the center, but those having several asylum rejections seemed to have fewer opportunities to obtain complimentary food inside the center. According to our observations, not all asylum seekers liked the food's flavor, so some of them cooked it for themselves and their families. A few sites were available for preparing food. Making an open fire outside was limited for security reasons as it had been in the former reception centers.

4. Main results

The age, gender and nationality of people in the Mavrovouni reception center in Lesvos on a specific date are not publicly available. Some information related to it is available in Greek national authorities' daily reports that are nowadays more difficult to access than before. Even the overall number is usually published regularly only by NGOs. Therefore, one must deduce such information from migration numbers regarding all Aegean Sea islands as well as general information about asylum seekers in Lesvos

In early May of 2022, when the fieldwork and survey were conducted, about 1,300 asylum seekers resided at the Mavrovouni reception center (Aegean Boat Report 2022). As it takes usually more than six months to process one's asylum application, (almost) all of those who had arrived in Lesvos in 2022 by early May 2022 were still there, waiting for the decision on their application. Between 1 January and 9 May, 429 asylum seekers arrived at Lesvos, and on 9 May, there were 1,276 asylum-seeking immigrants in the center, i.e., 847 more than those who had arrived in 2022.

Demographic data has been published on asylum seekers who arrived at all the Aegean Sea islands from January to June 2022 (see UNHCR 2022d). Of all 3,020 arriving asylum-seeking immigrants, almost a third (31%) were minors (0–17 years old; 11% were 0–11 years old, and 20% were 12–17 years old), a half (51%) were young adults (18–29 years old; 35% were 18–24 years old, and 16% were 25–29 years old), almost one out of five (18%) were middle-aged (30–49 years old; 14% were 30–39 years old, and 4% were 40–49 years old) and very few (1%) were 50 or older (0.8% were 50–59 years old, 0.3% were at least 60 years old). Of adult asylum seekers, 26% were women and 74% were men.

The Aegean Sea islands have distinct profiles regarding the ethnicity of arriving asylum seekers; that is, all islands differ from each other. Overall, 29% of asylum seekers to the Aegean Sea islands arrived in Lesvos from January to June 2022. The share of Afghans in Lesvos was 62% of all arrived asylum seekers on the Aegean Sea islands. Similarly, Lesvos' share of Somalis was 62%. Of Sierra Leone it was 28%, Palestinians 1%, Syrians 1% and 22% of those from other nations (UNHCR 2022d).

In addition, there was considerable variation in the age of arriving asylum seekers to the Aegean Sea island: 31% were minors, 16% were adult women and 53% were adult men. Of Afghan asylum seekers, 42% were minors, 23% were adult women and 36% were adult men; of Somali asylum seekers, 60% were minors, 21% were adult women and 19% were adult men; of Sierra Leonean asylum seekers, 9% were minors, 13% were adult women and 58% were adult men; of Syrian asylum seekers, 23% were minors, 11% were adult women and 66% were adult men; of Palestinian asylum seekers, 14% were minors, 8% were adult women and 79% were adult men; and of other nationalities, 27% were minors, 14% were adult women and 59% were adult men (UNHCR 2022d).

With the information and sources above (see Aegean Boat Report 2022; UNHCR 2022d), we can estimate the backgrounds of asylum seekers who had arrived to Lesbos by early May 2022. Between 1 January and 9 May 2022, 429 asylum-seeking immigrants arrived in Lesbos. Of them, about 155–165 (37%) were Afghan, 125–135 (30%) were Somali, 30–40 (8%) were Sierra Leonean, a few were from Syria (4–6, 1%) and Palestine (4–6, 1%) and a larger share (24%, 100–110) came from other nations, such as sub-Saharan Africa. Of all arriving asylum seekers, almost one out of four (23%, 95–105) were 0–15 years old. Of those arriving who were at least 16 years old (280–290), 73% (200–205) were 16–29 years old, 19% (50–60) were 30–39 years old, 7% (18–22) were 40–49 years old and a few (3–4; 1%) were at least 50 years old. Of those at least 16 years old who arrived in Lesbos, about 65% were men and about 35% were women.

Of the asylum seekers who were present in May 2022 in Lesbos and had arrived before 2022, the proportion who were Afghan was substantially larger than of those who arrived recently. Also, the proportion of women and children in the center was smaller than that of new arrivals, including Somali and Afghan women and children. The number of the latter is influenced by transfers of asylum seekers from Lesbos to mainland Greece. Proportionally more of women and children were transferred than of men.

4.1 Respondents' background

In total, 205 asylum-related migrants responded to the May 2022 survey in Lesbos. In the survey, not all people mentioned their ages. Of those who responded, three out of four (74%) were 16–29 years old, less than a fourth (23%) were 30–49 years old and only a few (3%) were at least 50 years old. Of respondents, almost five out of six (83%) were men, and slightly more than one out of six (17%) were women. The gender division varied among age groups (Table 4.1). As discussed above, the presumed age and gender division of the at least 16 years old asylum seekers in the Mavrovouni reception center is rather close to our sample of respondents who answered to the survey.

Table 4.1. Demographic backgrounds of respondents (%).

	Man		Woman		All		Within gender	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	Man %	Woman %
16–29 years	75	118	71	27	71	27	81	19
30–39 years	15	24	18	7	18	7	77	23
40–49 years	8	13	3	1	3	1	93	7
50+ years	2	3	8	3	8	3	50	50
Total	100	163	100	38	196	100		

According to the UNHCR (2022d), of asylum seekers who arrived at Lesbos from January to June 2022, approximately 37% were Afghans, 30% Somalis, 8% from

Sierra Leone, 1% from Palestine, 1% from Syria and 24% from other nations. Of the survey respondents who mentioned their countries of origin, 40% were Afghan (from Afghanistan and Iran), 15% were Somali, 4% were Syrian, 4% were Congolese (Brazzaville 1%, DCR 3%), 3% were Sierra Leonean, 3% were Cameroonian, 3% were Iranian, 3% were Sudanese and 24% were other nationalities. In total, the respondents came from 22 countries, including the above-mentioned and, for example, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mali and Nigeria.

Regarding the asylum-seeking-migrant population in Lesvos, it first seems the sample here has slightly too few Somalis and Sierra Leoneans whereas the proportion of Afghans, Syrians, Palestinians and many other smaller nationalities seems rather close to the real situation. Proportionally, more Somalis and Sierra Leoneans were probably among the recent arrivals to Lesvos than in earlier years, so their overall share in Lesvos is lower.

Some Afghans arrived from Iran and Pakistan. In our sample, it was evident that at least 4–5% of Afghans arrived from Iran, but there could be substantially more. Determining their country of origin is rather difficult. They might have been born in Afghanistan but migrated to Iran when they were so young that they could not remember anything about their country of birth. It is also common, especially for undocumented Afghan asylum seekers, to circulate back and forth between Afghanistan and Iran for seasonal employment (see Jauhiainen et al. 2020). Broader ‘Afghan space’ extends beyond Afghanistan, and most Afghans from Afghanistan aiming to reach Lesvos need to travel through Iran to reach Turkey. They may join other Afghans from Iran along their irregular journeys to Lesvos. Physical mobility and immobility in Iran are part of these journeys.

Table 4.2. Demographic and education backgrounds of respondents (%).

	Age (years) %				n	University education %		
	16–29	30–39	40–49	50–		Yes	No	n
Afghan man	72	18	8	3	67	19	81	69
Afghan woman	77	12	0	12	17	13	87	15
Afghan all	73	17	6	5	84	18	82	84
Somali man	96	4	0	0	26	8	92	26
Somali woman	70	30	0	0	10	13	87	8
Somali all	89	13	0	0	32	9	91	34
Other man	69	17	12	2	65	22	79	65
Other woman	64	18	9	9	11	42	58	12
Other all	68	17	12	3	76	24	76	77
Total	74	16	7	4	197	19	81	196

Of the respondents, slightly more than a third (35%) were in Lesvos with a family member, more than a half (56%) were not and we could not determine the family situation for a few (9%) (Table 4.3). We found a large gender-based difference: more than half (54%) of female respondents were with at least one family

member, but less than a third (30%) of the male respondents said the same. Of Somalis, few (25%) were in Lesvos with a family member, and these asylum seekers usually had low education levels. Somalis with high education levels were in Lesvos without a family member.

Table 4.3. Respondents having family in Lesvos (%).

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	n
Man	30	9	61	150
Woman	54	8	39	39
16–29 years old	32	8	60	139
30–39 years old	38	14	48	29
40–49 years old	55	0	46	11
50+ years old	80	20	0	5
University education	29	7	65	31
No university education	37	9	54	150
Afghan	45	8	48	78
Somali	25	11	64	36
Other	30	8	62	76
–4 months in Lesvos	18	8	75	40
5–14 months in Lesvos	42	12	47	43
15–36 month in Lesvos	44	7	49	70
37+ months in Lesvos	25	0	75	4
Total	35	9	56	190

Respondents' activities varied in their country of origin (Table 4.4). In general, one out of three (33%) was employed there. The proportion of employed respondents was particularly high (71%) among 40–49-year-olds. Many more men (39% of male respondents) than women (8% of female respondents) were employed in their countries of origin. Gender-based differences existed among ethnic groups. Nearly a half (44%) of Afghan men were employed whereas one out of eight (12%) of Afghan women was employed in their country of origin. Among Somalis, the difference in employment rate was also large between men (32%) and women (10%).

In the countries of origin, one out of five (20%) respondents had been a job seeker. Their proportion was highest among those at least 50 years old, of whom almost a third (29%) mentioned having sought a job when they left their countries of origin. Very few women (8%) had been job seekers. Of those 40–49 years old (14%) and Somalis (14%), only a few had been job seekers in their country of origin. Many of the former had already a job there, and many Somalis stayed at home.

Nearly two out of five (39%) respondents mentioned having been a student when they left their countries of origin. This category includes pupils in school, as many of the youngest (16–18 years old) respondents mentioned having been students. Almost half (47%) of the respondents under 30 years of age said they had been students in their countries of origin as did almost half of the female

respondents (48%). None of the respondents who were at least 40 years old were students. Of Somali respondents, fewer (28%) had been students than Afghan respondents (47%) or respondents from other nations (34%).

Staying at home was the response from almost one out of six (15%) respondents. We found a substantial gender division: women (38%) were several times more likely to have stayed at home than men (9%). Very few (9%) of the respondents with university education (incomplete or completed) stayed at home.

One out of five (19%) respondents had at least attended university. Of them, more than half (54%) mentioned having been students, one out of three (31%) had been employed, one out of eleven (9%) had stayed at home, one out of six (17%) had been seeking a job and almost a third (31%) had been active in something else in their countries of origin. In general, a larger proportion of women had attended university than of men. Of respondents under 30 years of age, one out of seven (14%) men and one out of five (19%) women had attended university. Of 40–49-year-old respondents, the proportion of those who had attended university was very small (2%), and none of those at least 50 years old had attended. However, we found gender-based differences in university attendance in the major ethnic groups: among Afghans, a larger proportion of men (19%) than of women (13%) had attended university, but the situation was different among Somalis (men 8%, women 13%).

Table 4.4. Respondents' activity in the country of origin (%).

	Student	Job seeker	Home	Employed	Other	n
Man	37	23	9	39	19	158
Woman	48	8	38	8	13	40
16–29 years old	47	19	11	29	11	142
30–39 years old	17	24	24	35	21	29
40–49 years old	0	14	21	71	57	14
50+ years old	0	29	29	43	43	7
University education	54	17	9	31	31	35
No university education	35	20	16	34	15	156
Afghan	47	17	12	38	17	87
Somali	28	14	28	28	11	36
Other	34	26	12	30	22	76
–4 months in Lesbos	43	10	18	25	10	40
5–14 months in Lesbos	32	20	20	32	7	41
15–36 months in Lesbos	38	24	13	40	17	72
37+ months in Lesbos	33	33	17	33	50	6
Total	39	20	15	33	18	199

4.2 Respondents' journey to Lesbos

In many cases, respondents left their country of origin or of permanent residence for several reasons. Pushing reasons and life-threatening situations made departure necessary. Some also left for reasons of convenience, indicating some

pulling factors in the potential destinations. Furthermore, depending on the moment, various reasons could be more or less important. Often the reasons mixed. Forced and voluntary migration should be understood as a continuum of experience (Erdal & Oeppen 2018). Of Somali respondents, almost a fifth (19%) mentioned multiple reasons.

More than three out of four (77%) respondents mentioned having left their countries of origin due to war or serious political or human rights reasons. More specifically, they stated, “Because of the Taliban, my life was in danger in Afghanistan,” “Seeking safety (escape from death and prison),” “I was threatened of death,” “Because of the war and insecurity” and “It was difficult to stay in Iraq; our life was under threat.” The asylum seekers criticized politics, religion and human rights policies back home: “Because of the wars, killing the people, racism, missing of safety and human rights as well as the health care and services,” “I am wanted from the government of Sudan,” “Because of the war and social and cultural issues,” “Due to the wars, the dictators and the missing of freedom and safety in addition to the conflicts, tribalism, and racism” and “Because of Boko Haram group and its attack in the country.”

Some time ago, Monsutti (2007) presented the idea that young Afghan adults consider leaving home for a foreign country as a passage to independent adulthood. These young asylum seekers might leave situations in which they had little freedom. Furthermore, minors might have been sent to the EU to pave a way for the rest of family through family repatriation. They need to travel via Turkey, but very few Afghans in Iran intend to remain in Turkey (Jauhiainen & Eyvazlu 2020). Leaving Afghanistan or Iran for the EU is not a voluntary decision for all Afghans, including the young adults. In fact, four out of five (80%) Afghans from Afghanistan mentioned war as their reason for leaving; a slightly smaller proportion of Afghans from Iran (67%) mentioned it – referring to the situation in Afghanistan. According to Crawley and Jones (2021), among Afghan migrants from Iran were, in general, those who feared being forced to return to the on-going conflicts in Afghanistan and also those who felt socio-economic inequalities in Iran. Overall, war and insecurity were the main reasons the majority all ethnic subgroups gave for leaving their country of origin (Afghans, 80%; Somalis, 63%; others, 54%). Almost one out of three (30%) other-than-Afghan and Somali respondents mentioned political and/or human rights reasons for the journey.

Economic situations in the asylum seekers' countries of origin were the reason some respondents gave for emigrating, and employment was the main reason for one out of ten Afghans (10%) and fewer Somalis (4%) and respondents from other nations (5%). The respondents stated it was impossible to live in their countries of origin for multiple reasons: “Because I did not have a permanent job,” “Because of economic condition, unemployment,” “Poverty,” “There was no schools and no jobs” and “Instability in my job.” Of the respondents, a small

group (7%) clearly indicated financial problems as their main motivation to leave their countries of origin. Of those, one out of ten (10%) were male young adults (less than 30 years old) and two out of three (67%) were Afghans. During their journeys to Lesbos, half of them (50%) worked. Two out of five (42%) wanted to be in Europe after three years, and one out of three (33%) were unsure – however, the sample was too small for more detailed analysis.

The respondents rarely mentioned education as their reason for emigrating (7% of Somalis, 4% of Afghans and none from other nations). All of them were young adult men less than 30 years old. All mentioned European countries as their desired places to live in three years and hoped to work or study there. Military conflicts had destroyed education facilities or an overall lack of such facilities prevailed in their countries of origin. This motivated them to look for better places to live in the EU, seeking, for example, a “peaceful life,” “making better life,” “finishing my studies” or “studying and being a useful person in the society” in Europe.

Few respondents (6%) left their countries of origin due to family-related reasons: 9% of Afghans, 7% of Somalis and 3% of other nations. This could mean to travel together with the family, to aim to join the family in the EU, or fleeing family-related matters in the country of origin. Almost all were men (91%), and they were from various age groups. Few (9%) had attended university in their countries of origin, of whom almost two out of three (60%) were employed, and one out of three (30%) had still been in school or studying at a university. More than two out of three (71%) wanted to be in Europe in three years to work there. In Lesbos, one out of three (27%) of them studied something. Four out of five (82%) viewed their future positively.

Reaching Lesbos is difficult for most asylum-related migrants. They have to travel to Turkey and then to the western coast. Some may enter Turkey easily, for example by air, even without a visa. Other may have to cross the Turkish border irregularly, for example through the mountains, making this journey difficult and sometimes dangerous, especially for Afghans who come from Iran (see Dimitriadi 2018; Kuschminder 2018; Jauhiainen et al. 2020; Section 3.1). Besides having risks on being caught and detained by the authorities, during their journeys these migrants are also often exploited at work and sexual violence is acted upon male and female migrants (Belanteri et al. 2020).

Finally, these migrants must cross the Turkey–Greece border irregularly. The final journey is often completed when it is dark or when visibility is low. This sea passage to Lesbos takes at least a few hours. Making this trip successfully on the first attempt has become rather rare. Many people we met mentioned that they had to try many times. Those who were able to cross the sea usually paid smugglers considerable amounts of money (see Yildiz 2021). They have to wait at the Turkish coast for the moment of departure, then cross the sea, and many of them fear the border guards pushing them back and/or intercepting them.

However, we noted differences among the migrants. In addition, comparing 2019 with 2022, the final passage from Turkey to Greece had become more challenging to migrants due to mobility restrictions and pushbacks as it was told to us. Half (50%) of the respondents mentioned that someone tried to stop them at the border, but the rest crossed with fewer interventions.

As mentioned, Greece considers Turkey a safe entry country for those who are among the most numerous asylum seekers, including Afghans and Somalis (Joint Ministerial Decision 2021; see Section 3.1). However, Turkey does not provide them international protection and refugee status. Because of the geographical limitations of the 1951 Geneva Convention, only Europeans can obtain international protection in Turkey (Kuschminder 2018).

The length of respondents' journeys to Lesvos varied (Table 4.5). Very few of the respondents (7%) spent less than one month traveling to Lesvos. More than a half (58%) spent up to six months, one out of three (34%) spent 7–24 months and one out of four (24%) spent more than two years.

Comparing the respondents by ethnic background, Somalis were usually rather fast to arrive: almost one fifth (18%) spent less than one month traveling to Lesvos, nearly three quarters (73%) up to half a year and none more than two years. Most of them used chartered planes or regular airlines to reach Turkey directly and then took a boat to Lesvos. Their differences in journey length are clear from other sub-Saharan respondents, of whom clearly fewer (7%) spent less than one month, slightly over half (53%) spent up to half a year and a few (4%) spent more than two years in their journeys to Lesvos. These respondents from sub-Saharan Africa came from several countries.

Afghans were a divided group. More than a third of them (35%) had arrived in Lesvos within six months but none within one month. Traveling by land from Afghanistan to western Turkey may take a long time, especially if one needs to travel hidden. The distance from the Afghanistan border to Lesvos is several thousand kilometers; one needs to cross international borders, and many need to use irregular migration modes. Furthermore, many need to remain in Iran from a day to months or even longer before crossing the border to Turkey (see Jauhiainen et al. 2020). However, over a third (39%) spent more than two years on the journey. The COVID-19 pandemic created additional challenges and restrictions to travel across Iran and Turkey.

All asylum-seeking immigrants come to Lesvos from Turkey, and so did every respondent. Very few (14%) mentioned specifically how long they stayed in Turkey. Of those who responded to this question, four out of five (79%) spent less than half a year in Turkey, one out of seven (14%) spent less than one year there and few (7%) spent at least two years in Turkey. Only a few Afghans specified their length of stay in Iran, but of those who did, very few (6%; fewer than in 2019, see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 53–54) mentioned having spent at least

two years there. As in 2019, of those who had arrived in Lesvos more recently, some respondents from Africa had spent years in African countries outside their countries of origin on their way to Lesvos. We also met respondents who had obtained a residence permit in an EU member state, such as Germany and Finland, but then lost their permit. They intended to return there in their second or third attempt to reach the EU. This pattern indicates the practice of circular asylum-related migration, in which one circle can take years.

Table 4.5. Length of respondents' journey to Lesvos (in months, %).

	-1	2-6	7-12	13-24	25-	n
Man	6	44	23	6	20	95
Woman	5	45	15	10	25	20
16-29 years old	7	42	23	6	22	82
30-39 years old	0	79	11	0	11	19
40-49 years old	13	13	38	13	25	8
50+ years old	0	25	50	25	0	4
University education	0	45	25	10	20	20
No university education	7	44	22	5	21	95
Afghan	0	35	22	4	39	49
Somali	18	55	23	5	0	22
Other	7	51	22	9	11	45
-4 months in Lesvos	6	44	38	3	9	32
5-14 months in Lesvos	14	48	14	10	14	29
15-36 months in Lesvos	2	42	15	8	33	52
37+ months in Lesvos	0	33	67	0	0	3
Total	6	44	22	7	21	116

Asylum-seeking immigrants' journeys entail various passages. Sometimes they need to wait and therefore have lot of free time during their journeys. Being stuck and needing to work is common, as many spend all their money if the journey becomes long. They might need to gather money to pay for smugglers. Crossing borders irregularly is always a risk. The immigrant might be stopped, especially if they do not have legal entry to the country in question or if they cannot bribe the authorities at the border. Inspections and short detainments, including of those failing to cross from Turkey to Greece, are common.

An increasing proportion of asylum-seeking immigrants are digitally connected at various stages of their journeys (Leung 2018; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020). Because they cannot meet with their friends and families, many use social media to communicate with them. Over three quarters (76%) of the respondents used the Internet during their journeys to Lesvos, at least at some stages (Table 4.6). A large proportion of Internet users during their journeys to Lesvos were Afghans (only 13% did not use it) and those with university education (only 19% did not use it). Fewer Somalis used the Internet along their journeys and did so less frequently than, for example, Afghans. A larger proportion of Somalis had not used the Internet in Somalia (see Section 4.5).

The largest proportion of daily Internet users during the journey were the respondents with university education (29%) and Afghans (26%). The same proportion (24%) of male and female respondents used the Internet at least sometimes during their journey, but daily use was much more common among men than women (27% vs. 8%). Internet use along the asylum-related journey was more common among asylum seekers with higher education levels (Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2021). Only a few respondents were over the age of 50, but most of them used the Internet, especially after leaving their home country, although not as frequently as many of the younger respondents.

Nearly two thirds (63%) of respondents mentioned making friends during their journeys to Lesvos (Table 4.6). This proportion was consistent among respondents from various backgrounds, except among the oldest respondents, those who had come to Lesvos a long time ago and Somalis. Relatively large numbers of Afghans traveled to Europe, and they spent more time in their journeys. Many more Afghans made friends during the journey (76%) than other respondents. Many traveled with a peer group from the same country. If they were not in close contact already at the beginning of their journey, many became friends with them during the journey.

Table 4.6. Respondents' journey to Lesvos (%).

	Made friends				Employed			Internet use				Stop at border			
	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Yes	No	n	Da	We	Le	No	n	Yes	No	n
Man	63	16	21	152	51	49	152	27	30	19	24	158	50	50	145
Woman	63	13	24	38	41	69	36	8	32	35	24	37	53	47	36
16–29 years old	63	15	22	138	44	56	138	19	31	24	26	141	51	49	133
30–39 years old	69	7	24	29	50	50	30	29	36	13	23	31	52	48	27
40–49 years old	69	15	15	13	82	18	11	62	15	8	15	13	55	46	11
50+ years old	40	40	20	5	40	60	5	20	20	40	20	5	20	80	5
University education	69	20	11	35	56	44	34	28	28	25	19	36	66	34	32
No university education	61	15	24	147	48	52	147	22	31	22	25	154	49	51	142
Afghan	76	30	24	78	54	46	81	26	32	29	13	84	46	54	72
Somali	49	11	40	35	37	63	35	9	37	17	37	35	43	57	35
Other	56	22	22	78	45	55	73	26	26	18	30	77	59	41	75
–4 months in Lesvos	56	13	31	39	39	62	39	12	32	20	37	41	54	46	39
5–14 months in Lesvos	60	21	19	42	44	56	41	15	34	27	24	41	43	57	42
15–36 months in Lesvos	75	10	15	69	54	46	69	34	29	23	14	73	59	41	71
37+ months in Lesvos	40	0	60	5	80	20	5	20	40	40	0	5	60	40	5
Total	63	16	22	191	48	52	189	23	31	22	24	196	51	50	182

Agr=agree; Dk= don't know; Dis=disagree; Da=daily; We=weekly; Le=less often; n=number

Employment opportunities and needs along the asylum-related journey varied between respondents (Table 4.6). Nearly half (48%) of the respondents were employed at least briefly during their journey before arriving in Lesvos. A larger proportion of men (51%) than of women (41%) were employed. However, as only 8% of women had been employed at the country of origin, far more of them

engaged with employment during the journey. A particularly large proportion (82%) of employed migrants were among 40–49 years old. Of them many had been employed also before the journey. A larger proportion of those with at least some university education (56%) than of those without a university education (48%) were employed. Fewer Somalis (37%) were employed along the journey than respondents from other countries. However, many of them reached Lesbos more quickly than people from other nations, and in general, fewer of Somalis had been employed before their departure.

Two particular groups were frequently employed during the journey to Lesbos. A large group was young adult men (19–29-years old), who comprised 49% of employed asylum-related migrants although they comprised only a fifth (21%) of all respondents. Most of them had been employed or students in their countries of origin. During their journeys, they held various occupations, mainly in industry, construction and crafts but also, for example, in agriculture. All these are jobs in which one can work for shorter periods and also without specialized skills. A larger proportion knew at least some English (84%) and used the Internet in Lesbos (98%). Remarkably few (19%) of them were with a family member in Lesbos. Being alone during the journey makes easier to work irregularly. In Lesbos, they usually spent time in a variety of activities, such as recreational ones, using the Internet, studying and working or volunteering. When asked what they would like to do in three years, the group was divided between working (46%) and studying (41%), mostly in Europe.

Among employed women during the journey was a small (6% of all respondents) but distinct group. In their countries of origin, they had been employed or students, and fewer had stayed at home. Their life goals included working, obtaining an education, building a family and securing safety. Many also mentioned general, ambitious goals, such as “being successful.” Most would not like to return to their former country, but many said that they might plan to. Over four out of five (82%) indicated they would like to work in Europe. In Lesbos, their most common ways to pass the time included various activities, such as working and volunteering. This group of women appeared to independently gather necessary finance and material resources to proceed in their everyday lives.

The journey to Lesbos took time, and not all time was about traveling, working or waiting to move on. However, three out of five (60%) respondents did not learn anything useful during their journeys or did not mention doing so in the survey. However, 40% of respondents mentioned learning something and 30% also specified what.

Most men who mentioned having learned something during their journey (46% of respondents to this question) specified what skills they had learned. They mentioned work-related skills (58%) more often than women did (44%). However, work was often necessary for women in their journeys to take care of themselves fi-

nancially. The older the respondents, the larger the proportion of them who mentioned work-related skills as useful things learned during the journey. Similarly, of those who spent more than one year in their journeys, a larger proportion (26% of all; 73% of whom mentioned at least one skill) mentioned work-related skills than of those who had spent less than one year in their journey (15% of all; 45% of whom mentioned at least one skill). Work is thus a skill one learns if the journey becomes longer. For Somalis, the most common useful thing learned during the journey was a language (86% of those who specified a skill). Many Somalis learned English before reaching Lesbos, and a large proportion traveled reasonably quickly to Lesbos. In general, Somalis were not often engaged with work during their (often relatively brief) journeys and they had not been employed in Somalia.

Among all asylum seekers, the second-most common skill obtained was language. Only a few people (5% of all respondents and 18% of those who learned a useful skill and specified it) mentioned it, but the exact figure varied a great deal among respondents. A larger proportion of Somalis (43%) than of people from other ethnic backgrounds mentioned learning English as a useful skill (for example, none of the Afghans mentioned it). Respondents did not frequently mention free-time skills, but some (11%) young adults (16–29 years old) did so.

Table 4.7. Respondents' learning of useful things during the journey to Lesbos (%).

	Yes (%)	n	Most common	Second most common	Third most common	n
Man	46	151	Work 58	Language 16	Practical 14	50
Woman	32	41	Work 44	Language 33	Practical 22, Recreational 22, Helping 22	9
16–29 years old	43	139	Work 49	Language 19	Practical 17	47
30–39 years old	30	30	Work 50, Language 50	-	-	4
40–49 years old	73	11	Work 100	Helping 20	-	5
50+ years old	33	6	Work 100	Practical 50, Recreational 50	-	2
University education	49	37	Work 57	Practical 21	Language 14	14
No university education	43	147	Work 57	Language 20	Practical 13	46
Afghan	52	84	Work 70	Recreational 15	Practical 13	32
Somali	26	35	Language 86	Mental 29	-	7
Other	41	74	Work 55	Practical 24, Language 24	Mental 14	21
-4 months in Lesbos	48	40	Work 25	Practical 20, Language 20, Mental 20	Studying 13	15
5–14 months in Lesbos	32	41	Work 42	Language 33	Mental 17, Recreational 17, Helping 17	12
15–36 months in Lesbos	53	72	Work 75	Practical 24	Language 16	25
37+ months in Lesbos	100	6	Work 75	Survival 25, Helping 25	-	4
Total	43	193	Work 57	Language 18	Practical 15	60

4.3 Respondents' current living place

Asylum-related migrants need and are being forced to become immobile along their journeys. These sites of constrained mobility, such as the reception center in Lesvos, become their current living places with many meanings. As Crawley and Jones (2021) indicated, migrants live, love and work in the places where they reside. The length of stay has an impact to get to know about the place and to form social relationships there.

Somalis had been on Lesvos for less time than those from many other nations. Of them, almost all (93%) arrived during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the majority (54%) of Afghans had been in Lesvos for more than two years, i.e., arrived in 2019 or earlier, that is, before the pandemic. This figure reflects the recent increase in the arrivals of Somalis as well as difficulties Afghan men faced in being transferred to the Greek mainland. The proportions of long-staying men (34%) and women (31%) were rather similar. More male respondents than female respondents had arrived at Lesvos recently. Among the recent arrivals were many younger respondents, i.e., those under 30 years old. Being a young male adult is the most common characteristic among asylum-seeking immigrants arriving at Lesvos (UNHCR 2022d).

One out of four (25%) respondents who told how long they had been in Lesvos had been there less than five months. Afghans and Somalis were the largest groups among the recently arrived people. They also form the largest groups in the UNHCR (2022d) statistics about the recent arrivals. Many respondents also from other nations, including Sierra Leone and Sudan, had arrived only recently. Two out of every five (40%) of the respondents had lived in Moria or other Lesvos reception centers before being moved to the current Mavrovouni center. These experiences from earlier reception centers had an impact on them and how they thought about Lesvos, Greece and their possible destinations.

Table 4.8. Length of respondents' stay in Lesvos (in months, %).

	0-4 (2022)	5-14 (3-12/2021)	15-28 (1/2020-2/2021)	2019 or earlier	n
Man	27	22	18	34	131
Woman	19	44	6	31	32
16-29 years old	30	31	12	27	121
30-39 years old	15	19	27	39	26
40-49 years old	0	0	20	80	10
50+ years old	25	0	25	50	4
University education	25	29	4	43	28
No university education	25	24	19	31	131
Afghan	13	17	17	54	71
Somali	25	68	7	0	28
Other	39	19	19	25	65
Total	25	26	16	33	164

The Greek government controls refugees' movements in Lesvos. As mentioned in Section 3.3, asylum seekers cannot leave the reception center as and when they wish, and on some days, the gate remains entirely closed. Three out of every five (60%) respondents felt their movements in Lesvos were restricted. The proportion of those feeling so increased from 2019, when it was 42% (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 59). More than two out of five (44%) asylum seekers mentioned that even if they wanted to leave the reception center, they could not do so. During the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, their movements in and out of the reception center were substantially restricted (see Iliadou 2020; Tsavradoglou & Kaika 2022). Even in the spring of 2022, the asylum seekers could not leave and enter the site as they wished. Physical immobility or limited mobility was part of their everyday lives in Lesvos.

A larger proportion of women than of men (37% vs. 28%) and of those who had been on Lesvos longer (15% of those who had been there under 5 months, growing to 50% of those who had been more than 3 years) felt restricted from leaving or unable to leave the reception center. Only 13% of those who felt very restricted had been on the island less than four months whereas 25% of all respondents felt so. Those who had been on the island longer often felt more often restricted: 35% of those who had been in Lesvos for over 15 months felt very restricted, compared to 21% of those who had been there for less time. In other words, those who have been longer time on Lesvos have felt more frequently the restrictions regarding moving out from the reception center.

In 2022, two out of every five respondents (40%) believed they could freely choose where to go after leaving Lesvos. The largest proportion of those who believed they enjoyed such free movement were young adults (20–29 years old), of whom 51% agreed. Of other age groups, 8–33% agreed they had opportunities for free movement. A large proportion of those who had been in Lesvos only for a short time also agreed (of those who had stayed less than four months, 54% agreed; of others, 25–46% agreed) as well as people other than Afghans and Somalis, especially those from African countries, including Chad, Sudan and Sierra Leone. Men agreed slightly more often than women (41% vs. 35%).

However, leaving Lesvos is not easy and some respondents might have had illusions about fast and straight-forward asylum process. As discussed in Section 2.1, asylum seekers bodies are controlled and managed in the biogeopolitical frames in which waiting time becomes indeterminate (Jauhiainen 2020). Iliadou (2019, 16–17) has critically remarked how time and waiting in the reception center(s) in Lesvos become systematic forms of state violence purposefully harming asylum-related migrants. If and when asylum seekers once leave the island, then almost six out of seven (85% agreed, 12% did not know, 3% disagreed) would like to work in Europe; this share has been very much the same in earli-

er surveys conducted among asylum seekers in Lesvos in 2016 (Jauhiainen 2017) and 2019 (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 59).

As regards the very basic amenities in the reception center, of all respondents, slightly more than three out of four (77%) agreed to have enough toilets and showers for their use (Table 4.9). This is a substantial improvement to the situation earlier when the site was congested in 2021 and when the earlier reception centers of Moria and Kara Tepe existed. In 2019, only one out of six (17%) of those living in the Moria centre, and even fewer (14%) of those living in the tent areas, mentioned to have enough toilets and showers, and that share was 38% in Kara Tepe (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 60–61). Most critical toward the amenities in the Mavrovouni center were those who had been in Lesvos for more than three years – thus possibly remembering the harsh conditions in the past.

Practicing religion became an issue for those respondents, who could not attend the services as regularly as they had visited religious services before. From respondents, more than two out of three (70%) agreed they can practice religion as they wished (Table 4.9). One out of five (21%) of women, respondents with university education and Afghans disagreed on this. Overall, slightly more than half (59%) of Afghans agreed to being able to practice religion as they wished. There is a site inside the reception center for religious purposes. According to asylum seekers, there was an Afghan asylum seeker, who performed the Muslim services. Overall, challenges in practicing religion were not significant for the majority of asylum-related migrants in Lesvos in neither 2016 nor 2019 (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 60–61).

Hardly any asylum-related migrants around the world have enough money and financial resources to get well along their everyday lives. According to the EU asylum regulations, asylum seekers receive a small monthly allowance. Nevertheless, as in surveys conducted in 2016 and 2019, also in 2022 many respondents mentioned they started to receive the financial support only after being in Lesvos for several months (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 60–61). Furthermore, those who had been rejected for several times claimed to have dropped out of financial assistance. The accommodation for asylum seekers in the reception center is complimentary, as well as the daily ration of food and water, as long as one manages to get a ration. However, one needs money to buy additional food, to use the mobile phone and the Internet and to purchase personal items or more clothing. In general, four out of five (79%) respondents mentioned they needed necessarily more money to improve their current situation (Table 4.9).

Asylum-related migrants need Internet access along their journeys. The use of the Internet has become increasingly common among them in the past ten years (see Gillespie et al. 2016; Dekker et al. 2018; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2021). For this, most convenient is to have a smart phone, that is, a mobile phone with Internet access. The migrants use them for various

purposes. These include to maintain the contacts with family and friends and to follow the situations in the country of origin. The migrants rely on the mobile Internet to acquire information on where to travel and how to reach the destination (see Section 4.5). Of all respondents, slightly less than two out of three (64%) mentioned having a mobile phone with Internet access (Table 4.9). Some respondents told that they had a mobile phone, but not Internet access on Lesvos. The situation has remained almost the same in the past because in 2016 the number was 61% and in 2019 63% (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 61).

In general, young people and young adults had been more frequent Internet and social media users in their countries of origin than older asylum-seeking immigrants. The smallest proportion (50%) of such mobile phone holders in Lesvos was respondents who were 50 or older. Somalis had considerably little access to the Internet on Lesvos (33% did not use it at all) compared to Afghans (4%) and others (15%). On average, Somalis had less mobile Internet access (61%) than Afghans but slightly more than people from other nations. A larger than average proportion of those with mobile Internet access was 40–49-year-old respondents (70%) and those having been on Lesvos for a long time (73% of those having been there for 15–36 months and 100% of those for over 37 months).

Table 4.9. Living conditions of respondents in Lesvos (%).

	Enough amenities				Mobile phone				Needing money				Practice religion			
	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n
Man	76	9	15	149	66	12	23	148	78	12	11	148	69	16	14	153
Woman	80	3	18	39	58	8	34	38	82	13	5	38	71	8	21	38
16–29 years old	76	7	17	137	66	11	23	132	79	13	8	136	68	16	17	139
30–39 years old	86	7	7	29	66	3	31	29	86	4	11	28	79	11	11	28
40–49 years old	91	9	0	11	70	15	15	13	75	17	8	12	77	15	8	13
50+ years old	83	0	17	6	50	0	50	6	100	0	0	5	100	0	0	5
University education	74	7	19	31	59	18	24	34	79	6	15	34	62	18	21	34
No university education	78	8	14	149	66	10	25	145	80	12	8	144	71	15	14	149
Afghan	78	9	13	78	73	10	17	79	85	8	8	80	59	20	21	81
Somali	71	11	17	35	61	10	29	31	84	13	3	31	79	9	12	34
Other	78	4	18	76	56	12	33	77	70	16	15	76	77	12	12	77
–4 months in Lesvos	83	10	7	41	61	11	29	38	71	13	16	38	68	25	8	40
5–14 months in Lesvos	79	5	16	43	60	14	26	42	83	13	5	40	73	15	12	41
15–36 months in Lesvos	74	10	16	68	73	10	17	70	86	7	7	71	70	13	18	72
37+ months in Lesvos	50	0	50	4	100	0	0	5	60	20	20	5	60	20	20	5
Total	77	7	16	189	64	11	25	187	79	12	10	187	70	15	16	192

Agr=agree; Dk= don't know; Dis=disagree; n=number; Enough amenities=In Lesvos, there are enough toilets, showers, etc. for my use; Mobile phone=In Lesvos, I have own mobile phone with Internet access; Needing money=I need necessarily more money to improve my current situation; Practice religion=In Lesvos, I can practice my religion as I want

Lesvos is both physical and social environment where asylum seekers and other asylum-related migrants experience their everyday lives (Table 4.10). They meet a lot of people in Lesvos along the time spent there. Having friends in Lesvos makes life more bearable. Nearly three out of four (73%) asylum seekers had made friends in Lesvos, and this proportion was almost the same between men (73%) and women (71%). Also, 40–49-year-olds had made friends more often than average (92%). As a remark, this age group is in many ways active: many are employed, having friends and still active in the Internet. Many respondents made friends in Lesvos rather quickly. Of those having been in Lesvos up to four months, more than half (54%) had made friends there. Those who had been on the island for a long time had often made friends there (100% of those being there for more than three years and 86% of those who had been there for 15–36 months). In addition, with the time passing in Lesvos, the respondents started to have more contacts in Greece outside Lesvos. Of those, who had recently arrived in Lesvos, one out of five (19%) had contacts in Greece outside Lesvos. That share grew to one out of three (33%) among those who had been in Lesvos from one to three years. Three out of four (75%) respondents, who had been in Lesvos for more than three years, had contacts in Greece outside Lesvos.

Some asylum-seeking immigrants in Lesvos feel safe and others not. An important everyday experience for them is to feel—or not to feel—safe and treated well there. Slightly over half (53%) of all respondents agreed that they felt safe in Lesvos, and over one out of four (27%) disagreed (20% did not know how to answer). This is a major improvement over the situations in Lesvos in earlier years. In 2016, in the Moria RIC, only 19% of asylum seekers and 22% in the Kara Tepe reception center felt safe, and in 2019, 23% of asylum seekers in Moria and 35% in Kara Tepe felt safe (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 62). Fewer women (49%) than men (55%) felt safe, but the proportions of those who disagreed with this statement by gender were very close (26% and 27%, respectively). Those who had been on the island for a shorter time felt safer than those who had been there longer. Longer-stayers had experiences of the Moria RIC and the situation immediately after the Moria fire, when the new center was very crowded in emergency situations. A larger proportion of Somali respondents (68%) felt safe than of Afghans and other respondents, but their share of newcomers was also higher.

Asylum seekers need to be treated well during the asylum process. Slightly more than two out of five (43%) felt they were treated well in Lesvos (28% in 2019). Again, this proportion differed only slightly between men (44%) and women (41%). Younger respondents more often felt treated well, possibly because many of them had shorter experience of life in the reception center. Of Afghan respondents, 38% felt treated well, almost equal to the proportion of Somalis (40%) but fewer than that of those from other nations (50%) who felt the same.

Earlier reports (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 63) showed a statistically significant relationship between feeling treated well and feeling safe in Lesvos. Those who felt safe in Lesvos often also felt treated well there. We also found that those who felt safe in Lesvos were more likely to trust people who tried to help them. Perceived safety has improved substantially over the years among asylum seekers in Lesvos. For women, the proportion of those feeling treated well clearly increased from 2016 (15%) to 2019 (28%) and 2022 (41%). For men, the changes have not been as linear: 31% of men felt safe in Lesvos in 2016, 27% in 2019 and 44% in 2022 (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 63).

Asylum-seeking immigrants in Lesvos are not Europeans, but the border guards, the police, the reception center managers and most of the NGO staff are Europeans, often citizens of EU member states, hence the difference in people's nationality and physical appearance. One does not have to ask whether discrimination exists in Lesvos but how much it exists and in what forms. Racist behavior toward asylum seekers has been discovered in Lesvos, often from politically right-wing people, as in many other places in Europe. Although race might be disappearing from the documentation regarding asylum seekers, racialization of asylum-seeking immigrants occurs as does racist behavior and the asylum seekers' feeling of being mistreated because of their non-European background (see Mavelli 2017). Nearly two out of five (39%) respondents stated they felt mistreated in Lesvos because they were not European (33% in 2019), more than one out of four (28%) did not know how to answer and a third (34%) disagreed with the statement.

More women (43%) than men (38%) and more than two out of five (44%) of the youngest (16–18 years old) respondents felt discrimination due to their ethnic origins. Of Afghans, 44% felt such mistreatment, of Somalis (32%) and people from other nations (36%) slightly less. However, of other sub-Saharan respondents, a larger proportion (52%) responded affirmatively. In general, the longer the respondent had stayed in Lesvos, the larger was the proportion of those who felt mistreated because they were not European. This suggests that asylum-related migrants having clearly distinguishable physical features from the local population in Lesvos are more prone to feel mistreatment.

The proportion of respondents who felt mistreated had grown from 2019, when it was 33%. Such change is interesting because at the same time, many respondents feel safer and have more access to basic amenities. However, we found gender differences here: of women in 2016, 27% felt mistreated in Lesvos because of their non-European origin, and this proportion increased to 37% in 2019 and 43% in 2022 whereas that of men dropped from 45% in 2016 to 32% in 2019, after which it rose to 38% (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 63).

Table 4.10. Social aspects of respondents' life in Lesvos (%).

	Made friends				Treated well				Feel safe				Mistreatment			
	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n
Man	73	8	18	154	44	18	39	153	55	18	27	152	38	30	32	140
Woman	71	11	18	38	41	30	30	37	49	26	26	35	43	18	40	40
16–29 years old	73	9	18	140	46	19	35	140	52	22	26	135	38	29	34	130
30–39 years old	76	0	24	29	38	28	35	29	62	17	21	29	48	22	30	27
40–49 years old	92	0	8	12	25	17	58	12	58	8	33	12	27	36	36	11
50+ years old	60	20	20	5	20	20	60	5	40	20	40	5	17	50	33	6
University education	77	17	6	35	50	23	27	30	48	26	26	31	31	31	38	29
No university education	73	7	21	149	40	20	40	152	54	20	27	149	41	28	31	143
Afghan	85	9	6	80	38	33	39	80	46	27	28	79	44	31	25	75
Somali	66	3	31	35	40	20	40	35	68	12	21	34	32	32	36	31
Other	64	12	24	78	50	17	33	76	55	17	28	75	36	23	41	75
–4 months in Lesvos	54	8	39	39	50	18	33	40	64	22	15	41	30	38	33	40
5–14 months in Lesvos	74	7	19	42	43	26	29	42	59	20	22	41	33	33	33	39
15–36 months in Lesvos	86	7	7	71	30	24	47	71	38	23	39	69	53	22	25	68
37+ months in Lesvos	100	0	0	6	25	25	50	4	40	20	40	5	50	25	25	4
Total	73	9	18	194	43	20	37	191	53	20	27	188	39	28	34	181

Agr=agree; Dk= don't know; Dis=disagree; n=number; Made friends=In Lesvos, I have made friends during my stay here; Treated well=In Lesvos, I am treated well; Feel safe=In Lesvos, I am safe; Mistreatment = In Lesvos, I am mistreated because I am not European.

Asylum seekers have to spend long time in the reception center. Time passes day by day but one can feel that it does not move. However, one can feel the time in Lesvos also as that of creativity. On the one hand, one is stuck in the asylum process. On the other hand, there are possibilities to think and reflect meaningfully into what one has achieved or lost, as well as how to look forward (Tsagarousianou 2022). In fact, Crawley and Jones (2021) noted that not all migrants in the reception centers spend every day thinking about how to travel onwards to Europe. Two out of five (40%) respondents (32% in 2019, see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 65) mentioned having learned something useful in Lesvos—this proportion was slightly lower than that of those learning something useful during the journey to Lesvos (43%) (Table 4.11). Learning can be purposeful searching for better future such as trying to learn the language one needs in Europe to where one aims to travel.

Learning in Lesvos occurred almost equally between men (40%) and women (38%). Among all respondents, the English language was the most commonly mentioned useful thing they learned: a third (33%) of those who had mentioned at least one skill they had learned specified it (9% of all respondents). English is the language of communication with most authorities and NGOs and is often used between asylum seekers from different ethnic backgrounds. We found no clear connection between the time spent in Lesvos and the feeling of learning something useful. In fact, of those who had spent up to four months in Lesvos, almost half (47%) felt that they had learned something useful. The proportion

was only slightly higher among those who had been in Lesvos for more than three years (50%). In the very beginning of the asylum process, asylum seekers have many new things to learn. Some try to learn the local language, Greek.

Very few respondents mentioned the second- or third-most common useful things they learned in Lesvos: the former by 6% of all respondents (22% of those who had learned something useful) and the latter by 4% (16% of those who had learned something useful). The second- and third-most frequently mentioned group of skills were mental ones, such as values and kindness, and recreational ones, such as sports, painting and playing guitar. However, the skills and their frequencies varied among the respondent subgroups (Table 4.11). Learning is also dependent on the opportunities such as NGOs providing courses one can attend to learn new skills.

Table 4.11. Respondents' learning useful things in Lesvos (%).

	Yes (%)	n	Most common	Second most common	Third most common	n
Man	40	146	Language 46	Mental 25	Work 16	44
Woman	38	34	Recreational 40, Language 40	Mental 10, Practical 10, Studying 10		10
16–29 years old	45	128	Language 50	Recreational 21	Mental 18	44
30–39 years old	24	29	Mental 50	Work 33, Language 33	Studying 17	6
40–49 years old	42	12	Helping 50	Mental 25, Working 25, Survival 25	-	4
50+ years old	17	6	Work 100	-	-	1
University education	49	33	Mental 39	Language 31	Work 23	13
No university education	40	139	Language 48	Mental 17, Recreational 17	Work 12	42
Afghan	38	81	Recreational 32	Language 36	Work 23	22
Somali	38	29	Language 89	Mental 11	-	9
Other	44	71	Language 33	Mental 29	Practical 17	24
<4 months in Lesvos	47	38	Language 56	Mental 25	Practical 13, Studying 13	16
5–14 months in Lesvos	46	37	Language 62	Mental 23, Recreational 23	Work 8, Helping 8	13
15–36 months in Lesvos	42	72	Language 27, Recreational 27	Mental 23	Work 18	22
37+ months in Lesvos	50	6	Work 50, Survival 50	-	-	2
Total	40	181	Language 44	Mental 22	Recreational 16	55

The asylum-seeking immigrants have a lot of time in Lesvos while their asylum-application process slowly progresses. As mentioned in Section 2.1, by being from certain nationality may put the asylum seeker on a faster track in the asylum process. Being from another nationality, who usually does not get asylum, means to remain even years in the asylum process in Lesvos (see Tunabouly & van Liempt 2021). No one knows how long the process will take, how long they will

stay in Lesvos or where they will move in the end. Furthermore, only rarely asylum seekers know the rules of the asylum system in detail. Lacking knowledge of the asylum system and unexpected changes in procedures disorient them. Such disorientation is a constitutive political technology of refugee governance.

Almost half of the respondents (45%) stated that their main activity in Lesvos was to be engaged with various activities, such as using the Internet, playing sports or completing mundane tasks. This was much more common in 2022 than in 2019 or 2016 in the reception centers in Lesvos. Regarding their age, 93% of those mentioning activities were less than 40 years old. Slightly over half (54%) were Afghans, and among Afghans, that proportion was 45%. Many (30%) had arrived at Lesvos less than five months ago. Regarding their skills, the group was divided: one out of five (21%) had studied at a university whereas 79% had not. A half (51%) knew at least some English. Very few of them planned (4%) or wanted (9%) to return to their countries of origin. Many (90%) expressed a desire to work in the EU, and almost four out of five (76%) saw their future positively.

Almost one out of three (28%) respondents who mentioned what they do on a normal day in Lesvos mentioned spending the majority of their time in Lesvos studying. Following the resettlement of asylum seekers in the new reception center in 2021, the opportunities to study decreased substantially. Earlier, NGOs had provided a variety of courses to study English or Greek or basic computer skills as well as other specific subjects inside the reception center or in its immediate vicinity. Most activities ceased after the resettlement and because of the restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, as a specific example, a course on making movies was offered online for enrolled asylum seekers during the pandemic. The NGO provided the online access and the needed infrastructure so the asylum seekers could take the course for free. The age of these study-oriented respondents varied as well as their activities in the country of origin. Half of them (49%) knew at least some English, and four out of five (82%) used the Internet in Lesvos. Over three out of four (77%) stated that they did not plan to return to their countries of origin.

One out of five (20%) of the respondents had spent most of their free time in Lesvos working. These people came from various age groups, but slightly more than four out of five (84%) were men. Back home, four out of five (81%) had been students or had a profession. Most were also socially oriented because four out of five (81%) had made friends during the journey to Lesvos and almost all (94%) while in Lesvos. Almost all knew English and used the Internet in Lesvos. Two out of five (41%) wanted to be in Europe within three years to work or study there. Very few disagreed when asked if they see their future positively. Working does not necessarily mean that one receives a proper salary or salary at all as Tazzioli (2022b) has indicated. Unpaid labor is common among asylum seekers.

Nearly four out of five (78%) of respondents answered the question asking about the best aspects of their lives in Lesvos. This is not to claim that so many

people were happy and satisfied in the reception center and Lesvos. The two most common answers to this question were “nothing” (19% responded that nothing could be considered the best aspect in Lesvos) or a specific negative complaint (19%) regarding challenges in Lesvos or other undesirable aspects of their current lives. Nearly one out of five (18%) respondents, in particular Somalis (37%) and those having been in Lesvos only for a few months (24%), stated safety was the best aspect. As mentioned, safety had improved in Lesvos as regards the reception center in 2022 compared with those in 2019 and 2016. In addition, by mentioning the respondents probably reflected their very recent dangerous experiences of crossing the Aegean Sea. More frequently, women (26%) and those with a university education (20%) stated the people were the best aspect in Lesvos (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12. Respondents’ best aspect of life in Lesvos (%).

	Yes %	n	Most common	Second most common	Third most common
Man	78	127	Nothing 23	Complaints 21	Safety 17
Woman	76	31	People 26	Safety 19, Other 19	Health 16
16–29 years old	79	115	Complaints 24	Safety 17	Nothing 17
30–39 years old	74	23	Nothing 26	Safety 22	The future 13, Basic needs 13, People 13
40–49 years old	93	13	Safety 23, Nothing 23	Work 15	The future 8, I don't know 8, Other 8
50+ years old	71	5	The future 40, Other 40	Nothing 20, Studying 20	-
University education	81	30	People 20	Nothing 17, Complaints 17	Other 13
No university education	78	124	Nothing 19, Complaints 19	Safety 18	The future 15
Afghan	80	70	Nothing 33	People 16	Complaints 14
Somali	73	27	Safety 37, Complaints 37	Health 22	Studying 15
Other	78	62	Safety 16, Complaints 16, Other 16	The future 15, People 15	Nothing 10
–4 months in Lesvos	83	34	Safety 24	Studying 18	Activities 15, Complaints 15, Other 15
5–14 months in Lesvos	74	32	Complaints 25	Safety 19, People 19	Health 16
15–36 months in Lesvos	88	65	Nothing 28	Safety 17, Complaints 17	The future 15
37+ months in Lesvos	100	6	The future 33, Nothing 33	Activities 17, People 17, Complaints 17	-
Total	78	159	Nothing 19, Complaints 19	Safety 18	The future 13, People 13

The respondents encountered challenges in their journeys to Lesvos and in their everyday lives in Lesvos. Nevertheless, three out of five (60%) of all respondents

(67% of those who responded to this question) agreed that they see their future positively (Table 4.13). This proportion was slightly higher (70%) among asylum seekers in Lesvos in 2019 (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 63–69). Seeing the future positively varied slightly among all respondent subgroups. A larger proportion of men (69%) than of women (56%) saw their future positively. Proportionally more Afghans (71%) saw their future positively than Somalis (63%) or respondents from other nations (64%). Those having been in Lesvos for more than three years, those being at least 50 years old and Afghans in general were the groups who less often disagreed with the statement of seeing their future positively (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13. Respondents seeing their future positively (%).

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	n	Answered to question (%)
Man	69	21	10	148	91
Woman	56	23	21	39	95
16–29 years old	68	22	10	135	93
30–39 years old	71	21	7	28	90
40–49 years old	64	14	21	14	100
50+ years old	75	25	0	4	57
University education	66	14	20	35	95
No university education	67	23	10	144	91
Afghan	71	27	3	79	90
Somali	63	19	19	32	87
Other	64	17	20	77	96
–4 months in Lesvos	77	13	10	39	95
5–14 months in Lesvos	60	28	13	40	93
15–36 months in Lesvos	68	25	7	72	97
37+ months in Lesvos	100	0	0	5	83
Total	67	21	12	188	92

4.4 Respondents' migration aspirations and plans

Asylum-related migrants aspire where they wish to travel, and sooner or later many start to plan such journeys. These aspirations are their subjective perceptions about opportunities and life out of their country of origin and their current everyday environment in Lesvos (see de Haas 2021). Regarding this, the respondents mentioned their most preferred migration destinations, i.e., places to which they would like to travel—Lesvos was not their goal. Migration aspirations are socially situated, also within their peer group of migrants but also future-oriented (Carling & Schewel 2018).

There were similarities and differences in asylum-related migrants' choices. On the one hand, each individual had their own personal ambitions and perceptions of countries and places there. These might be based on reading about these places on the Internet or seeing them on television. Someone the person knows might have visited that country or currently live there and passed related subjective information and experiences forward to the person. There are also

many contextual factors that influence each respondent's preferences and rankings of the best places to which to travel (Mallett & Hagen-Zanker 2018). Personal preferences and contextual factors change over time based on individuals' experiences and additional information they receive.

The variation in respondents' preferences was evident, as fewer than one in four respondents (23%) who mentioned at least one preferred destination mentioned the same country – Germany. The ranking of Germany as the most preferred country was rather consistent among many categories of respondents but it was substantially higher among women (36%) and Afghans (36%) (Table 4.14). In addition, more than a third (37%) of the respondents agreed with the statement, “Germany is the most preferred country for me in Europe,” but about the same proportion (36%) did not know how to answer, and slightly over one out of four (27%) disagreed with the statement (Table 4.15). Everyone has heard about Germany, but not so many know much about it. A proportionally larger share of respondents who agreed that Germany is preferable were over 50 years old (67% of them) and female (45% of them). The lowest share of respondents who stated that Germany was their most preferred country was among those who had arrived the most recently to Lesvos (15%) and those who were 40–49 years old (21%). However, of the most recently arrived, almost half (48%) were uncertain about how to answer this statement. This indicates that not all of them had made up their minds about the ranking of preferred countries. Based on this survey, those who had been on Lesvos a shorter time were not sure whether to state that Germany was their preferred destination. The share of uncertain asylum-related migrants has risen over the years from 21% in 2016 to 25% in 2019 and 36% in 2022 (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 71).

For Somalis, those with a university education, 40–49-year-old respondents and those who had been in Lesvos for more than three years, the country in which they most aspired to live was Finland. Finland was the most preferred country among Somalis in 2019 as well (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 70–71) whereas it was Germany for the remaining groups defined by their background variables. However, the fact that the survey was conducted by Finns may have influenced some respondents to mention Finland.

Over the years, asylum-related migrants have been asked whether they would consider seeking a residence permit in Finland. The answers have been rather consistent: in 2022, 52% stated that they would, compared to 56% in 2019 and 50% in 2016. The answers showed that many had not considered this before, i.e., the share of uncertain people was large and grew over the years (32% in 2022, 30% in 2019 and 29% in 2016). Compared with earlier years, a slightly larger share in 2022 stated that they would definitely not ask for a residence permit in Finland (16%) than in 2019 (14%); this was smaller than the figure for 2016 (21%; Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 70).

Other exceptions regarding the most preferred country in 2022 among respondents were those who had only recently arrived to Lesbos. The largest share of them preferred the United Kingdom as their destination. In fact, irregular migration to the United Kingdom has grown substantially since 2021 (Home Office 2022).

Comparing 2019 with 2022, it becomes evident that there are trends among asylum-related migrants' preferences. For example, in 2019, Canada was mentioned often, but only a few times in 2022 (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 71). Instead, in 2022, among respondents from nations other than Afghans and Somalis, Greece was mentioned most often as the most preferred country, but it did not appear in 2019. The situation in Lesbos and its reception center had improved, so respondents saw their limited experiences of being in Greece positively. However, those who had been in Greece and Lesbos for a longer time rarely mentioned Greece among their most preferred countries. The vast majority mentioned EU member states as their most preferred places to live (Table 4.14).

Asylum-related migration is rarely linear from the country of origin to a destination country decided upon well before the departure (see Carling & Schewel 2018; Crawley & Jones 2018; Gonzales et al. 2018; Constant 2020). People may also need to turn back and return to the country in which they lived before starting the journey. In Lesbos, very few (6%) of the respondents planned to return for sure to their countries of origin, and almost four out of five (78%) definitely did not plan to return (Table 4.15). This proportion has remained much the same over the years. Those planning to return for sure was 6% in 2016 and 4% in 2019 (Jauhiainen 2016; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 72). Lesbos is a crucial point for respondents along their asylum-related journeys, as it represents the entrance to the EU, to which most were planning to migrate. Therefore, to turn back would mean to fail in their migration journeys. However, despite not aiming to return, over two out of five (44%) respondents said to miss the landscape of their home region. This share was almost the same between men (45%) and women (44%).

In 2022, the largest share of those planning for sure to return, one out of six respondents (17%), were those who had been in Lesbos for more than three years; however, the sample was very small. The asylum process had shown some of the long-stayers that it would be difficult to reach Europe; nevertheless, five out of six of them (83%) still definitely did not plan to return. In addition, one out of nine (11%) respondents with higher education levels were planning to return. Not planning to return does not mean that all respondents would be able to remain in the EU; most likely a minority of respondents will obtain residence permits in one of the EU member states. Proportionally fewer men, younger respondents and those who were engaged with many activities such as volunteering or working in Lesbos were among those few who definitely planned to return to their country of origin.

Of women, more than a third (36%) were uncertain about their future migration—that is they considered perhaps planning to return to their former home countries. However, very few (3%) were sure about planning to return, so return was considered only as an option (Table 4.15). Of Afghans, one out of five (20%) considered a plan to return (5% sure, 15% maybe). This share was slightly higher among other respondents, namely one out of four (26%) Somalis considered a plan to return (3% sure, 23% maybe), while one out of four (25%) respondents from other nations considered a plan to return (8% sure, 17% maybe). The larger share of Somalis thinking about returning was evident also in their larger share of feeling nostalgia. Of Somalis 56% responded to miss the landscape of the home region whereas that share was 45% for Afghans and 39% for other nationalities. Among those who were sure about returning, for example, some respondents were from Afghanistan, Cameroon, Nigeria and Somalia. Compared with earlier years, Somali respondents in 2022 were more confident about remaining in Europe rather than planning to return to Somalia, whereas slightly more Afghans and respondents from other nations also considered returning (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2022, 72).

Table 4.14. Respondents' most preferred places to live (of those responded, %).

	Yes %	Most common	Second most common	Third most common	n
Man	74	Germany 20	Finland 19	UK 15	121
Woman	76	Germany 36	Finland 7, Canada 7, Safe/free country 7, Ireland 7, I don't know 7, Any country 7, Switzerland 7	UK 3, Greece 3, Abstract 3, Netherlands 3, Belgium 3, Congo (Brazzaville) 3, Sweden 3, Italy 3	31
16–29 years old	75	Germany 22	Finland 12, UK 12	Canada 10	109
30–39 years old	81	Germany 24, Finland 24	UK 16	Any country 12	25
40–49 years old	86	Finland 42	Germany 17, UK 17, Greece 17, Switzerland 17	Safe/free country 8, Europe 8, France 8, Belgium 8	12
50+ years old	57	Germany 50	Greece 25, Abstract 25	-	4
University education	68	Finland 20	Germany 16, UK 16	France 12	25
No university education	78	Germany 25	Finland 15	UK 12	124
Afghan	80	German 34	Finland 14	UK 11, Abstract 11	70
Somali	62	Finland 35	Iceland 13, Any country 13	Germany 9, Canada 9, Europe 9, Netherlands 9	23
Other	75	Greece 22	UK 17	Germany 15	60
–4 months in Lesbos	78	UK 31	Greece 19	Germany 9, Finland 9	32
5–14 months in Lesbos	84	Germany 17, Finland 17	UK 11, Canada 11	Safe/free country 8, Europe 8	36
15–36 months in Lesbos	93	Germany 36	Finland 16	Abstract 9	74
37+ months in Lesbos	100	Finland 67	UK 33, Abstract 33	France 17	6
Total	75	Germany 23	Finland 16	UK 12	153

Table 4.15. Migration aspirations of respondents in Lesbos (%).

	Germany				Finland				Plan to return to home country				Would like to work in Europe			
	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Yes	Mb	No	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n
Man	35	37	28	148	54	32	15	152	5	12	83	161	85	13	2	150
Woman	45	30	25	40	45	35	20	40	8	36	56	39	85	10	5	39
16–29 years old	36	37	27	135	49	36	15	138	4	20	77	143	85	13	2	133
30–39 years old	46	29	25	28	68	21	11	28	7	13	80	30	93	7	0	30
40–49 years old	21	36	43	14	64	21	14	14	7	7	86	14	86	14	0	14
50– years old	67	33	0	6	50	17	33	6	0	14	86	7	100	0	0	6
University education	38	32	30	34	57	29	14	35	11	22	67	36	83	11	6	35
No university education	37	37	26	146	50	33	17	149	4	14	82	158	86	13	1	147
Afghan	42	35	23	79	57	27	16	82	5	15	81	88	90	10	0	81
Somali	33	42	24	33	63	34	3	32	3	23	74	35	81	19	0	31
Other	34	34	33	77	43	37	20	79	8	17	76	78	82	12	6	78
–4 months in Lesbos	15	48	38	40	33	51	15	39	5	13	83	40	85	13	3	40
5–14 months in Lesbos	39	42	20	41	50	43	8	40	5	26	69	42	87	10	3	39
15–36 months in Lesbos	49	24	27	70	62	21	18	73	3	14	84	74	89	10	1	73
37– months in Lesbos	0	25	75	4	83	17	0	6	17	0	83	6	100	0	0	5
Total	37	36	27	189	52	32	16	193	6	17	78	201	85	12	3	190

Agr=agree; Dk=don't know; Dis=disagree; Mb=Maybe; n=number of respondents; Germany=My most wished destination in Europe is Germany; Finland=Finland is maybe a country to seek residence permit for me; Plan to return=Do you plan to return to your country of origin?; Would like to work=I would like to work in Europe

The respondents also considered their near-time migration aspirations. They mentioned the preferred countries where they would like to be in three years (i.e. in 2025) and what they would like to do there. Of respondents, who answered this, the largest share mentioned that they would like to work in that country (Table 4.16). The exception was Finland, in which the respondents divided into equally large groups between those wanting to study (38%) or work (38%) there. However, all the above-mentioned were about the respondents' aspirations. Whether they are able to reach these aspirations depend on their capabilities, that is, their ability to control their lives and enhance their substantive real choices to live the lives they value (de Haas 2021). Being in legal limbo in Lesbos means that the contextual and top-down policies play a substantial role over their individual capabilities (see also Nimführ & Sesay 2019).

Table 4.16. Respondents desiring to move in three years and having activities in that country (%).

	Work	Study	Better life	Live in peace	Family	Return	I don't know	Other	n
Germany	47	29	0	0	3	0	8	13	38
Finland	38	38	13	0	4	0	0	8	24
Greece	50	28	0	6	6	0	11	0	18
UK	46	15	0	0	0	8	8	15	13
Switzerland	63	25	0	0	0	0	0	13	8

4.5 Respondents' Internet and social media uses

Earlier studies indicated that asylum-related migrants, including asylum seekers, undocumented migrants and refugees, tended to become active Internet users during their journeys, especially when their situations become more stable. The digital divide becomes narrower. However, due to external contexts, usually very few are able to use the Internet and social media frequently throughout their asylum-related journeys (Gillespie et al. 2016; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020; Jauhiainen & Tedeschi 2021; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2021; Jauhiainen et al. 2022).

Of all the respondents, one out of eleven (9%) replied that they had used the Internet daily in their country of origin, during their journey and in Lesvos; thus, they were very intensive Internet-users through their asylum-related journeys so far. Characteristic of these intensive Internet-users were that none were at least 50 years old, two out of three (67%) were 16–29 years old, and five out of six (83%) knew at least some English. Among them were many Afghans and some from other parts of the Middle East and Africa, but not from Somalia—the latter perhaps due to their shorter journey to Lesvos. Many had also already been in Lesvos for quite a long time. Of them, 78% had been there longer than 14 months while 78% of non-users had been in Lesvos for less than 15 months.

On the contrary, even fewer (6%) were those who had not used the Internet in their countries of origin, during the journey or in Lesvos—that is, they were absolute non-users of the Internet. Surprisingly, they consisted of young respondents, with 92% being under 30 years old. Among the non-users were many Somalis but only a few Afghans. The share of women was slightly higher in the nonuser group: 11% were daily users in all stages of their journey, and 15% had never used the Internet, but only a few responded to the question. The groups of intensive users and nonusers were both small, indicating that at least a modest use of the Internet was widespread among respondents. There were some difficulties in accessing networks and sometimes a need to change their devices. Comparing the groups of intensive Internet-use and non-use, the intensive users had higher education levels more often than those who never used the Internet: a few (17%) of the frequent users had attended university compared with none in the group that did not use the Internet at all. Almost all intensive Internet users had mobile phones with Internet access in Lesvos (83% had and only 11% did not have), compared with the 8% having mobile Internet access among those who never used the Internet – again the groups were small. The nonusers lacked a principal device to access the Internet, as in their country of origin. Compared with non-Internet users, intensive users were more socially oriented as they more often made friends both during their journeys to Lesvos (83% vs. 55%) and while in Lesvos (83% vs. 55%). Of both these groups, only a

few respondents considered returning to their countries of origin. Remarkably more of the intensive Internet users saw their future more positively than nonusers: 78% of daily Internet users agreed, and only 6% disagreed on seeing one's future positively, compared with 46% of non-users agreeing and 18% disagreeing.

While the narrowing of the first- and second-level digital divides was also evident in 2016 and 2019 in Lesvos, there were a few changes when the situation in 2019 is compared with that of 2022 (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 73–77). First of all, the overall share of Internet users among asylum-related migrants in the country of origin was larger in 2019 (85%) compared with those in 2022 (76%). Similarly, during the journey to Lesvos, the share of Internet users was higher in 2019 (88%) than in 2022 (76%), obviously, because the initial share of the Internet-users was higher in 2019. This may indicate differences in the overall composition and character of asylum-related migrants, i.e. that among those who arrived in 2022 to Lesvos were more individuals from more remote and peripheral contexts. This was the case for some Somalis whose share increased in Lesvos substantially from 2019 to 2022. However, the overall share of Internet-users in Lesvos did not practically differ between the years of 2019 (85%) and 2022 (86%). In 2022, there was a growth in the Internet use in Lesvos compared to the country of origin or the journey in almost every respondent group (Table 4.18). This indicates an increase in digitally-mediated communication among asylum-related migrants as well as a narrowing in the digital divide (see also Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2020). The share of the Internet use in Lesvos compared with the country of origin decreased only among the 30–39-year-olds and Somalis. Some Somalis who had arrived only recently had temporary challenges in their Internet access. However, the share of daily Internet users among Somalis rose in Lesvos.

Secondly, in Lesvos, to begin to use the Internet was different in 2022 compared to 2019. In 2022, it was easier for asylum-related migrants to access the Internet than in 2019 from the time of their arrival. In 2022, among recent arrivals, the share of daily Internet users was higher (55%) than in 2019 (47%). In principle, reception centers did not provide complimentary access to the Internet in 2019 or 2022, but the conditions for possessing a smart phone and suitable SIM card were better in 2022. In 2019, of the asylum-related migrant respondents, 63% were sure to possess a mobile phone with Internet access, and this share was 64% in 2022. The share of those disagreeing was 29% vs. 25%, respectively (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 61). However, the access to electricity was better in 2022 compared with that in 2019.

Table 4.17. Respondents' Internet use (%).

	In home country					During journey					In Lesvos				
	D	W	L	N	n	D	W	L	No	n	D	W	L	No	n
Man	29	27	20	25	158	27	30	19	24	158	43	33	11	13	144
Woman	16	29	32	24	38	8	32	35	24	37	42	25	14	20	36
16–29 years old	22	28	26	25	141	19	31	24	26	141	44	31	11	14	135
30–39 years old	43	33	10	13	30	29	36	13	23	31	35	39	12	15	26
40–49 years old	46	8	15	31	13	62	15	8	15	12	50	40	10	0	10
50+ years old	29	29	0	43	7	20	20	40	20	5	50	25	25	0	4
University education	31	31	26	11	35	28	28	25	19	36	37	50	10	3	30
No university education	25	25	22	28	155	22	31	22	25	154	46	27	13	14	143
Afghan	30	19	26	26	86	26	32	29	13	84	49	35	12	4	74
Somali	8	44	17	31	36	9	37	17	37	35	24	36	6	33	33
Other	31	28	21	20	75	26	26	18	30	77	46	26	14	15	74
–4 months in Lesvos	18	30	28	25	40	12	32	20	37	41	55	23	13	10	40
5–14 months in Lesvos	24	29	19	29	42	15	34	27	24	41	35	33	12	21	43
15–36 months in Lesvos	36	19	22	22	72	34	29	23	14	73	44	40	13	3	72
37+ months in Lesvos	20	0	40	40	5	20	40	40	0	5	67	17	17	0	6
Total	27	27	22	24	197	23	31	22	24	196	43	32	12	14	181

D=daily; W=weekly; L=less often; No=never; n=number of respondents

Table 4.18. Change in the frequency of Internet use between country of origin and Lesvos (percentage points).

	Every day	Weekly	Less		n origin	n Lesvos
			frequently	Never		
Man	+15	+7	-9	-12	158	144
Woman	+26	-4	-18	-4	38	36
16–29 years old	+22	+4	-14	-11	141	135
30–39 years old	-9	+5	+2	+2	30	26
40–49 years old	+4	+32	-5	-31	13	10
50+ years old	+21	-4	+25	-43	7	4
University education	+6	+19	-16	-8	35	30
No university education	+21	+2	-9	-14	155	143
Afghan	+19	+16	-13	-22	86	74
Somali	+16	-8	-11	+3	36	33
Other	+15	-2	-8	-5	75	74
–4 months in Lesvos	+38	-8	-15	-15	40	40
5–14 months in Lesvos	+11	+4	-7	-8	42	43
15–36 months in Lesvos	+8	+21	-10	-19	72	72
37+ months in Lesvos	+47	+17	-23	-40	5	6
Total	+16	+5	-10	-10	197	181

The asylum-related migrant respondents used the Internet in several ways (Table 4.19). As in 2019, in 2022 the general situation was that the more frequently the respondents used the Internet, the more varied were their purposes. The share of daily Internet users was higher compared with those who used the Internet less frequently. Of daily Internet users in Lesvos, over half

(56%) used it to research their rights in Europe, while more than two out of four (43%) researched the places they wanted to live in Europe. These proportions were almost the same among those who used the Internet weekly (51% and 46%, respectively). Among the less frequent Internet users, the share of those searching information about places to live was remarkably low (18%), but searching information about rights was still common (53%). Compared with the year of 2019, the shares of such functional uses were lower in 2022 among Internet-using respondents, in particular to search for information about future destinations, i.e. about places to live in Europe (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeiba 2020, 76–77).

Among the frequent, medium and infrequent Internet-users in Lesvos, there were rather large differences in searching from the Internet for work opportunities (65% vs. 50% vs. 33%) and news about their countries of origin (36% vs. 43% vs. 24%) but the differences in searching information about travel routes in Europe were smaller (48% vs. 48% vs. 35%). Unlike in 2016 and 2019, searching for information about rights was the most common topic among the infrequent Internet users in 2022. In general, Afghans did not use the Internet so often for functional purposes. Among them, the number of people not knowing how to answer was also very high, thus indicating the less focused use of the Internet for specific functional purposes.

Asylum-related migrants can use the Internet to look toward future destinations but also to follow their past, namely the on-going situations in their countries of origin. Generally, not all respondents wanted to follow the past from which they had recently escaped. Half (50%) of Somalis disagreed with using the Internet to follow the situation in their countries of origin, while this share was substantially lower both among Afghans (19%) and respondents from other nations (22%). The share of those uncertain to do so was high among Afghans (52%) and respondents from other nations (38%). Substantially more Internet-using respondents with higher education (53%) followed the situations in their countries of origin than those Internet users without higher education (30%) (Table 4.19).

Slightly fewer female respondents (49%) used the Internet to search for work opportunities in Europe compared with men (54%) as well as to learn about their rights in Europe (44% vs. 55%). Instead, more women (39%) than men (34%) used the Internet to follow the situation in the countries of origin. This suggests that, compared with men, more asylum-related female migrants were still more connected to their countries of origin and less to their future in Europe.

Table 4.19. Respondents using the Internet and searching from the Internet information about (%).

	Live in Europe				Rights in Europe				Work in Europe				Routes in Europe				Country of Origin			
	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n
Man	40	37	23	141	55	30	15	140	54	33	12	138	45	42	13	142	34	44	22	136
Woman	38	38	24	34	44	4	27	34	49	27	24	33	45	19	36	31	39	23	39	31
16–29 years old	44	36	20	127	55	29	16	125	56	31	13	123	50	35	14	125	34	39	26	122
30–39 years old	22	41	37	27	37	33	30	27	42	31	27	26	27	42	31	26	40	36	24	25
40–49 years old	50	40	10	10	73	27	0	11	73	27	0	11	36	64	0	11	40	50	10	10
50+ years old	40	60	0	5	60	40	0	5	40	60	0	5	40	60	0	5	0	60	40	5
University education	39	36	24	33	53	34	13	32	55	23	23	31	53	25	22	32	53	33	13	30
No university education	39	39	23	137	52	30	18	137	53	36	12	135	42	43	15	136	30	42	27	132
Afghan	37	56	7	70	56	36	9	70	52	43	6	73	47	47	7	71	29	52	19	65
Somali	42	15	42	33	50	19	31	32	60	17	23	30	44	28	28	32	33	17	50	30
Other	43	29	29	73	52	29	19	73	52	28	20	69	45	34	21	71	40	38	22	73
–4 months in Lesbos	32	40	29	38	51	38	11	37	51	32	16	37	43	37	20	35	30	46	24	37
5–14 months in Lesbos	40	40	20	40	51	28	21	39	49	33	18	39	40	47	13	38	38	30	32	37
15–36 months in Lesbos	45	43	12	67	56	31	13	68	57	37	6	65	52	38	10	69	36	48	16	67
37+ months in Lesbos	67	33	0	3	67	33	0	3	67	33	0	6	25	75	0	4	0	50	50	2
Daily Internet Lesbos	43	42	15	72	56	33	11	73	65	28	7	75	48	38	14	73	36	37	27	70
Weekly Internet Lesbos	46	41	13	54	51	38	11	53	50	40	10	48	48	46	6	52	43	45	12	51
Less often Internet Lesbos	18	41	41	17	53	24	24	17	33	50	17	18	35	47	18	17	24	65	12	17
Daily Int CofO & Lesbos	52	36	12	25	59	33	7	27	73	23	4	26	56	33	11	27	42	23	35	26
Weekly Int CofO & Lesbos	50	40	10	20	42	42	16	19	44	50	6	18	45	40	15	20	60	35	5	20
Less Int CofO & Lesbos	33	50	17	6	50	17	33	6	33	67	0	6	50	33	17	6	17	67	17	6
Not Int CofO	26	41	33	39	50	32	18	38	51	33	15	39	46	38	16	37	11	44	44	36
Total	40	37	23	176	53	30	17	175	54	32	15	172	45	38	17	174	35	40	26	168

Agr=agree; Dk=don't know; Dis=disagree; n=number of respondents; Live in Europe=places their could live in Europe; Rights in Europe=their rights in Europe; Work in Europe=work opportunities in Europe; Routes in Europe=their future travel routes in Europe; Country of origin=current situation in country of origin; CofO=country of origin; Int=Internet use

The Internet-use of asylum-related migrants is increasingly associated with the use of social media (Table 4.20). There is a connection between the frequency of their uses of the Internet and their uses of social media. The use of various social media platforms was common to the respondents using the Internet frequently, that is, every day or many times a week. WhatsApp was the most common social media application used by the respondents, and its use became more common in 2022 than in 2019. In 2022, three out of five of all respondents or 61% (53% in 2019), three out of four or 75% (66% in 2019) of those who used the Internet, and four out of five or 81% of daily Internet users utilized WhatsApp (76% in 2019) (see Jauhainen & Vorobeva 2022, 76).

The respondents also used other social media platforms, but less of WhatsApp (Table 4.20). The use of Facebook slightly declined from 2019 to 2022 among asylum-related migrants in Lesvos, at least comparing the respondents of these two surveys. Almost two out of five or 37% (40% in 2019) used Facebook and more than two out of five (44%) of those using the Internet in Lesvos (50% in 2019). Of all respondents, 27% used Instagram (26% in 2019) and 32% of all Internet-users (31% in 2019). In other words, there were very few changes in the share of users in 2022 and 2019. However, the users of YouTube grew substantially: in 2022, 37% of all respondents used YouTube (25% in 2019) and among Internet users in Lesvos, it was 47% (31% in 2019). The latter suggests an increase in the recreational use of the Internet. Only a few respondents used Twitter (12% of all and 11% of the Lesvos Internet users), Snapchat (6% and 6%) and Viber (4% and 3%). Only a few respondents used these applications in 2019 (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 76–78).

The Tiktok use was not asked in the survey. However, it was evident when talking with the migrants and observing them that many of these migrants used Tiktok. It was mostly for recreational purposes but also send messages and informing other people and migrants.

Of all respondents, one out of eight (12%) used multiple social media platforms, i.e. they used WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram, and their share was the same as in 2019. All of them were men, four out of five (83%) were less than 30 years old and seven out of eight (88%) spoke English. However, very few (16%) had attended university. On the other hand, slightly more than one out of three (35%) respondents used the Internet in Lesvos but did not use any social media. All of them were also men, and all were less than 30 years old. Comparing social media non-users with multiple social media users, fewer (41% vs. 80%) had mobile phones with Internet access. The demographic characters of non-users of social media suggest that among Internet-using asylum seekers are those who have devices but do not (want to) use social media as well as those who do not have the required devices and who either would or would not like to use social media. The multiple social media users tended to be more social than the social media non-users. That is, a larger percentage of them found friends during the journey to Lesvos (83% vs. 47%) and in Lesvos (84% vs. 74%). A substantially larger share of those who used social media and found friends during the journey suggests that social media played an important role in creating weak ties along their asylum-related journeys, and that these weak ties could develop into strong ties between migrants and the new people they met.

Table 4.20. Respondents' use of social media platforms in Lesvos (all respondents and Internet users, %).

	WhatsApp		Facebook		Instagram		Twitter		YouTube		n all	n Int. users
	all	Int. users	all	Int. users	all	Int. users	all	Int. users	all	Int. users		
Man	58	70	44	51	31	36	12	12	38	50	163	126
Woman	71	97	95	10	15	17	12	7	32	38	41	29
16–29 years old	62	72	36	41	32	37	13	13	37	46	145	116
30–39 years old	55	77	36	46	19	23	10	5	39	50	31	22
40–49 years old	64	90	57	80	7	10	0	0	50	70	14	10
50+ years old	57	100	29	50	0	0	0	0	14	25	7	4
University education	70	86	38	45	24	31	16	21	43	52	37	29
No university education	61	73	38	44	30	33	11	8	38	48	159	123
Afghan	67	80	42	48	42	49	5	4	43	54	88	71
Somali	62	91	32	41	11	9	19	14	22	32	37	22
Other	54	64	34	40	19	21	16	18	38	46	80	63
–4 months in Lesvos	54	58	44	42	17	14	15	14	29	31	41	36
5–14 months in Lesvos	72	82	28	35	16	18	16	15	30	38	43	34
15–36 months in Lesvos	76	79	47	49	45	46	5	4	58	61	74	70
37+ months in Lesvos	100	100	67	67	83	83	17	17	67	67	6	6
Daily use in Lesvos	81		53		36		9		58		78	
Weekly use in Lesvos	72		33		28		13		39		57	
Less frequently	62		38		29		14		33		21	
Total	61	75	37	44	27	32	12	11	37	47	205	156

As Internet and social media uses increase among asylum-related migrants, they also have a more significant impact on the everyday lives of these migrants. As discussed above, they are used for social networking. Furthermore, their uses can be more comprehensive for receiving relevant information supporting their journeys. Sometimes the information is inaccurate and can create additional challenges. As one starts to use social media, it is more difficult to move without leaving digital traces behind. These can also create difficulties for migrants. Nevertheless, Internet and social media uses make these migrants often more resilient in their harsh conditions (Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2021).

Internet uses differ along the different stages of asylum-related migrant journeys. For almost one out of three (31%) of the Internet-using respondents in Lesvos (27% of all respondents), information and interaction on social media was important in making their decision to come to Europe (Table 4.21). Substantially more Internet-using women than men (44% vs. 28%) agreed with this statement (40% vs. 25% of all respondents). Likewise, a substantially larger share of Internet-using respondents without university education agreed on the impact of social media on coming to the EU than Internet-users with university education (33% vs. 17%). Gender- and education-related differences existed on the impact of Internet-use related to the digitally-mediated decision on wheth-

er, when and how to start asylum-related migration. More Afghans (35%) than Somalis (26%) or those from other nations (20%) agreed that social media had an important role in deciding whether to come to Europe.

As three out of four (76%, see Table 4.17) used the Internet during their journeys to Lesbos, these uses also had an impact on users and the ways they arrived in Lesbos. Social media uses were also important for many asylum-related migrants during their journey to Lesbos. Slightly more than half (52%) of respondents agreed (60% in 2019), and at least half in each age group (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 79–81). During their journeys in 2022, social media was important for 58% of Afghans, 49% of Somalis and 48% of respondents from other nations.

As Internet uses became more common and frequent among asylum-related migrants in Lesbos, social media had growing importance in the everyday lives of asylum-related migrants there (Table 4.21; Table 4.22). The majority (53%) of respondents agreed that social media makes their lives easier in Lesbos (43% in 2019). More men (55% in 2022 and 43% in 2019) than women (48% in 2022 and 42% in 2019) agreed on this, and such a share was 58% of Internet-using men and 50% of Internet-using women. Particularly many (71%) very frequent users of social media in both the country of origin and Lesbos felt that social media uses made their lives easier. This may have also encouraged them to use social media more often. Frequent users also find relevant information, comfortable company and relaxing free time by using social media. If one very rarely uses the Internet (thus also social media), the advantages of social media are fewer. Of those having only rarely used the Internet both in the country of origin and in Lesbos, 17% felt that social media made their lives easier.

Social media can have an impact on the future destinations of asylum-related migrants. For two out of five (39%) of the respondents, social media was an important medium in deciding where they would migrate in Europe. This percentage was rather similar between men (39%) and women (42%), but among female Internet-users, the proportional share of 52% was larger than that of men (40%). As discussed above, in the preparatory phase, the use of digitally-mediated connections also played a more important role for female asylum-related migrant respondents compared with men.

Another major difference existed along with education: of those without university education, substantially more (42%) argued for the importance of social media for where to migrate in Europe compared with respondents with university education (27%). This suggests that people with lower education levels receive important and influential information about possible destinations for migration in the EU, or that they are not so critical regarding the received information, or that other sources have lower impact than that of social media. Logically, among non-Internet users, very few (11%) agreed that social media was an important factor for their decisions on where to move in Europe.

Table 4.21. Social media in the everyday lives of respondents (%).

	Life easier				To come to Europe				Where to move				Important dr. journey			
	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n
Man	55	22	23	142	25	46	30	147	39	36	25	139	53	26	22	144
Woman	48	26	26	31	40	37	23	35	42	31	28	36	50	19	31	36
16–29 years old	50	25	26	125	29	43	28	135	37	39	24	126	52	25	23	135
30–39 years old	58	23	19	26	24	40	36	25	46	21	32	28	52	16	32	25
40–49 years old	85	8	8	13	17	67	17	12	58	17	25	12	64	36	0	11
50+ years old	75	0	25	4	40	0	60	5	40	60	0	5	50	25	25	4
University education	54	14	32	28	13	61	26	31	27	43	30	30	48	16	36	31
No university education	54	23	24	140	31	40	29	143	42	33	25	138	53	24	21	172
Afghan	53	23	23	64	35	54	11	74	44	40	16	70	58	34	8	73
Somali	39	28	33	36	26	26	49	35	22	31	47	32	49	9	43	35
Other	61	19	20	74	20	42	38	74	42	32	26	74	48	22	30	73
–4 months in Lesbos	58	23	20	40	33	43	25	40	36	42	22	36	45	29	26	38
5–14 months in Lesbos	44	33	23	39	19	52	29	42	33	40	28	40	45	33	23	40
15–36 months in Lesbos	57	22	21	63	38	33	30	64	48	31	21	67	67	16	17	69
37+ months in Lesbos	50	0	50	4	25	50	25	4	50	25	25	4	33	33	33	3
Every day	59	18	24	68	32	41	28	69	43	36	21	72	54	26	19	72
Many times	59	26	15	53	30	49	21	53	42	36	22	55	57	21	23	53
Less often	39	39	22	18	28	33	39	18	33	40	27	15	56	19	25	16
Daily Internet use at CofO & Les	71	17	13	24	35	35	31	26	59	30	11	27	67	15	19	27
Weekly Internet use at CofO & Les	67	29	5	21	26	42	32	19	35	45	20	20	61	11	28	18
Less Internet use at CofO & Les	17	33	50	6	29	29	43	7	20	80	0	5	50	17	33	6
Not Internet use at CofO & Les	20	20	60	10	8	39	54	13	11	33	56	9	17	25	58	12
Total	53	22	24	174	27	44	29	183	39	35	26	176	52	24	24	181

Agr=agree; Dk=don't know; Dis=disagree; n=number of respondents; Int=Internet; CofO=country of origin; Life easier=In Lesbos, the use of Internet and/or social media makes my life easier; To come to Europe=Information and interaction in social media facilitated my decision to come to Europe; Where to move=Information and interaction in social media facilitates my decision regarding where I will move in Europe; Important dr. journey=During my journey to Europe, the use of social media was important for me

Table 4.22. Impact of social media on the lives of Internet-using respondents (%).

	Life easier*				To come to Europe**				Where to move*				Important dr. journey***			
	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n	Agr	Dk	Dis	n
Man	58	23	19	114	26	45	29	110	40	37	24	114	57	27	16	108
Woman	50	29	21	24	40	40	20	25	52	33	15	27	46	23	31	26
16–29 years old	52	26	22	103	31	45	25	98	39	39	22	105	56	27	17	98
30–39 years old	63	26	11	19	24	38	38	21	52	29	19	21	55	20	25	20
40–49 years old	90	0	10	10	22	56	22	9	56	11	33	9	60	40	0	10
50– years old	75	0	25	4	25	0	75	4	50	50	0	4	33	33	33	3
University education	50	18	32	22	15	56	30	27	17	54	29	24	52	20	28	25
No university education	57	25	18	114	32	40	28	103	47	33	21	114	56	27	17	106
Afghan	53	26	21	57	35	55	11	55	44	42	15	62	58	32	10	62
Somali	46	27	27	22	33	29	38	24	26	37	37	19	55	14	32	22
Other	63	20	17	60	21	39	40	57	44	31	25	61	51	24	26	51
–4 months in Lesvos	63	20	17	35	35	42	24	29	38	44	19	32	50	33	17	24
5–14 months in Lesvos	40	40	20	30	21	52	28	29	34	41	25	32	41	41	17	29
15–36 months in Lesvos	59	21	20	61	39	31	31	49	49	31	20	65	70	13	17	60
37– months in Lesvos	50	0	50	4	33	33	33	3	50	25	25	4	50	0	50	2
Daily use in Lesvos	59	17	24	68	33	39	28	54	43	36	21	72	55	28	17	60
Weekly use in Lesvos	59	26	15	53	30	49	21	43	42	36	22	55	60	21	19	42
Less frequently in Lesvos	39	39	22	18	20	20	60	10	33	40	27	15	57	14	29	14
Total	56	24	20	139	29	43	28	136	42	37	22	142	55	26	20	135

* = answered by those who used the Internet on Lesvos; ** = answered by those who used the Internet in the home country; *** = answered by those who used the Internet during the journey; Agr=agree; Dk=don't know; Dis=disagree; n=number of respondents; Int=Internet; CofO=country of origin; Life easier=In Lesvos, the use of Internet and/or social media makes my life easier; To come to Europe=Information and interaction in social media facilitated my decision to come to Europe; Where to move=Information and interaction in social media facilitates my decision regarding where I will move in Europe; Important dr. journey=During my journey to Europe, the use of social media was important for me

5. Conclusions

The research project “Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Lesvos, Greece, 2020–2022” focused on the everyday lives and physical and digital immobilities and mobilities of asylum-related migrants on Lesvos island in the Eastern Mediterranean. This study focused on who the asylum seekers and other asylum-related migrants were, what their migration patterns were, their aspirations to reach Lesvos and further destinations, what their everyday lives were like in the Mavrovouni reception and identification center, and how they used the Internet and social media during their asylum-related journeys starting from their country of origin to their presence in Lesvos.

The research covered the developments in Lesvos and the Aegean Sea from 2020 to the summer of 2022. The background material was derived from statistics and reports from various organizations and scholars. The main new empirical material consisted of survey responses that were gathered in May 2022 from 205 asylum-related migrants who lived in the Mavrovouni RIC in Lesvos. Additional information about their everyday lives was gathered from conversations with them and by observing their activities outside the center.

Lesvos is close to the western coast of Turkey and is an entry point to Europe for many migrants asking for asylum. Over the years, almost one million migrants have passed through the island, though their annual number has varied substantially. In the summer of 2022, around 1,300 asylum-related migrants were in the Mavrovouni RIC, which was the only reception center where asylum seekers and other related migrants were located in Lesvos. This was substantially fewer compared to the situation in 2019 when there were more than 20,000 asylum-related migrants in several centers on the island, including the Moria RIC (Aegean Boat Report 2022).

Asylum-related migrants' journeys consisted of various stages of mobility and immobility. They could influence some factors, but many are out of their control. Physical and digital mobilities and immobilities connected to each other when preparing for journeys and while on the move. Irregular physical mobilities and immobilities were part of asylum-related migrants' everyday lives.

From the survey respondents in Lesvos, three out of four (77%) mentioned having had to leave their country of origin due to war or serious political or human rights violations. There were many other reasons, including unemployment, better education, family reunification, etc.; many migrants left for combined reasons. Few of the respondents (27%) indicated that information and interaction on social media were important when making their decision to come to the EU. However, physical and non-digital contacts were crucial for preparing the journeys.

The majority of asylum-related migrants spent more than half a year on their journeys to Lesvos. A few arrived sooner because they gained access to Turkey

quickly, either from a neighboring country or by flying directly to Turkey. The very limited possibilities to enter the EU through the regular migration procedures resulted in many using asylum-seeking systems and irregular migration.

Access to Lesbos and other Aegean Sea islands became more difficult from the autumn of 2019 onward. All asylum-related migrants need to make a final travel from the Turkish coast to Lesbos irregularly. They use a rubber boat with a small motor and space for a few tens of people. Smugglers facilitate this final passage but many have to try several times before reaching Lesbos. In 2019, the weekly arrivals were over 1,000 people with an average number of 16 boats. From the summer of 2021 to the summer of 2022, 83% (686) of boats and 89% (21,237) of people who aimed to cross the sea to Greek islands were intercepted and returned to the Turkish coast. For several weeks, no boats or people arrived at Lesbos; the busiest week was with 5 boats and 135 people (Aegean Boat Report 2022).

On the one hand, the mobility restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic prevention limited the possibility to move within Turkey or to reach Lesbos. On the other hand, several NGOs and other organizations claimed that Greece executed pushbacks (i.e. collectively returned migrants from Greek areas and prevented them from asking for asylum in Greece, including Lesbos). The pushbacks and other interceptions mean that many migrants attempted several times before arriving at Lesbos (see Aegean Boat Report 2021).

In January–June 2022, 3,020 asylum-related migrants arrived to the Aegean Sea islands. According to the UNHCR (2022d), in 2021, approximately one out of three (31%) migrants were children younger than 18 years old, a half (51%) were young adults (18–29 years old), one out of five (18%) were middle-aged (30–49 years old), and very few (1%) were 50 years or older. Of the adult migrants, one out of four (26%) were women and three out of four (74%) were men. At the time, Lesbos received 857 migrants, which was 58% more than the previous six months and 29% of all arrived migrants in the Aegean Sea islands. Of these island-arrivals, Lesbos had a proportionally large share of Afghans and Somalis, but very few Palestinians and Syrians.

Once on the island, the migrants had to wait on the asylum process, often in precarious conditions. This was part of biogeopolitical (mis)management of asylum-related migrants at the EU borderlands (Jauhiainen 2020). In unclear circumstances, the infamous Moria RIC was purposefully set on fire. The center burned down in September 2020, leaving more than 12,000 asylum-related migrants homeless until the new provisional center, Mavrorouni, was established. In addition, the small PIKPA and Kara Tepe reception centers were closed by authorities. Initially the Mavrovouni center became congested and lacked solid infrastructure to host more than 10,000 people. Following the transfer of asylum seekers to mainland Greece and the infrastructure construction, the everyday

lives of asylum seekers began to improve as the center decongested. In June of 2022, Lesvos had in the Mavrovouni RIC 1,351 asylum-related migrants, of whom Afghans and Somalis were the largest groups (Aegean Boat Report 2022).

Out of the survey respondents in 2022, 53% felt safe in the center, 77% indicated there were enough toilets and showers, and 43% felt treated well in Lesvos. These shares were substantially higher in 2022 compared to the 2019 situation (26%, 22%, and 27%) and the 2016 situation (21%, 18%, and 30%) for asylum-related migrants in Lesvos. In addition, 67% of the 2022 survey respondents positively agreed on their future and approximately 40% shared that they learned something useful in Lesvos (mostly English and Greek). However, the share of those feeling to be mistreated because of their non-European origin was 39% of all respondents. This was higher in 2022 compared with the share in 2019. Moreover, among women the share of those feeling to be mistreated because of their non-European origin was 43%. It indicated a considerable rise among these migrants from 2016 to 2019 and from 2019 to 2022 (Jauhiainen 2017; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2020, 63).

In 2022, all studied asylum-related migrants had arrived at Lesvos (i.e., reached the first important goal in their journey to the EU). For many respondents, Germany was their aspired EU destination country; Finland and the United Kingdom were often mentioned as desired destinations, but less frequently than Germany. More than earlier, Greece was also mentioned among the most preferred countries. Most migrants planned to work and many of the younger respondents aspired to study in Europe. Few considered returning to their country of origin (6% “for sure” and 17% “maybe”). Somali respondents were the largest group who planned or considered returning to their country of origin.

While some migrants experienced physical immobility in Lesvos and fewer options to leave the reception center, many became increasingly mobile digitally. The Internet and social media became very common communication tools among asylum-related migrants in Lesvos. The longer the migrants stayed in Lesvos, more of them began to use the Internet and social media, usually more frequently. Digital divides narrowed in Lesvos. Survey results of the respondents showed that 86% used the Internet and 61% specifically used WhatsApp (a growth of users from 2019 when it was 53%). Comparing respondents’ results in 2019 with those in 2022, the share of Facebook users declined slightly (from 40% to 37%) whereas the share of YouTube users grew (from 25% to 37%).

Improved reception facilities and less congestion were positive aspects in the everyday lives of asylum seekers in Lesvos. However, it was more difficult to reach Lesvos than in earlier years. Furthermore, the asylum process continued to be very long for many migrants, of whom many began to feel they were living in limbo. Several had to stay for more than one year in precarious situations. The Internet connection became very important for them because it helped them

maintain contact with family and friends and learn new things to pass the long hours of waiting. Based on research results, the authorities should provide asylum-related migrants with complimentary access to the Internet during all stages of the asylum process in Lesvos and elsewhere in the EU.

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7. Asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in Lesvos, Greece, 2020–2022

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The research project “Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Lesvos, Greece, 2020–2022” focused on the everyday lives and physical and digital immobilities and mobilities of asylum-related migrants on Lesvos island in the Eastern Mediterranean. This study focused on who the asylum seekers and other asylum-related migrants were, what their migration patterns were, their aspirations to reach Lesvos and further destinations, what their everyday lives were like, and how they used the Internet and social media during their asylum-related journeys.

The research covered the developments in Lesvos and the Aegean Sea from 2020 to the summer of 2022. The background material was derived from statistics and reports from various organizations and scholars. The main new empirical material consisted of survey responses that were gathered in May 2022 from 205 asylum-related migrants who lived in the Mavrovouni Reception and Identification Center in Lesvos. Additional information about their everyday lives was gathered from conversations with them and by observing their activities outside the center.

Lesvos island is close to the western coast of Turkey and is an entry point to the European Union (EU) for many migrants asking for asylum. Over the years, almost one million migrants have passed through the island, though their annual number has varied substantially. In the summer of 2022, around 1,300 asylum-related migrants were in the Mavrovouni center, which was the only reception center where asylum seekers and other related migrants were located in Lesvos. This was smaller compared to the situation in 2019 when there were more than 20,000 asylum-related migrants in several centers on the island, including the Moria RIC (Aegean Boat Report 2022).

Asylum-related migrants’ journeys consist of various stages of mobility and immobility. They can influence some factors, but many are out of their control. Physical and digital mobilities and immobilities connect to each other when preparing for journeys and while on the move. Irregular physical mobilities and immobilities were part of asylum-related migrants’ everyday lives. The very limited possibilities to enter the EU through the regular migration procedures results in many using asylum-seeking systems and irregular migration. Sometimes these migrants are let to move forward in the asylum process. Other times they are constrained into physical and digital immobility. This is part of biogeopolitical (mis)management of asylum-related migrants at the EU borderlands.

Asylum-related journeys are long and complex. From the survey respondents in Lesvos, 77% mentioned having had to leave their country of origin due

to war or serious political or human rights violations. There were many other reasons, including unemployment, better education, and family reunification; many migrants left for combined reasons.

The majority of asylum-related migrants spent more than half a year on their journeys to Lesbos. A few arrived sooner because they gained access to Turkey quickly, either from a neighboring country or by flying directly to Turkey.

Access to Lesbos and other Aegean Sea Islands became more difficult from the late autumn of 2019 onward. In January–June 2022, Lesbos received 857 migrants. For several weeks, no boats or people arrived at Lesbos; the busiest week had a few boats and 135 people. The mobility restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic prevention limited the possibility to move within Turkey or to reach Lesbos. Several NGOs and other organizations claimed that Greece executed pushbacks (i.e. collectively returned migrants from Greek areas and prevented them from asking for asylum in Greece, including Lesbos) that are against international agreements. Many migrants attempted several times before arriving at Lesbos.

In 2020–2021, the former reception centers Moria, Kara Tepe and PIKPA were closed, and an emergency center was established. In June of 2022, the Mavrovouni center had 1,351 asylum-related migrants, including many Afghan and Somali but very few Palestinian and Syrian asylum seekers. As of 2022, the transfer of more than 10,000 asylum seekers, improved reception facilities and less congestion were positive aspects in the everyday lives of asylum seekers in Lesbos in 2022. Out of the 2022 survey respondents, 53% felt safe in the center, 77% indicated there were enough toilets and showers, and 43% felt treated well in Lesbos. These shares were substantially higher compared to the 2019 situation and the 2016 situation for asylum-related migrants in Lesbos.

Many migrants experienced physical immobility in Lesbos and fewer options to leave the reception center, so many became increasingly mobile digitally. The longer the migrants stayed in Lesbos, the more of them began to use the Internet and social media, usually more frequently. Of the respondents, 86% used the Internet and 61% WhatsApp in Lesbos: the latter's share of users grew from 2019 and 2016. Digital divides narrowed in Lesbos.

The asylum process continued to be very long for many migrants, of whom many began to feel they were living in limbo. Several had to stay for more than one year in precarious situations. The Internet connection became very important for them because it helped them maintain contact with family and friends and learn new things to pass the long hours of waiting. Based on research results, the authorities should provide asylum-related migrants with complimentary access to the Internet during all stages of the asylum process in Lesbos and elsewhere in the EU.

8. Turvapaikanhakijat ja epäviralliset muuttajat Lesboksella Kreikassa vuosina 2020–2022

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Tutkimusprojekti *Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Lesbos, Greece, 2020–2022* (Turvapaikanhakijat ja epäviralliset muuttajat Lesboksella Kreikassa vuosina 2020–2022) tutki turvapaikan hakuun liittyvien epävirallisten muuttajien jokapäiväistä elämää ja fyysistä ja digitaalista liikkuvuutta Lesboksella, joka on Kreikan saari itäisellä Välimerellä. Tutkimme, keitä olivat turvapaikanhakijat ja muut epäviralliset muuttajat, minkälaisia olivat heidän muuttoliikkeensä ja toiveensa saavuttaa Lesbos ja tätä seuraavat kohteet, minkälaista oli heidän elämänsä saarella, ja miten nämä muuttajat käyttivät internetiä ja sosiaalista mediaa muuttomatkoillaan.

Tutkimus koski muuttoliikkeen kehitystä Lesboksella ja Egeanmerellä vuodesta 2020 kesään 2022. Taustamateriaalina olivat järjestöjen ja tutkijoiden tilastot ja raportit. Tärkein uusi aineisto koostui 205 Mavrovounin vastaanottokeskuksessa asuneen muuttajan vastauksista puolistrukturoituun kyselyyn, jonka toteutimme Lesboksella toukokuussa 2022. Tietoja heidän arkipäivästään saimme myös keskusteluista heidän kanssaan ja havainnoimalla heidän toimiaan keskuksen ulkopuolella.

Lähellä Turkkiä sijaitseva Lesbos on pääväylä monille muuttajille, jotka hakevat turvapaikkaa EU:sta. Vuosien kuluessa lähes miljoona muuttajaa on kulkenut sen läpi. Vuosittain heidän lukumääränsä vaihtelee paljon. Vuonna 2019 saarella oli yli 20 000 epävirallista muuttajaa useissa vastaanottokeskuksissa, joista yksi oli Moria. Kesällä 2022 saaren ainoassa vastaanottokeskuksessa oli noin 1300 turvapaikanhakijaa.

Epävirallisten muuttajien turvapaikan hakumatkat koostuvat useista liikkuvuuden ja pysähtymisen jaksoista. He voivat vaikuttaa joihinkin matkan seikkoihin, mutta monia he eivät pysty kontrolloimaan. Matkaa valmisteltaessa ja matkan aikana fyysiset ja digitaaliset liikkuvuudet ja liikkumattomuudet liittyvät toisiinsa. Epäviralliset liikkuvuudet ja liikkumattomuudet ovat muuttajien arkipäivää. Tavallisia muuttoreittejä pitkin on vaikea päästä EU:iin. Monien on pakko käyttää turvapaikanhakua ja epävirallista muuttoliikettä. Joskus muuttajat päästetään etenemään turvapaikkamenettelyssä. Toisinaan heidät pakotetaan fyysiseen ja digitaaliseen liikkumattomuuteen. Se on biogeopoliittista turvapaikkaan liittyvien muuttajien (epä)hallintaa EU:n rajaseuduilla.

Epävirallisen muuttoliikkeen matkat ovat pitkiä ja monimutkaisia. Lesboksella kyselyyn vastanneista 77% ilmoitti lähteneensä kotimaastaan sodan tai vakavien poliittisten tai ihmisoikeusrikkomusten vuoksi. Muita syitä olivat työttömyys, tarve parempaan koulutukseen, perheen yhdistäminen jne. Syyt kietoutuivat toisiinsa.

Enemmistö muuttajista käytti matkoihinsa Lesbokselle yli puoli vuotta. Jotkut saapuivat nopeammin, jos he pystyivät matkustamaan Turkkiin naapurimaasta tai lentämään sinne suoraan.

Lesbokselle pääseminen on vaikeutunut vuoden 2019 loppusyksystä lähtien. Vuoden 2022 tammi-kesäkuussa Lesbokselle saapui 857 epävirallista muuttajaa. Useina viikkoina ei saapunut yhtään venettä. Kiireisimpänä viikkona saapui muutama vene ja 135 muuttajaa. Liikkuvuuden rajoittaminen koronapandemian leviämisen estämiseksi vaikeutti monien pääsyä Turkkiin, siellä matkustamista, ja erityisesti Lesbokselle pyrkimistä. Useat järjestöt väittivät, että Kreikka työntää muuttajaryhmiä suoraan takaisin Turkkiin antamatta heille mahdollisuutta hakea turvapaikkaa Kreikasta, mukaan lukien Lesboksella. Tämä on vastoin kansanvälisiä sopimuksia. Monet yrittivät päästä Lesbokselle useita kertoja ennen kuin onnistuivat siinä.

Vuosina 2020–2021 suljettiin Lesboksella aiemmat vastaanottokeskukset Moria, Kara Tepe ja PIKPA ja avattiin uusi keskus hätäsuojaksi. Kesäkuussa 2022 Mavrovounin vastaanottokeskuksessa oli 1351 turvapaikanhakijaa ja epävirallista muuttajaa. Useat heistä olivat afgaaneja ja somaleja, sen sijaan palestiinalaisia ja syyrialaisia oli hyvin vähän. Turvapaikanhakijoiden arkipäivään Lesboksella vaikutti myönteisesti keskuksen ahtauden väheneminen, kun yli 10 000 asukasta siirrettiin sieltä pois, ja sen infrastruktuurin parantaminen. Kyselyyn vastanneista 53% koki olonsa turvallisiksi keskuksessa, 77% sanoi siellä olevan riittävästi vessoja ja suihkuja ja 43% koki tulevansa hyvin kohdelluksi Lesboksella. Luvat olivat merkittävästi korkeampia verrattuna muuttajien vastauksiin vuosina 2019 ja 2016.

Monet muuttajista olivat pakotettuja fyysiseen liikkumattomuuteen Lesboksella ja heillä oli vähemmän mahdollisuuksia poistua vastaanottokeskuksesta, mutta monista heistä tuli digitaalisesti liikkuvia. Mitä pitempään muuttajat olivat Lesboksella, sitä useammat heistä käyttivät internetiä ja sosiaalista mediaa, yleensä myös useammin: digitaaliset kuulut kapenivat Lesboksella. Vastaajista 86% käytti internetiä ja 61% WhatsAppia: jälkimmäistä entistä useampi verrattuna aiempiin vuosiin.

Turvapaikkamenettely kesti hyvin kauan monilla muuttajalla, ja he tunsivat olevansa voimattomia. Useat joutuivat olemaan yli vuoden puutteellisissa oloissa. Internetyhteydestä tuli heille tärkeä koska he pystyivät sen avulla pitämään yhteyttä perheeseensä ja ystäviinsä ja oppimaan uusia asioita, joiden avulla he pystyivät kuluttamaan aikaa. Tutkimustulosten perusteella viranomaisten tulisi taata turvapaikanhakijoille ilmainen internetyhteys turvapaikkamenettelyn ajaksi Lesboksella ja muualla EU:ssa.

پناهجویان و مهاجران فاقد مدرک در لسبوس، یونان، 2020-2022

یوسی اس. یاوهیاینن، سانی هوساری و یوهنا
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پروژه تحقیقاتی "پناهجویان و مهاجران غیرقانونی در لسبوس، یونان، 2020-2022" بر زندگی روزمره و بی‌تحركی مکانی و دیجیتالی و جابجایی‌های مرتبط با پناهندگی در جزیره لسبوس در شرق مدیترانه تمرکز داشت. این مطالعه بر این موضوع متمرکز بود که پناهجویان و سایر مهاجران مرتبط با پناهندگی چه کسانی بودند، الگوهای مهاجرت آنها چگونه بود، آرزوهای آنها برای رسیدن به لسبوس چه بود و مقاصد بعدی آنها کجا بود، زندگی روزمره آنها چگونه بود و چگونه از اینترنت و رسانه‌های اجتماعی در طول مسیر پناهندگی خود استفاده کردند؟

این تحقیق تحولات لسبوس و دریای اژه را از سال 2020 تا تابستان 2022 دربرمی‌گیرد. برای تدوین مطالب مورد اشاره در پیش‌زمینه تحقیق، از آمار و گزارش‌های سازمان‌ها و پژوهشگران مختلف استفاده شده است. مطالب تجربی اصلی جدید شامل یافته‌های حاصل از پیمایشی بود که در ماه می 2022 از 205 مهاجر مرتبط با پناهجویی که در مرکز پذیرش و شناسایی ماورونی (Mavrovouni) در لسبوس زندگی می‌کردند، جمع‌آوری شد. اطلاعات تکمیلی در مورد زندگی روزمره آنها نیز از طریق گفتگو با آنها و مشاهده فعالیت‌های آنها در خارج از مرکز جمع‌آوری شد.

جزیره لسبوس به سواحل غربی ترکیه نزدیک است و برای بسیاری از مهاجران متقاضی پناهندگی، محل ورود به اتحادیه اروپا است. در طول سال‌ها، تقریباً یک میلیون مهاجر از این جزیره عبور کرده‌اند، اگرچه تعداد سالانه آنها به‌طور قابل‌توجهی متفاوت بوده است. در تابستان 2022، حدود 1300 پناهجو در مرکز ماورونی بودند، که تنها مرکز پذیرش پناهجویان و سایر مهاجران مرتبط در لسبوس بود. این میزان در مقایسه با وضعیت سال 2019 که بیش از 20 هزار مهاجر پناهجو در چندین مرکز جزیره از جمله موریان زندگی می‌کردند، کمتر بود (گزارش 2022 Aegean Boat).

سفرهای مهاجران پناهجویی شامل مراحل مختلفی از جابجایی و حرکت و بی‌تحركی است. آنها می‌توانند بر برخی عوامل تأثیر بگذارند، اما بسیاری از عوامل خارج از کنترل آنها هستند.

تحرك و بی‌تحركی مکانی و دیجیتالی هنگام آماده شدن برای سفر و در حین حرکت با یکدیگر مرتبط می‌شوند. تحرك مکانی غیرقانونی و بی‌تحركی بخشی از زندگی روزمره مهاجران پناهنده بود. برای بسیاری از افراد، امکان بسیار محدود برای ورود به اتحادیه اروپا از طریق رویه‌های قانونی مهاجرت، منجر به روی آوردن آنها به سیستم‌های پناهندگی و مهاجرت غیرقانونی می‌شود. گاهی اوقات به این مهاجران اجازه داده می‌شود تا روند پناهندگی خود را پیش ببرند. در موارد دیگر، آنها با بی‌تحركی مکانی و دیجیتالی محدود می‌شوند. این بخشی از (سوء) مدیریت بیوزنوپلیتیکی مهاجران پناهنده در مناطق مرزی اتحادیه اروپا است.

سفرهای مرتبط با پناهنجوی طولانی و پیچیده است. 77 درصد مشارکت کنندگان در این پیمایش در لسبوس، ذکر کردند که مجبور بوده‌اند که کشور مبدأ خود را به دلیل جنگ یا نقض جدی سیاسی یا حقوق بشر ترک کنند. دلایل بسیار دیگری نیز وجود داشت، از جمله بیکاری، آموزش بهتر، و الحاق به خانواده. بسیاری از مهاجران نیز به دلایل متعدد ترکیبی کشور خود را ترک کردند.

اکثریت مهاجران مرتبط با پناهنجوی بیش از نیم سال را در سفر به لسبوس سپری کردند. تعداد کمی از آنها در بازه زمانی کوتاه‌تری به این جزیره وارد شدند؛ چرا که به سرعت از یک کشور همسایه وارد ترکیه شده و یا با پرواز مستقیم به ترکیه ورود پیدا کردند.

دسترسی به لسبوس و سایر جزایر دریای اژه از اواخر پاییز 2019 به بعد دشوارتر شد. در ژانویه تا ژوئن 2022، لسبوس 857 مهاجر را پذیرفت. برای چندین هفته، هیچ قایق یا مردمی به لسبوس نرسیدند. شلوغ‌ترین هفته مربوط به ورود چند قایق و 135 نفر به جزیره بوده است. محدودیت‌های جابجایی مربوط به پیشگیری از همه‌گیری کووید-19، امکان حرکت در ترکیه یا رسیدن به لسبوس را محدود می‌کرد. چندین سازمان غیردولتی و سازمان‌های دیگر مدعی شدند که یونان مخالفت‌هایی را انجام داده است (یعنی مهاجران را به طور دسته جمعی از مناطق یونانی بازگردانده و از درخواست پناهندگی آنها در یونان، از جمله لسبوس جلوگیری کرده است) که این امر، برخلاف توافقنامه‌های بین‌المللی است. بسیاری از مهاجران قبل از رسیدن به لسبوس چندین بار برای ورود به آنجا تلاش کرده‌اند.

در سال 2020-2021، مراکز پذیرش سابق موریاء، کارا تپه و پیکپا بسته شدند و یک مرکز اورژانس ایجاد شد. در ژوئن 2022، مرکز ماورووتی محل اسکان 1351 پناهجو از افغانستان، سومالی و تعداد بسیار کمی از پناهجویان فلسطینی و سوری بود. تا سال 2022، انتقال بیش از 10 هزار پناهجو، بهبود امکانات پذیرش و ازدحام

کمتر، جنبه‌های مثبت زندگی روزمره پناهجویان در لسبوس در سال 2022 بود. در پیمایش 2022، 53 درصد در مرکز پذیرش احساس امنیت می‌کردند، 77 درصد نشان دادند که توالی و حمام کافی برای آنها وجود دارد و 43 درصد احساس می‌کردند که در لسبوس با آنها به خوبی رفتار شده است. این سهم در مقایسه با وضعیت سال 2019 و وضعیت سال 2016 برای مهاجران پناهجو در لسبوس به طور قابل توجهی بالاتر بود.

بسیاری از مهاجران بی‌تحركی مکانی در لسبوس را تجربه کرده و گزینه‌های کمتری برای ترک مرکز پذیرش در پیش روی داشتند. بسیاری از آنها به طور فزاینده‌ای به صورت دیجیتالی متحرک شدند. هر چه مهاجران بیشتر در لسبوس می‌ماندند، تعداد بیشتری از آنها شروع به استفاده از اینترنت و رسانه‌های اجتماعی می‌کردند. از میان پاسخ‌دهندگان، 86 درصد از اینترنت و 61 درصد از واتس‌آپ در لسبوس استفاده می‌کردند: سهم کاربران واتس‌آپ نسبت به سال‌های 2019 و 2016 افزایش یافته است. شکاف‌های دیجیتال در لسبوس کاهش یافته است.

روند پناهندگی برای بسیاری از مهاجران که اغلب آنها احساس می‌کردند در بلاتکلیفی به سر می‌برند، بسیار طولانی بود. چندین نفر از آنها مجبور شدند بیش از یک سال در موقعیت‌های متزلزل بمانند. در این مدت، اتصال به اینترنت در میان آنها اهمیت بالایی پیدا کرد زیرا به آنها کمک می‌کرد تا ارتباط خود را با خانواده و دوستان حفظ کنند و چیزهای جدیدی یاد بگیرند تا ساعات طولانی انتظار را پشت سر بگذارند. بر اساس نتایج تحقیقات، مقامات بایستی در طول تمام مراحل پروسه پناهندگی به مهاجران پناهجو در لسبوس و سایر نقاط اتحادیه اروپا دسترسی رایگان به اینترنت ارائه دهند.

10. Αιτούντες άσυλο και μετανάστες χωρίς έγγραφα στη Λέσβο, Ελλάδα, 2020–2022

Jussi S. Jauhiainen (jusaja@utu.fi), Sanni Huusari & Johanna Junnila

Το ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα *Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Lesbos, Greece, 2020–2022* (Αιτούντες άσυλο και μετανάστες χωρίς έγγραφα στη Λέσβο, Ελλάδα, 2020–2022) επικεντρώθηκε στην καθημερινή ζωή και στις φυσικές και ψηφιακές ακινησίες και κινητικότητες των μεταναστών που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο στο νησί της Λέσβου στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Η μελέτη αυτή επικεντρώθηκε στο ποιοι ήταν οι αιτούντες άσυλο και οι λοιποί μετανάστες που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο, ποια ήταν τα μεταναστευτικά τους πρότυπα, οι φιλοδοξίες τους να φτάσουν στη Λέσβο και σε άλλους προορισμούς, πώς ήταν η καθημερινή τους ζωή και πώς χρησιμοποίησαν το διαδίκτυο και τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης κατά τη διάρκεια των ταξιδιών τους που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο.

Η έρευνα κάλυψε τις εξελίξεις στη Λέσβο και το Αιγαίο από το 2020 έως το καλοκαίρι του 2022. Το ιστορικό υλικό αντλήθηκε από στατιστικά στοιχεία και αναφορές διαφόρων οργανισμών και μελετητών. Τα νέα κύρια εμπειρικά στοιχεία αποτελούνται από απαντήσεις που συγκεντρώθηκαν τον Μάιο του 2022 από 205 μετανάστες που σχετίζονταν με το άσυλο και ζούσαν στο Κέντρο Υποδοχής και Ταυτοποίησης Μαυροβουνίου στη Λέσβο. Από συζητήσεις μαζί τους και από την παρατήρηση των δραστηριοτήτων τους εκτός του Κέντρου συλλέχθηκαν πρόσθετες πληροφορίες για την καθημερινή τους ζωή.

Το νησί της Λέσβου βρίσκεται κοντά στις δυτικές ακτές της Τουρκίας και αποτελεί σημείο εισόδου στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση (ΕΕ) για πολλούς μετανάστες που αιτούνται άσυλο. Με την πάροδο των ετών, σχεδόν ένα εκατομμύριο μετανάστες έχουν περάσει από το νησί, αν και ο ετήσιος αριθμός τους ποικίλλει σημαντικά. Το καλοκαίρι του 2022 περίπου 1.300 μετανάστες που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο βρίσκονταν στο κέντρο Μαυροβουνίου, το οποίο ήταν το μοναδικό κέντρο υποδοχής όπου βρίσκονταν αιτούντες άσυλο και άλλοι σχετικοί μετανάστες στη Λέσβο. Αυτός ο αριθμός είναι μικρότερος σε σύγκριση με την κατάσταση το 2019, όπου υπήρχαν περισσότεροι από 20.000 μετανάστες που σχετίζονταν με το άσυλο σε διάφορα κέντρα στο νησί, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της Μόριας (Aegean Boat Report 2022).

Τα ταξίδια των μεταναστών που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο αποτελούνται από διάφορα στάδια κινητικότητας και ακινησίας. Μπορούν να επηρεάσουν ορισμένους παράγοντες, αλλά πολλοί δεν εξαρτώνται από αυτούς. Οι φυσικές και ψηφιακές κινητικότητες και ακινησίες συνδέονται μεταξύ τους κατά την προετοιμασία των ταξιδιών, αλλά και εν κινήσει. Οι παράτυπες φυσικές κινητικότητες και ακινησίες αποτελούσαν μέρος της καθημερινής ζωής των μεταναστών που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο. Οι πολύ περιορισμένες δυνατότητες εισόδου στην ΕΕ

μέσω των κανονικών μεταναστευτικών διαδικασιών έχουν ως αποτέλεσμα πολλοί να χρησιμοποιούν συστήματα αίτησης άσυλου και παράτυπης μετανάστευσης. Μερικές φορές επιτρέπεται σε αυτούς τους μετανάστες να προχωρήσουν στη διαδικασία άσυλου. Άλλες φορές περιορίζονται σε φυσική και ψηφιακή ακινησία. Αυτό αποτελεί μέρος της (κακής) βιογεωπολιτικής διαχείρισης των μεταναστών που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο στα σύνορα της ΕΕ.

Το ταξίδι που σχετίζεται με το άσυλο είναι μακρύ και πολύπλοκο. Από τους συμμετέχοντες στην έρευνα στη Λέσβο, το 77% ανέφερε ότι αναγκάστηκε να εγκαταλείψει τη χώρα καταγωγής του λόγω πολέμου ή σοβαρών πολιτικών παραβιάσεων ή παραβιάσεων των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων. Υπήρχαν πολλοί άλλοι λόγοι, όπως η ανεργία, η καλύτερη εκπαίδευση και η οικογενειακή επανένωση· πολλοί μετανάστες έφυγαν για ένα συνδυασμό λόγων.

Η πλειονότητα των μεταναστών που σχετίζονταν με το άσυλο πέρασαν περισσότερο από μισό χρόνο στο ταξίδι τους προς τη Λέσβο. Μερικοί έφτασαν νωρίτερα, επειδή απέκτησαν γρήγορα πρόσβαση στην Τουρκία, είτε από κάποια γειτονική χώρα είτε πετώντας απευθείας στην Τουρκία.

Η πρόσβαση στη Λέσβο και σε άλλα νησιά του Αιγαίου έγινε πιο δύσκολη από τα τέλη του φθινοπώρου του 2019 και μετά. Από τον Ιανουάριο έως τον Ιούνιο του 2022, η Λέσβος δέχθηκε 857 μετανάστες. Για αρκετές εβδομάδες δεν έφταναν στη Λέσβο σκάφη ή άτομα, η πιο πολυάσχολη εβδομάδα έχει μερικά σκάφη και 135 ανθρώπους. Οι περιορισμοί κινητικότητας που σχετίζονται με την πρόληψη της πανδημίας COVID-19 περιόρισαν τη δυνατότητα μετακίνησης εντός της Τουρκίας ή την πρόσβαση στη Λέσβο. Αρκετές ΜΚΟ και άλλες οργανώσεις ισχυρίστηκαν ότι η Ελλάδα εκτέλεσε επαναπροωθήσεις (δηλαδή επέστρεψε συλλογικά μετανάστες από ελληνικές περιοχές και τους εμπόδισε να ζητήσουν άσυλο στην Ελλάδα, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της Λέσβου) που αντιβαίνουν στις διεθνείς συμφωνίες. Πολλοί μετανάστες επιχειρήσαν επανειλημμένα να φτάσουν στη Λέσβο, πριν το καταφέρουν.

Τα πρώην κέντρα υποδοχής της Μόριας, του Καρά Τεπέ και του ΠΙΚΠΑ έκλεισαν το 2020-2021 και δημιουργήθηκε ένα κέντρο έκτακτης ανάγκης. Τον Ιούνιο του 2022, το κέντρο Μαυροβουνίου είχε 1.351 μετανάστες που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο, συμπεριλαμβανομένων πολλών Αφγανών και Σομαλών, αλλά πολύ λίγων Παλαιστινίων και Σύρων αιτούντων άσυλο. Από το 2022, η μεταφορά περισσότερων από 10.000 αιτούντων άσυλο, η βελτίωση των εγκαταστάσεων υποδοχής και η μείωση της συμφόρησης ήταν θετικές πτυχές στην καθημερινή ζωή των αιτούντων άσυλο στη Λέσβο το 2022. Από τους ερωτηθέντες στην έρευνα του 2022, το 53% ένιωθε ασφαλές στο κέντρο, το 77% δήλωσε ότι υπήρχαν αρκετές τουαλέτες και ντους και το 43% αισθάνθηκε ότι έτυχε καλής μεταχείρισης στη Λέσβο. Τα ποσοστά αυτά ήταν αρκετά υψηλότερα σε σύγκριση με την κατάσταση του 2019 και την κατάσταση του 2016 για τους μετανάστες που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο στη Λέσβο.

Πολλοί μετανάστες βίωσαν φυσική ακινησία στη Λέσβο και είχαν λιγότερες επιλογές για να φύγουν από το κέντρο υποδοχής, επομένως πολλοί έγιναν όλο και πιο κινητικοί ψηφιακά. Όσο περισσότερο παρέμεναν οι μετανάστες στη Λέσβο, τόσο περισσότεροι από αυτούς άρχισαν να χρησιμοποιούν κατά βάση συχνότερα το διαδίκτυο και τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης. Από τους ερωτηθέντες, το 86% χρησιμοποίησε το διαδίκτυο και το 61% το WhatsApp στη Λέσβο: το μερίδιο των χρηστών του τελευταίου αυξήθηκε σε σχέση με το 2019 και το 2016. Τα ψηφιακά χάσματα μειώθηκαν στη Λέσβο.

Η διαδικασία χορήγησης ασύλου συνέχισε να είναι πολύ χρονοβόρα για πολλούς μετανάστες, πολλοί από τους οποίους άρχισαν να αισθάνονται ότι ζουν μετέωροι. Αρκετοί αναγκάστηκαν να παραμείνουν για περισσότερο από ένα χρόνο σε επισφαλείς συνθήκες. Η σύνδεση στο διαδίκτυο έγινε πολύ σημαντική γι' αυτούς, διότι τους βοήθησε να διατηρήσουν επαφή με την οικογένεια και τους φίλους τους και να μάθουν νέα πράγματα για να περάσουν τις πολλές ώρες της αναμονής. Με βάση τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας, οι αρχές θα πρέπει να παρέχουν στους μετανάστες που σχετίζονται με το άσυλο δωρεάν πρόσβαση στο διαδίκτυο σε όλα τα στάδια της διαδικασίας απόκτησης ασύλου στη Λέσβο και οπουδήποτε αλλού στην ΕΕ.

11. Demandeurs d'asile et migrants sans papiers sur l'île de Lesbos en Grèce entre 2020-2022

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Le projet de recherche *Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Lesbos, Greece, 2020-2022* (Demandeurs d'asile et migrants sans papiers sur l'île de Lesbos en Grèce entre 2020-2022) s'est penché sur la vie quotidienne et sur la mobilité physique et digitale des migrants sans papiers liées à la demande d'asile à Lesbos qui est une île grecque en Méditerranée orientale. Nous avons examiné qui sont ces demandeurs d'asile et autres migrants sans papiers, quels sont leurs flux migratoires et souhaits pour se rendre à Lesbos et sur d'autres endroits après celui-ci, quelles sont leurs conditions de vie sur l'île et comment ces migrants ont utilisé internet et les médias sociaux lors de leurs trajets de migration.

La recherche se portait sur l'évolution des flux migratoires à Lesbos et en mer Egée de 2020 jusqu'à l'été 2022. Comme matériel de référence, nous avons utilisé les statistiques et les rapports des organisations et des chercheurs. La nouvelle documentation la plus importante était basée sur les réponses apportées au questionnaire par 205 migrants séjournant dans le centre d'accueil de Mavrovouni. Le questionnaire a été réalisé à Lesbos en mai 2022. Nous avons également obtenu des informations sur leur quotidien en discutant avec eux et en observant leurs activités en dehors du centre d'accueil.

Lesbos se trouve près de la Turquie, et c'est une artère principale pour beaucoup de migrants demandant l'asile dans l'UE. Au cours des années, presque un million de migrants ont transité via cette île. Leur nombre varie considérablement d'une année à l'autre. Jusqu'en 2019 l'île comptait plus de 20 000 migrants sans papiers répartis dans plusieurs centres d'accueil, dont l'un était Moria. En été 2022, le seul centre d'accueil de l'île abritait environ 1 300 demandeurs d'asile.

Les trajets des migrants sans papiers pour obtenir l'asile étaient divisés en plusieurs épisodes de mobilité et d'immobilité. Les migrants sans papiers peuvent avoir une influence sur quelques facteurs de leurs trajets mais pour la plupart, ils ne peuvent les contrôler. La mobilité et l'immobilité physique et digitale sont liées entre eux lors de la préparation du trajet et pendant celui-ci. Pour les migrants, la mobilité et l'immobilité informelles font parties du quotidien. Il est difficile d'accéder à l'UE via les voies de migration habituelles. Beaucoup doivent avoir recours à une demande d'asile et aux flux migratoires informels. Parfois les migrants peuvent avancer dans leurs démarches pour obtenir l'asile. Parfois ils sont forcés à l'immobilité physique et digitale. Il s'agit d'un contrôle (passif) bio-géopolitique des migrants concernant l'asile dans les régions frontalières de l'UE.

Les trajets des flux migratoires informels sont longs et compliqués. Sur l'île de Lesbos, 77% des personnes ayant répondu au questionnaire signalaient qu'ils avaient quitté leur pays à cause de la guerre ou de violations graves politiques ou des droits

de l'homme. Parmi les autres motifs se trouvaient le chômage, le besoin d'une meilleure éducation, le regroupement familial etc. Ces motifs étaient entrelacés.

La plupart d'entre eux avait voyagé vers Lesbos pendant plus de 6 mois. Quelques-uns arrivaient plus vite s'ils avaient pu se rendre en Turquie depuis un pays voisin ou par un vol direct.

L'accès au Lesbos est devenu plus difficile à partir de la fin de l'automne 2019. Entre janvier et juin 2022, 857 migrants sans papiers sont arrivés à Lesbos. Aucun bateau n'est arrivé pendant plusieurs semaines. Lors de semaines plus chargées sont arrivées quelques bateaux et 135 migrants. À cause de la restriction de la mobilité pour empêcher la propagation du coronavirus, plusieurs migrants ont eu plus de difficultés à se rendre en Turquie, à voyager à l'intérieur de ce pays et surtout à tenter le trajet vers Lesbos. Selon les allégations de plusieurs organisations, la Grèce repousse les groupes de migrants directement vers la Turquie sans qu'ils puissent demander l'asile en Grèce, y compris à Lesbos. Ceci est contraire aux accords internationaux. Beaucoup d'entre eux ont essayé de se rendre à Lesbos plusieurs fois avant de réussir.

En 2020 et 2021, les anciens centres d'accueil de Moria, de Kara Tepe et de PIKPA ont été fermés, et un nouveau centre d'accueil a été ouvert pour une protection d'urgence. En juin 2022, le centre d'accueil de Mavrovouni abritait 1 351 demandeurs d'asile et migrants sans papiers. La plupart entre eux étaient des Afghans et des Somaliens ; par contre, il y avait très peu de Palestiniens et de Syriens. Le quotidien des demandeurs d'asile sur l'île de Lesbos s'est amélioré grâce à la diminution de la densité de population du centre d'accueil lorsque plus de 10 000 personnes ont été transférés ailleurs, et grâce à l'amélioration de son infrastructure. Parmi les personnes ayant répondu au questionnaire, 53% se sentaient en sécurité dans le centre d'accueil, 77% trouvaient qu'il y avait assez de toilettes et de douches et 43% estimaient être bien traités sur Lesbos. Ces chiffres étaient bien plus hauts comparés aux réponses des migrants en 2019 et 2016.

Plusieurs migrants étaient forcés à une immobilité physique sur l'île de Lesbos et ils avaient moins de possibilités de sortir du centre d'accueil. En revanche, plusieurs d'entre eux sont devenus plus mobiles digitalement. Plus les migrants séjournaient longtemps sur l'île de Lesbos, plus ils utilisaient internet et les médias sociaux souvent : les fossés numériques se sont réduits sur l'île de Lesbos. Parmi les personnes ayant répondu, 86% utilisaient internet et 61% WhatsApp : ce dernier était utilisé par plus de personnes, comparé aux années précédentes.

Pour beaucoup de migrants, la procédure d'asile était très longue, et ils se sentaient impuissants. Plusieurs d'entre eux devaient vivre pendant plus d'un an dans des conditions précaires. La connexion internet est devenue importante pour eux comme un moyen de garder le contact avec leurs familles et amis et d'apprendre de nouvelles choses afin de faire passer les longues heures à attendre. Selon les résultats de la recherche les autorités devraient garantir aux demandeurs d'asile une connexion internet gratuite lors de la procédure d'asile sur l'île de Lesbos et ailleurs dans l'UE.

12. ٠١. طالبو اللجوء والمهاجرون غير الشرعيين في ليسفوس، اليونان، ٢٠٢٠-٢٠٢٢

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ركز المشروع البحثي «طالبو اللجوء والمهاجرون غير الشرعيين في ليسفوس، اليونان، ٢٠٢٠-٢٠٢٢» على الحياة اليومية و الإعاقات المادية والرقمية المرتبطة باللجوء وتنقل المهاجرين في جزيرة ليسفوس في شرق البحر الأبيض المتوسط. ركزت هذه الدراسة على من هم طالبو اللجوء وغيرهم من المهاجرين المرتبطين باللجوء، ما هي أنماط هجرتهم، تطلعاتهم للوصول إلى ليسفوس ووجهات أخرى، كيف كانت حياتهم اليومية، كيف استخدموا الإنترنت ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي خلال رحلاتهم المتعلقة باللجوء.

غطى البحث التطورات في ليسفوس وبحر إيجه من عام ٢٠٢٠ إلى صيف عام ٢٠٢٢. تم استخلاص المواد الأساسية من إحصاءات وتقارير من مختلف المنظمات والباحثين. تتكون المواد التجريبية الرئيسية الجديدة من ردود على الاستبيان التي تم جمعها في أيار ٢٠٢٢ من ٥٠٢ مهاجرين مرتبطين باللجوء يعيشون في مركز مافروفوني للاستقبال وتحديد الهوية في ليسفوس. تم جمع معلومات إضافية حول حياتهم اليومية من المحادثات معهم ومن خلال مراقبة أنشطتهم خارج المركز.

جزيرة ليسفوس قريبة من الساحل الغربي لتركيا وهي نقطة دخول إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي للعديد من المهاجرين الذين يطلبون اللجوء. على مر السنين، مر ما يقرب من مليون مهاجر عبر الجزيرة، على الرغم من اختلاف عددهم السنوي بشكل كبير. في صيف عام ٢٠٢٢، كان هناك حوالي ٠٠٣١ مهاجر مرتبط باللجوء في مركز مافروفوني، والذي كان مركز الاستقبال الوحيد الذي يوجد فيه طالبو اللجوء وغيرهم من المهاجرين ذوي الصلة في ليسفوس. كان هذا أقل مقارنة بالوضع في عام ٩١٠٢ عندما كان هناك أكثر من ٠٠٠٠٢ مهاجر مرتبط باللجوء في عدة مراكز في الجزيرة، بما في ذلك موريا (تقرير قارب إيجة ٢٠٢٢).

تتكون رحلات المهاجرين المرتبطين باللجوء من مراحل مختلفة من التنقل وعدم التنقل. يمكنهم التأثير على بعض العوامل، لكن الكثير منها خارج عن سيطرتهم. ترتبط وسائل التنقل المادية والرقمية وعدم القدرة على التنقل ببعضها البعض عند التحضير للرحلات وأثناء التنقل. كانت المعوقات المادية غير الاعتيادية للتنقل و عدمه جزءًا من الحياة اليومية للمهاجرين المرتبطين باللجوء. تؤدي الاحتمالات المحدودة للغاية لدخول الاتحاد الأوروبي من خلال إجراءات الهجرة النظامية إلى استخدام العديد من أنظمة طلب اللجوء والهجرة غير النظامية. في بعض الأحيان يُسمح لهؤلاء المهاجرين بالمضي قدمًا في عملية اللجوء. في أوقات أخرى، يتم تقييدهم في حالة من الجمود المادي والرقمي. هذا جزء من (سوء) الإدارة الحيوية -الجيوسياسية للمهاجرين المرتبطين باللجوء في الأراضي الحدودية للاتحاد الأوروبي.

رحلة اللجوء طويلة ومعقدة. ذكر ٧٧٪ من المشاركين في الاستطلاع في ليسفوس أنهم اضطروا إلى مغادرة بلدهم الأصلي بسبب الحرب أو الانتهاكات السياسية الجسيمة أو حقوق الإنسان. كانت هناك العديد من الأسباب الأخرى، بما في ذلك البطالة، و فرص التعليم الأفضل، ولم شمل الأسرة. غادر العديد من المهاجرين لأسباب مجتمعة.

أمضى غالبية المهاجرين المرتبطين باللجوء أكثر من نصف عام في رحلاتهم إلى ليسفوس. وصل عدد قليل منهم في وقت أقصر لأنهم تمكنوا من الوصول إلى تركيا بسرعة، إما من دولة مجاورة أو عن طريق السفر جوا إلى تركيا مباشرة.

أصبح الوصول إلى ليسفوس وجزر بحر إيجه الأخرى أكثر صعوبة منذ أواخر خريف عام ٩١٠٢ فصاعدًا. في الفترة من كانون الثاني إلى حزيران ٢٢٠٢ ، استقبلت جزيرة ليسفوس ٧٥٨ مهاجرًا. لعدة أسابيع لم تصل قوارب أو أشخاص إلى ليسفوس ؛ كان الأسبوع الأكثر ازدحامًا به عدد قليل من القوارب و ٥٣١ شخصًا. أدت قيود التنقل المتعلقة بالوقاية من جائحة كوفيد - ٩١ إلى الحد من إمكانية التنقل داخل تركيا أو الوصول إلى ليسفوس. زعمت عدة منظمات غير حكومية ومنظمات أخرى أن اليونان نفذت عمليات صد (أي أعادت المهاجرين جماعيًا من المناطق اليونانية ومنعتهم من طلب اللجوء في اليونان ، بما في ذلك ليسفوس) الأمر الذي يتعارض مع الاتفاقيات الدولية. حاول العديد من المهاجرين عدة مرات قبل وصولهم إلى ليسفوس.

تم إغلاق مراكز الاستقبال السابقة موريا و كارا تيبى و بيكبا في ٢٠٢٢-١٢٠٢ ، وتم إنشاء مركز للطوارئ. في حزيران من عام ٢٢٠٢ ، كان مركز مافروفوني يضم ١٥٣١ مهاجرًا مرتبطًا باللجوء ، كان العدد الأكبر من طالبي اللجوء من الأفغان والصوماليين ولكن عددًا قليلاً جدًا منهم من الفلسطينيين والسوريين. اعتبارًا من عام ٢٢٠٢ ، كان نقل أكثر من ٠٠٠٠١ طالب لجوء وتحسين مرافق الاستقبال وتقليل الازدحام من الجوانب الإيجابية في الحياة اليومية لطالبي اللجوء في ليسفوس في عام ٢٢٠٢. من بين المشاركين في استطلاع عام ٢٢٠٢ ، شعر ٣٥٪ منهم بالأمان في المركز ، أشار ٧٧٪ منهم إلى أن هناك ما يكفي من المراحيض والاستحمام ، وشعر ٣٤٪ أنهم يعاملون بشكل جيد في ليسفوس. كانت هذه النسب أعلى بكثير مقارنة بوضع عام ٩١٠٢ ووضع عام ٦١٠٢ للمهاجرين المرتبطين باللجوء في ليسفوس. عانى العديد من المهاجرين من معوقات التنقل في ليسفوس و كان هناك خيارات أقل لمغادرة مركز الاستقبال ، لذلك أصبح الكثير منهم وبشكل متزايد يستخدم التنقل الرقمي. وكلما طالت مدة بقاء المهاجرين في ليسفوس ، بدأ عدد أكبر منهم في استخدام الإنترنت ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي ، وعادة ما يكون ذلك بشكل متكرر. من بين المستجيبين ، استخدم ٦٨٪ الإنترنت و ١٦٪ الواتس اب في ليسفوس؛ نمت نسبة المستخدمين من ٦١٠٢ و ٩١٠٢. وتقلصت الانقسامات الرقمية في ليسفوس.

تستمر عملية اللجوء بوصفها عملية طويلة للغاية بالنسبة للعديد من المهاجرين الذين بدأ الكثير منهم يشعرون أنهم يعيشون في طي النسيان. اضطر العديد منهم إلى البقاء لأكثر من عام في أوضاع محفوفة بالمخاطر. أصبح الاتصال بالإنترنت مهمًا جدًا بالنسبة لهم لأنه ساعدهم في الحفاظ على الاتصال بالعائلة والأصدقاء وتعلم أشياء جديدة لتمضية ساعات الانتظار الطويلة. بناءً على نتائج البحث ، يجب على السلطات تزويد المهاجرين المرتبطين باللجوء بإمكانية الوصول المجاني إلى الإنترنت خلال جميع مراحل عملية اللجوء في ليسفوس وأماكن أخرى في الاتحاد الأوروبي.

13. Magangalyoddoonayaasha iyo dadka aan sharciga lahayn ee ku sugan jasiiradda Lesvos, Gariika, sanadada 2020–2022.

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Mashruuca cilmibaarista loogu magac daray *Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Lesvos, Greece, 2020–2022* (Magangalyoddoonayaasha iyo dadka aan sharciga lahayn ee ku sugan jasiiradda Lesvos, Gariika, sanadada 2020–2022), waa mashruuc lagu baaraayo codsiyada magangalyoddoonayaasha ee ku saabsan nololmaalmeedka iyo dhaqdhaqaaqa jir ahaneed iyo midka dhijitaalka ah ee dadka aan sharciga lahayn ee ku nool Lesvos, taasoo ah jasiirad giriigu leeyahay oo ku taalla bariga badda dhexe ee loo yaqaan Miditereeniyaanka. Waxaan baaraynaa dadka ay yihiin magangalyoddoonayaasha iyo dadka kale ee aan sharciga lahayn, qaabke ayay ahayd u so guuristooda halkaan iyo hadafkoodii ahaa in ay soo gaaraan Lesvos iyo meelaha kale ee ku sii xiga, nolol sidee ay ayay ku noolaayeen jaasiiradda, iyo sida ay dadkaas jasiiradda u soo guuray u isticmaalayeen internetka iyo baraha bulshada, intii ay ku soo jireen safarkooda soo guurista.

Cilmibaaristu waxaa ay ku saabsanayd horumarkii dhaqdhaqaaqa guuritaanka ee badda Lesvos iyo Egea laga soo bilaabo xagaagii sannadihii u dhexeeyay 2020–2022-kii. Macluumaadka salka u ah cilmibaarsita waa warbixinaha iyo tirakoobyada ay sameeyeen cilmibaarayaasha iyo ururrada kala duwan. Maaddada cusub ee ugu muhiimsan waxaa ay ka koobnayd jawaabaha ay dad tiradoodu gaaray 205 qof oo ku noolaa xerada qaxootiga ee Mavrovoun ka bixiyeen xogweydiinta la isku habeeyay ee iyaga la weydiinaayay, taasoo laga hirgaliyay Lesvos bishii Maajo 2022-kii. Warbixinta ku saabsan nololmaalmeedkooda caadiga ah waxaan ka helnay wadahadalladii aan la yeelanay iyaga iyo waxyaabihii aan ka aragnay waxqabadkooda ka dhacaayay xeradda bannaankeeda.

Jasiiradda Lesvos ee u dhow Turkiga waa jidka ama marinka ugu weyn ee ay soo maraan dad badan oo soo galooti ah, kuwaasoo doonaaya in ay magangalyo qaxootinnimo ka dalbadaan waddamada midowga yurub. Sannadihii la soo dhaafay ku dhowaad hal milyan oo soo galooti ah ayaa waddadaan soo maray. Tiradoodana in badan ayay sannad walba isbeddeshaa. Sannadkii 2009-kii dadka jasiiradda joogay waxaa ay ahaayen in kabadan 22 000 oo qof oo ku kala nool xerooyin qaxooti oo kala duwan, taaso mid ka mid ah ay ahayd Moria. Xagaagii 2022-kii xerada qaxootiga ee kaliya ee ku taalla jasiiradda waxaa ku noolaa 1300 oo magangalyoddoonayaal qaxooti ah.

Safarka codsiga magangalyoddoonka soo galootiga aan sharciga lahayn waxaa uu ka kooban yahay qaybo kala duwan oo isugu jira socod iyo meelo lagu hakanaayo. Waxaa dadkaas ay saamayn ku yeelan karaan arrimo badan oo kuwa safarka la xiriira ah, hase yeeshee waxaa jira qaar badan oo aan wax koontorool

ah ku yeelan karin arrimahaas. Marka safarka loo diyaargaroobaayo iyo marka safarka lagu dhex jiraba, dhaqdhaqaaqyada jir ahaaneed iyo kuwa dhijitaal ahaan iyo dhaqdhaqaaq la'aantaba waa kuwo isku xiran. Dhaqdhaqaaqyada aan caadiga ahayn iyo dhaqdhaqaaq la'aanta waa qayb ka mid ah nololmaamleedka caadiga ah ee dadka soo galootiga ah. Wadada dheer ee safarka ee caadiga ah, waa mid aad u adag in Yurub laga soo galo. Qaar badan waxaa khasab ku ah in ay isticmaalaan codsiga magangalyoddoonka iyo soo guurista aan caadiga ahayn. Mararka qaarkood waxaa dadka soo galootiga ah loo oggolaadaa in ay sii wataan howlahooda magangalyoddoonista. Dhinaca kalena waxaa qaar badan oo ka mid ah lagu khasbaa in aanay wax dhaqdhaqaaq jir ahaaneed iyo mid dhijitaal ahba samayn karin. Waana siyaasadda caalamiga ah ee juqraafiyadeed ee aan saxda ahayn la xiriirta dadka soo galootiga ah ee imaanaaya xuduudaha waddamada ku bahoobay midowga Yuryb.

Safarada soo galootiga ee aan caadiga ahayn waa kuwo dheer oo dhib badan. Dadka soo galootiga ah ee jooga Lesvos waxaa xogweydiintii laga qaaday ay 77% dadkaas ka mid ah ay ku jawaabeen, in ay dalkoodii uga soo tageen sababo la xiriira dambiyo dhanka xuquuqda bani'aadamka la xiriira iyo kuwo siyaasadeed. Sababaha kale waxaa ka mid ahaa shaqo la'aanta, rabitaan waxbarasho ka fiican tii ay ku haysteen dalkooda, isu keenista qoyska iwm. Sababuhu waxaa ay ahaayeen kuwo isku xiran.

Inta ugu badan ee dadka soo galootiga ah waxaa safarka ay ku yimaadeen Lesvos uu ku qaatay wax kabadan lix bilood. Qaarkood si dhakhso ah ayay ku yimaadeen, haddii ay Turkiga imaan karaan iyagoo ka soo duulay dalalka deriska la ah ama ay si toos halkaas u tagi karaan.

Imaanshaha Lesvos wuu soo adkaaday laga soo bilaabo dhammaadkii deyrta ee sannadkii 2009-kii. Sannadka 2022-ka intii u dhexeysay bilihii Jannaayo illaa iyo Juun, waxaa si aan sharci ahayn ku soo galay Lesvos 857 qof oo soo galooti ah. Waxaa jiray dhowr toddobaad oo aanay wax doon ah imaan. Toddobaadkii ugu dhaqdhaqaaqa badnaa waxaa yimid dhowr doomood iyo 135 soo galooti ah. Xayiraaddii dhan socodka ee looga hortagaayay faafista cudurka safmarka ah ee korona ayaa dad badan ku adkaysay in ay soo galaan dalka Turkiga, ama ay halkaas ka soo safraan, si gaar ahna waxaa ay xayiraddaasu u saamaysay soo aaditaankii Lesvos. Waxaa jira ururro badan oo sheegay in Giriigu uu ku khasbaayo in kooxaha soo galootiga ah uu si toos ah dib ugu celiyo dalka turkiga, iyadoo aan wax fursad ah loo siinin in ay magangalyo qaxootinnimo ka dalbadaan Giriigga, gaar ahaan Lesvos. Arrinkaan waa mid ka soo horjeeda heshiiska caalamiga ah. Qaar badan oo ka mid ah soo galootiga waxaa ay isku dayaan dhowr goor in ay soo galaan Lesvos, kahor inta aanu u suurtaggalin arrinkaas.

Intii u dhexeysay sannadihii 2020-2021-kii waxaa la xiray xeryihii qaxootiga ee hore uga jiray Lesvos ee kala ahaa Moria Kara Tepe iyo PIKPA, waxaana la furay xarun cusub oo badbaadinta degdegga ah. Bishii Juun sannadkii 2022-

kii waxaa xerada qaxootiga ee Mavrovouni ku iiray 1351 qof oo isugu jira magangalyoddoonayaal iyo dad sharci la'aan ah. Intooda ugu badan waxaa ay ka kala yimaadeen dalalka Afgaanistaan, Soomaaliya, marka dhanka kale laga eegana waxaa jiray tiro aad u yar oo Falstiiniyiin iyo Suuriyaan ahaa. Howlaha nolomaalmeedka caadiga ah ee qaxootiga joogay Lesvos waxaa ay u muuqdeen kuwo wanaagsan kaddib markii la fudueeyay ciriirigii ka jiray xerada, waayo in ka badan 10 000 oo qof ayaa halkaas laga wareejiyay, waxaana sidoo kale soo fiicnaaday kaabayaasha adeegga ee xerada. Dadkii ka jawaabay xogweydinta waxaa 53% ay u arkayeen in ay amni ku haystaan xerada dhexdeeda, 77% waxaa ay sheegeen in halkaas ay ku yaallaan suuliyada ama musqulo ku filan oo kuwa fadhiga iyo kuwo qubayskaba ah, 43 % waxaa ay iyaguna u arkayeen in Lesvos gudaheeda si wanaagsan loogula dhaqmay. Tirooyinkaas waa kuwo si aad ah uga badan marka loo barbardhigo jawaabihii ay dadka soo galootiga ah bixiyeen sannadihii 2019-ka iyo 2016-ka.

Qaar badan oo soo galootiga ah ka mid ah waxaa lagu khasbay in wax dhaqdhaqaaqjir ahaaneed ah aanay ku samayn karin Lesvos gudaheeda, fursadda ah in ay xerada bannaanka uga baxaana aad bay u yarayd, laakiin qaar badan oo iyaga ka mid ah waxaa ay haysteen dhaqdhaqaaq dhanka dhijitaalka ah. Markasta oo dadka soo galootiga ah ay muddo dheer ku sugnaadaan Lesvos, waxaa qaar badan oo iyaga ka mid ah ay isticmaalayeen Internetka iyo warbaahinta baraha bulshada, sida caadiga ah inta badan: godadka shabakadaha ee dhijitaalka Lesvos aad buu ciriiri u noqonaayay. Dadka xogweydiinta ka jawaabay 86% waxaa ay isticmaalayeen Internet, 61% waxaa ay isticmaalayeen Whatsup: kan dambe aad buu u badnaa marka loo barbardhigo sannadihii ka horreeyay.

Qaar badan oo ka mid ah dadka soo galootiga ah, waxaa howlaha magangalyoddoonista qaxootinnimada ay ku qaadatay muddo aad u dheer, waxaa ay dareemayeen in aanay wax awood ah u lahayn arrinkaas. Qaarkood waxaa ay ku qaadatay in ay halkaas joogaan wax ka badan sannad, iyagoo ku noolaa xaalado ciriiri ah. Waxaa iyaga muhiim u ahaa xiriirka dhanka internetka, waayo waxaa iyagoo kaashanaya internetka ay awoodeen in ay la xiriiraan qoyskooda iyo saaxiibbaddood, islamarkaana ay bartaan arrimo cusub, kuwaasoo ay ku qaataan ama isku dhaafiyaan saacadaha faraha badan ee xilliga sugitaanka xalka arrinkooda. Iyadoo la kaashanaayo natiijada ka soo baxday baaritaanka, waa in howlwadeennada xerada qaxootiga iyo kuwa dowladduba ay dadka magangalyoddoonka ah u dammaanad qaadaan sidii ay ku heli lahaayeen internet lacag la'aan ah, inta lagu guda jiro xal ka gaarista howlaha codsiga magangalyoddoonista ee Lesvos gudaheeda iyo meelaha kale ee ka tirsan waddamada Midowga Yurub.



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