

# ASYLUM SEEKERS IN LESVOS, GREECE, 2016-2017

طالبى اللجوء فى لسبوس فى اليونان عام

Asylum seekers in Lesbos, Greece

داواكارانى پهناپهري له لئسيبوس له يونان سالى

Turvapaikanhakijat Lesboksella Kreikassa

طالب پناه لئسووس يونان مين

Demandeurs d'asile sur l'île Greque de Lesbos

پناهجویان در جزیره لسبوس، یونان؛ در سال

Οι πρόσφυγες στη Λέσβο, Ελλάδα

# **ASYLUM SEEKERS IN LESVOS, GREECE, 2016–2017**

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# 1. INTRODUCTION AND KEY FINDINGS

The island of Lesbos, Greece, in the Eastern Mediterranean is a key entry location for people seeking asylum in the European Union. In 2015, over half a million asylum seekers traveled through Lesbos. They continued the journey toward the mainland Greece and other destinations in the European Union. In 2015, about 1.3 million asylum applications were presented in the European Union (UNHCR 2016). Following the EU-Turkey Agreement of 18 March 2016, the amount of asylum seekers diminished substantially. In 2016, 173,450 asylum seekers arrived from Turkey to Greece via sea borders and most of them through Lesbos (UNHCR 2017b).

The island of Lesbos as such is rather small. Its size is 1,600 square kilometers. Its resident population is 86,000, including the largest town Mytilene with 38,000 inhabitants. However, the island is located at only ten kilometers west from the eastern mainland coast of Turkey. This location at the border of the European Union attracts and facilitates the arrival of asylum seekers (Figure 1). Also other Greek islands near Turkey receive asylum seekers. However, their amount is substantially lower than that in Lesbos (UNHCR 2016). In general, the arrival of asylum seekers to Lesbos and other Greek islands depends on the agreements between the European Union and Turkey, e.g., how efficiently Turkey prevents the departure of asylum seekers from its coastal areas.

This research report “Asylum Seekers in Lesbos, Greece, 2016–2017” shows the preliminary findings of a research about the asylum seekers’ situation in Lesbos between the late 2016 and the early 2017. The key research topics are the processes, practices and experiences of asylum seekers in Lesbos and how related authorities and organizations are dealing with them. Asylum seeker aspirations and journeys from their home areas to their destination countries are studied.

The research is connected to a broader research project about the future of urbanization, mobility and immigration in Europe and, in particular, Finland. The research is funded by the Strategic Research Council of the Academy of Finland. It was conducted by the research consortium URMI (*Urbanization, Mobilities and Immigration*, see [www.urmi.fi](http://www.urmi.fi)). Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen ([jusaja@utu.fi](mailto:jusaja@utu.fi)) from the Department of Geography and Geology at the University of Turku, Finland, is the director of the URMI consortium and the author of this report. The research was conducted in December 2016 and March 2017 among the asylum seekers in Lesbos. They responded to a survey and were interviewed inside or at the immediate vicinity of three locations on this island where the asylum seekers were placed.

Among various stakeholders in Lesbos, there are different expressions regarding the locations where the asylum seekers wait until the initial part of their asylum application is processed. Many asylum seekers and also the media calls these sites “refugee camps”. This is not entirely correct since the vast majority of

# Europe Refugee Emergency

Daily map indicating capacity and occupancy (Governmental figures)  
As of 07 March 2017 08:00 a.m. EET



Figure 1. Lesbos and other Greek islands near the coast of Turkey. As of 2017, there were reception and identification service centers in Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Kos and Leros. Source: UNHCR 2017a.

the asylum seekers have not yet received asylum and thus are not yet refugees. In fact, rather few of them will ever receive the official international status of a refugee. The notion of “camp” refers correctly, at least partly, to the sites’ temporary character. However, the sites function for years and have also buildings that have been used earlier for other purposes for a long time. Also, some documents label these places “reception and identification centers”. Some even call them “detention centers”.

There are major differences between the sites. Some sites are open and host only tens of asylum seekers. Others are guarded, the access is restricted, and may host several thousand asylum seekers. Also the management of the places vary as it is explained in the Chapter 2. In this publication, the definition “asy-

lum seeker reception site” or “site” is used for these places irrespective of their size or openness.

For the purpose of this research, a survey was conducted in December 2016 among asylum seekers located in the Moria, Kara Tepe and PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) asylum seeker reception sites in Lesvos. Over 500 asylum seekers responded to this semi-structured survey. In addition, 54 interviews were conducted in March 2017 among asylum seekers located in the same three sites, namely Moria, Kara Tepe and PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity). This report illustrates general findings – however, the analysis continues.

We are grateful to all asylum seekers who contributed to this research by responding to the survey and allowing us interview them. Also, authorities in the PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) and Kara Tepe asylum seeker reception sites showed interest and facilitated the conducting of the research.

The key findings of this report are:

- Lesvos has been and continues to be a significant entry point for many asylum seekers to the European Union.
- The arrival of asylum seekers in Lesvos is facilitated by smugglers in Turkey, creating an illegal business with an annual turnover of tens to hundreds of millions of Euros.
- Most asylum seekers stay in the reception sites in Lesvos for several months, having no idea what their future will be. They feel that they are governed from above without possibilities to influence how they are categorized and treated, and whether, how or when their asylum application is being processed.
- The living conditions in Lesvos are very challenging for asylum seekers, and especially poor is the Moria reception site; however, they are better at the Kara Tepe site and the PIKPA site.
- Of the studied asylum seekers, only one out of six (16%) feel safe at the Moria site. Slightly more feel safe at the Kara Tepe site (22%) and majority (55%) at the PIKPA site. At the Moria site, one out of four (25%) asylum seekers feels well-treated, and every second person at the Kara Tepe site (46%) likewise at the PIKPA site (59%). At the Moria site, one out of seven people (15%) feel that they have enough toilets and showers, etc., for their use. At the Kara Tepe site, one out of five (22%), and at the PIKPA site, half (56%) of asylum seekers are satisfied with these facilities.
- Very few (7%) asylum seekers plan to return to their former home country. If returned by force, many will try again to enter the European Union. Germa-



ny is the most wished-for destination for every second (48%) asylum seeker. Six out of seven (86%) asylum seekers would like to work in Europe. Their skills vary, however, many have a potential niche in the European employment market. A challenge is their access to the mainland Greece and further to other European Union countries. An additional challenge comes from the different labor policies that the European Union applies for asylum seekers.

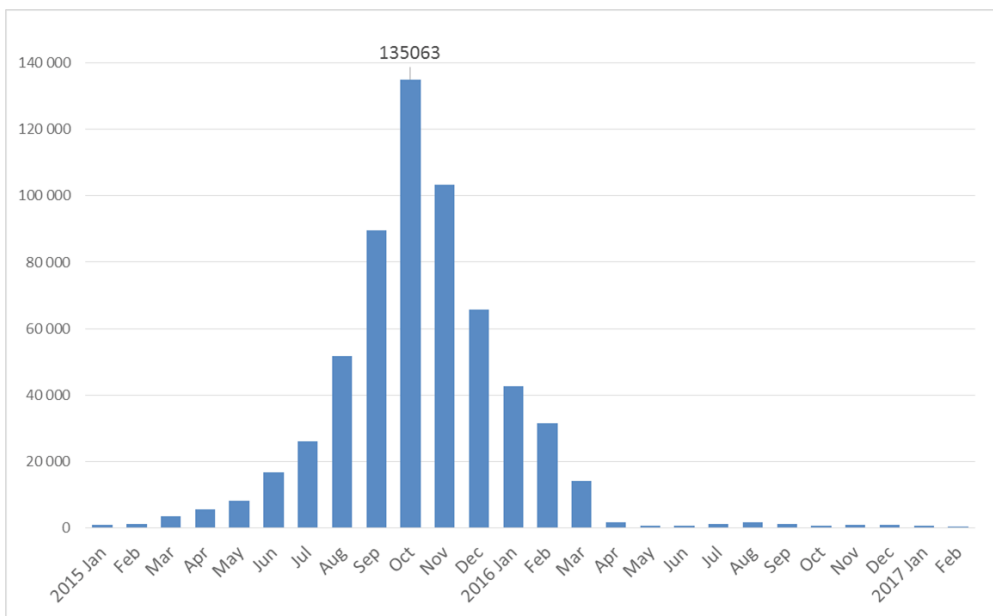
- Social media is the most important communication tool for asylum seekers on their journey to Europe. Two out of five (42%) argue that social media and the Internet makes their life easier in Lesvos. In Lesvos, most (60%) asylum seekers use the Internet at least several times a week. Facebook, WhatsApp and Viber are the most important channels. The usage of social media is vital during the practicalities of the asylum journey. The use is related to everyday communication with family, relatives and friends in their country of origin and elsewhere, also in the European Union.
- There should be more resources to manage better the Moria asylum seeker reception site. It is urgent to improve substantially its basic facilities to make the everyday life of asylum seekers more decent. Even small inexpensive enhancements, such as the provision of complimentary speed Wi-Fi access to the Internet, would be useful.
- Asylum seekers need to be treated well, respectfully and individually taking into account everyone's needs. If the asylum application is rejected, the responsible authorities must provide a safe and meaningful return for the asylum seeker to the country of origin.

## 2. ASYLUM SEEKERS IN LESVOS, GREECE: SURVEY AND INTERVIEWS

The island of Lesbos is a significant place along the journey of asylum seekers and an entry location for seeking asylum in the European Union. Figure 2 illustrates the development of arrivals of asylum seekers to Greece from spring 2015 to spring 2017. In 2015, over 500,000 asylum seekers traveled through Lesbos peaking in thousands arriving daily in the busiest days in the autumn 2015 (UNHCR 2015).

In January–March 2016, 151,452 asylum seekers reached Greece from Turkey that is almost 1,700 individuals per day. Lesbos was then still for the asylum seekers the most significant gateway for to the European Union. However, following the European Union–Turkey statement of 18 March 2016 and its implementation from 20 March onward (European Commission 2016), the amount of arrivals dropped rapidly. Between April and October 2016, slightly over 18,000 people arrived from Turkey to Greece. This is less than 100 individuals per day (UNHCR 2016b, 10).

However, asylum seekers arrived continuously to Lesbos and Greece throughout the latter part of 2016 and the early 2017 (UNHCR 2017b). According to the estimation made by the UNHCR (2016, 31) in the end of 2016, a certain number of people in Turkey and beyond its borders continue to consider the option of irregular movement from Turkey of Greece via Lesbos. In 2017, there would be 150,000 persons on the move transiting Turkey in an attempt to reach the European Union. This is despite the EU–Turkey statement. However, there is a poten-



**Figure 2.** Arrivals of asylum seekers to Greece from spring 2015 to spring 2017. Source: Data from UNHCR.

tial for much higher number of persons if the relations between the European Union and Turkey do not develop in a positive manner.

## 2.1. Asylum seeker reception sites in Lesvos, Greece

The amount of asylum seeker reception sites has varied in Lesvos, Greece, according to the amount of arrivals. In the peak periods in 2015, there were several sites located in many parts of the island. However, following the decrease of the arrivals in the spring 2016, two major sites have remained in Lesvos, namely the Moria site and the Kara Tepe site (Figure 3). However, their character has also changed because since 20 20 March 2016, the arrived asylum seekers are kept in the sites until they are registered and processed. Earlier many passed quickly through Lesvos to Athens.

### 2.1.1. Moria asylum seeker reception site

The Moria asylum seeker reception site is located by a road about 8 km northwest of Mytilene. It is a large site run by the central authorities of Greece. Also the UNHCR is significantly involved in the actual management of the site. In the media, these authorities only rarely appear directly associated with the site and they give very seldom any statements concerning to the site. Tens of governmental and non-governmental organizations from Greece and abroad are involved in the daily activities of the site.

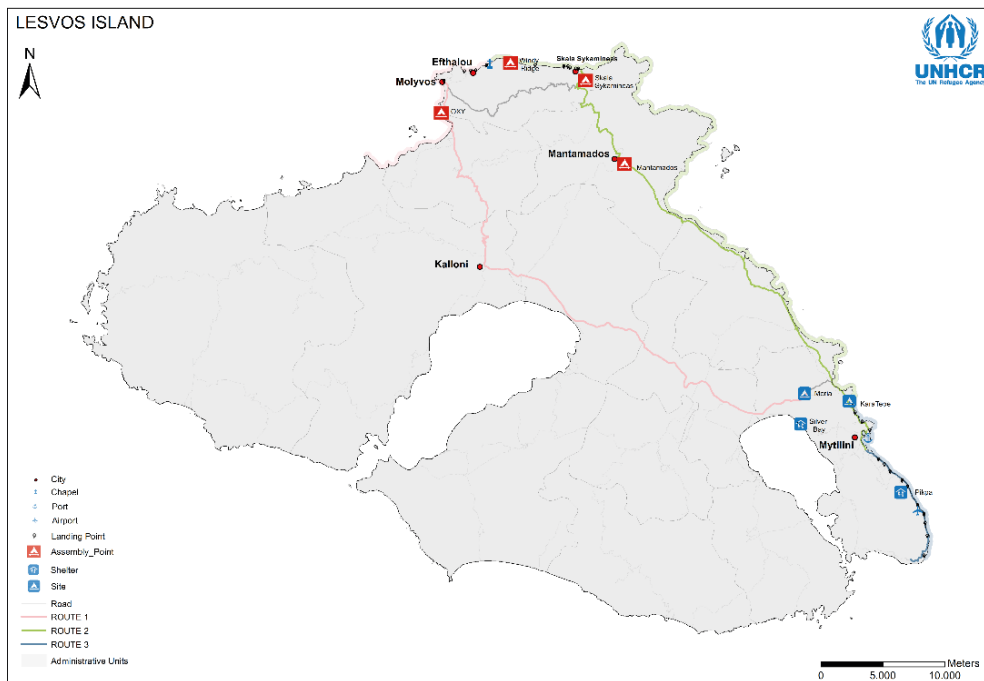


Figure 3. Asylum seeker reception sites in Lesvos, Greece, in early 2017. Source: UNHCR.



Figure 4. Internal structure of the Moria asylum seeker reception site. Source: UNHCR.



**Figure 5.** The Moria asylum seeker reception site in late 2016.

The site is divided into sections for different types of asylum seekers by ethnic and linguistic groups (Figure 4). The site is a former military base surrounded by high walls (Figure 5). It hosts several thousand asylum seekers being the largest site on the island. Until spring 2017, the asylum seekers slept in buildings or tents. However, the tents were abolished in the spring 2017 and new buildings were



**Figure 6.** The Moria asylum seeker reception site under surveillance.





**Figure 7.** General landscape of the Moria asylum seeker reception site in late 2016.

constructed instead. The UNHCR installed 19 two-storey and nine single-storey prefabricated containers (UNHCR 2017c). There are also many administrative and organizational buildings (Figure 6; Figure 7; Figure 8).

Because Moria is over-crowded and has thus potential for unrest, the police forces are frequently inside and outside the site. In fact, the unrest is common



**Figure 8.** General landscape of the Moria asylum seeker reception site in spring 2017.

on those days when more substantial food such as chicken is delivered. Over the months, there have been unrest, incidences and unfortunate casualties among asylum seekers. These also include asylum seekers deceased by hypothermia in January 2017 when the weather was colder than usual (Al Jazeera 2017). This led later into abolishment of the tents and improvement of the facilities inside the site. The asylum seekers, related non-governmental organizations and the media have presented also often criticism towards the general conditions in Moria.

During the time of our research, most asylum seekers could leave and enter the site daily. However, the access by other people was strictly restricted. Some asylum seekers spent their days inside the site, others outside. Some visited the town of Mytilene with a public transport departing from the main entrance of the site. In December 2016, around 200–300 asylum seekers spent a large part of their day in privately run canteens just outside the main entrance to the site. They tried to get warm, charge mobile phones, and eat. Furthermore, they conversed with each other in small groups. In March 2017, the numbers were smaller, and around 50–100 people were in and around canteens. The main activities were eating snacks, drinking, chatting with each other, using social media, and listening music.

During December 2016 and March 2017, interviews and talks were conducted also with the staff of non-governmental organizations and volunteers, however, outside the site. The non-governmental organizations, some born ad hoc while the large amounts of asylum seekers arrived at Lesvos in 2015 and others being present for longer time, have played and play an important role in the asylum related practices in Lesvos (see Kitching et al. 2016). However, these interviews and talks are not analyzed in this publication.

### 2.1.2. Kara Tepe asylum seeker reception site

Kara Tepe is about 2.5 km northeast of Mytilene by a large road. It is a medium-sized site run by a special organization linked to the Municipality of Lesvos. It hosts about one thousand asylum seekers. In all, the site is planned and rather densely built (Figure 9; Figure 10; Figure 11; Figure 12). Almost all asylum seekers live in small newly built temporary houses. Some houses for asylum seekers have been designed by IKEA – a project that won an architectural design prize in January 2017 (The Guardian 2017) (Figure 11). However, as such houses were designed for the emergency situations, they have been gradually replaced by a more firm containers that the asylum seekers call “boxes”: 219 out of planned 290 containers existed by spring 2017 (UNHCR 2017c). The Kara Tepe site is also frequently discussed in the media, however, generally in much more positive tones than the Moria site. The site manager is often interviewed and appears frequently in the media.

The size of the site has grown over the months according to the need to relocate asylum seekers in Lesvos. Many asylum seekers come to Kara Tepe from the Moria site and continue further to the mainland Greece. Such movements are part of the planned relocation schemes by the authorities. However, if Moria is the place mostly for initial asylum seeking phase and single men, Kara Tepe is for families. During December 2016, the site was visited inside twice and interviews and talks were conducted also with the staff, including the manager of the site. Also in March 2017, the site was visited twice and interviews and talks were conducted also with the staff. During December 2016 and March 2017, interviews and talks were conducted also with the staff of non-governmental organizations and volunteers, however, outside the site. These interviews and talks are not analyzed in this publication.

Asylum seekers can leave and enter the site daily. Some visit the town of Mytilene by bus or by walking. Others leave the site and have access to a near-by free food delivery service offered by non-governmental organizations. Many asylum seekers in Kara Tepe have previously been in Moria and have friends there. Some also visit by walk the Moria site at a few kilometers away.

In December 2016, tens of asylum seekers spent a part of their day in privately run canteens just outside the main entrance to the site. They charged mobile phones and ate. Furthermore, they talked with each other in small groups. In March 2017, their numbers were smaller because, weather permitting, asylum seekers also spent their time outside the camp in the greenery.





Figure 9. Internal structure of the Kara Tepe asylum seeker reception site. Source: UNHCR.



Figure 10. General landscape of the Kara Tepe asylum seeker reception site.



Figure 11. The award-winning shelter for asylum seekers in the Kara Tepe asylum seeker reception site.



Figure 12. The Kara Tepe asylum seeker reception site.

### 2.1.3. PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) asylum seeker reception site

PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity), about 5.5 km southeast of Mytilene, is located quite near to the island's airport in the end of a small road deviating from the larger road to the airport. It is a small self-organized site run by volunteers. It hosts less than one hundred asylum seekers. The site is mostly consisted of small houses that have been earlier used for summer camp purposes (Figure 13). There are also some larger tents. There are also larger buildings hosting, for example, a kitchen and a covered meeting office (Figure 14; Figure 15). There is some media coverage of the site, often written by the volunteers who have stayed in the site.

Asylum seekers can leave and enter the site daily. In December 2016, they mainly spent their day in the site participating in organized activities during the day. In March 2017, their number had become smaller and many spent their free time also outside the site.

Both during December 2016 and March 2017, the site was visited inside twice and interviews and talks were conducted also with the staff, including the managerial staff of the site, and volunteers and non-governmental organizations. These interviews and talks are not analyzed in this publication.



**Figure 13.** General landscape of the PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) asylum seeker reception site.





Figure 14. The PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) asylum seeker reception site.



Figure 15. The PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) asylum seeker reception site.

## 2.2. Asylum seeker survey in 2016 in Lesvos, Greece

The survey among asylum seekers was conducted in Lesvos, Greece, on December 21–28, 2016. Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen (University of Turku, Finland) and Dr. Nikolaos Xypolytas (Panteion University of Athens, Greece) conducted the survey in person. The questionnaire was available in Arabic, Dari, English, Farsi, French, Sorani Kurdish, and Urdu. All ethical and safety precautions were applied throughout the survey.

The survey was conducted among asylum seekers in the Moria, Kara Tepe, and PIKPA asylum seeker reception sites. In general, the asylum seekers felt positively about the possibility of responding to the questionnaire. About 90 percent of the asylum seekers who were asked, also filled out the questionnaire. Those who refused were tired or busy, and some did not have enough command of writing. About 15 persons without writing skills filled out the questionnaire assisted by a fellow from the same language group. The total amount of respondents was 506.

The survey included 66 questions. The introduction explained the general purpose and ethical principles of the survey. The questions were about the asylum seeker's background (sex, mother tongue, education, employment, country of origin, etc.); journey to Lesvos (reason to leave, employment, experiences, etc.); and stay in Lesvos reception sites (personal experiences on various issues, future plans, and destinations, etc.). Of the questions, 5 were open (e.g. reasons to leave the country of origin; goals in respondent's life; daily activities of respondent's life in Lesvos. etc.), 15 were semi-structured, and 46 were structured (yes/no; I agree/I don't know/I disagree).

In the Moria and Kara Tepe sites, the survey was organized in the following way. Professor Jauhiainen and Dr. Xypolytas gave a questionnaire sheet and a pen to an individual asylum seeker in a canteen outside the site. The asylum seeker filled out and returned the sheet immediately. It took on average 15–20 minutes to fill out the survey. No interpreters were used. Some asylum seekers helped to explain the idea to other asylum seekers who could not understand English or French. In the PIKPA site, the survey was organized in the following way. There was a previously agreed general meeting for asylum seekers inside the site on December 28. In the meeting, Professor Jauhiainen and Dr. Xypolytas introduced the survey with the help of Arabic and Urdu interpreters. Then the participating asylum seekers filled out and returned the questionnaire. A statistical database was created from the information received and the responses were analyzed with quantitative methods.

The summary of the key study results was translated into English, French, Finnish, Arabic, Sorani Kurdish, Farsi and Urdu. The results were sent in March 2017 to the Moria, Kara Tepe and PIKPA site managers. In addition, the results

were discussed directly in March 2017 with some asylum seekers met at the Moria, Kara Tepe and PIKPA sites.

### **2.3. Asylum seeker interviews in 2017 in Lesvos, Greece**

The interviews among asylum seekers were conducted in Lesvos, Greece, on March 23–28, 2017. Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen, MSc Lotta Koistinen and MSc Noora Salmela from University of Turku, Finland and Dr. Nikolaos Xypolytas from Panteion University of Athens and the University of the Aegean, Greece conducted the interviews in person.

In total, 54 people participated in 54 interviews that were conducted among asylum seekers: 32 in English, 8 in Kurdish, 6 in Dari, 5 in Arabic, and 3 in French. Interpreters were used in conducting interviews in Arabic, Kurdish and Pashto. Three interviews were conducted so that the interviewed person actually wrote the answers because there was no interpreter available. All ethical and safety precautions were applied throughout the interviews.

The interviews included five themes. The introduction explained the general purpose and the ethical principles of the interview. The introduction was also written and available in Arabic, English, Farsi, French and Sorani Kurdish. The themes were about the asylum seeker's background, employment, governance, social media use, and migration goals.

In the Moria and Kara Tepe sites, the interviews were organized in the following way. Professor Jauhiainen, Dr. Xypolytas, MSc Koistinen and MSc Salmela asked a potential person for a possibility to be interviewed. If that was possible immediately, a suitable place was found out just outside the asylum seeker reception site, most often in a canteen or near-by public place. The ethical issues of the interview process were explained to the interviewed and all interviewed remained unidentified. In the PIKPA site, the interviews took place inside the reception site area.

Due to sensitivity and concerns of the asylum seekers, the interviews were not taped. Instead, the answers as a whole or the key points of the answers were written on paper or directly to a file with a laptop computer during the interviews by the interviewers. If needed, additional notes were written down after the interview finished. It took 20–40 minutes to conduct one interview. Those who could not speak English or French were interviewed with the help of the interpreter in Arabic, Kurdish or Pashto. The interviews were analyzed with thematic and content analyses.



### **3. MAIN RESULTS**

In total, 506 asylum seekers responded to the survey conducted in December 2016. Of them, 435 were located in the Moria site, 51 in the Kara Tepe site, and 20 in the PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) site. In the following are presented the general findings of the survey and comparisons between the three sites.

In total, 54 asylum seekers were interviewed in 23–28 March 2017. Of them, 36 were located in the Moria site, 10 in the Kara Tepe site, and 8 in the PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) site. Most interviews were with one person only. However, in three occasions focus group interviews were used because it turned out to be better way to engage people with the topics. The following presents the general findings of themes discussed in the interviews. No comparison between the sites is made. To support and contrast the results deriving from the interviews in March 2017, observations from the less formal talks and interviews held with the asylum seekers in these three sites in December 2016 are used.

#### **3.1. Survey: Asylum seekers' background information**

Of the respondents, 94% were male and 6% were female. The smaller number of women respondents was because they are fewer at the sites, often engaged with children, do not want to enter canteens consisting mostly of male asylum seekers, or they cannot fill out the questionnaire without the permission of a male relative.

Most respondents were 20–29 years old: 3% were 15–17 years, 40% 18–24 years, 27% 25–29 years, 23% 30–39 years, 7% 40–49 years, and 1% at least 50 years old. In all, most respondents were youngish and male, which is the general situation also in the reception sites (UNHCR 2016).

Among the respondents, 47 mother tongues were identified. The most common were: Arabic, French and Kurdish. In total, among the respondents, 35 countries of origin were identified. The most common were: Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Pakistan, and Eritrea. However, despite not being formally recognized, Kurdistan was mentioned often. These countries are generally the same than among all asylum seekers in Lesvos (UNHCR 2016). In the sites were met also people from rather particular countries such as the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Tanzania. Even one person had earlier been a resident of Finland and spoke Finnish fluently and some had visited Finland during their earlier asylum seeking journeys.

Of the respondents, two out of five (40%) had studied at a university. Before leaving to seek asylum, most were: employed (35%), job-seekers (33%), students (28%), or housewives (8%). The most frequently mentioned occupations were: mechanic, nurse, trader and military profession.



### 3.2. Survey: Journey of asylum seekers to Lesbos

In general, it took four months (122 days) for the asylum seekers to reach Lesbos from their country of origin. The fastest arrival was in a few days. Some asylum seekers had left their country of origin already years ago and had been on move for many years. It is not rare that some people are forced to leave their country of origin and remain on journey for years. If they receive a negative asylum decision, it becomes challenging for authorities to return them, since there might not be a proper country or place where to return them.

It is impossible to describe only one major reason for asylum seekers to leave their country of origin. Furthermore, it is very difficult to categorize the motivations of asylum seekers only through exclusively political, economic or social reasons. Often these reasons mix. Many asylum seekers described the politically and economically very challenging situation they had in their country of origin. Many had suffered violence in their country of origin. In general, the problematic political situation and adverse economic conditions at home country spur asylum migration. There is also a “friends and relatives” effect (Hatton 2016). This means that some get inspiration from friends and relatives already abroad or who decide to leave to seek for asylum.

Some asylum seekers argued that if they would be returned, they and their family would suffer from serious political oppression if the authorities would find out that they had asked for asylum in the European Union. Such comments were made also by people from countries that are in generally considered safe. Therefore, many just threw away their personal identification documents during the passage from Turkey to Lesbos. Furthermore, the main driving force for asylum seekers is to gain permanent settlement in the European Union at almost any cost (Hatton 2016).

During the journey to the European Union, two out of five (39%) of the respondents had lived in an asylum seeker camp or similar temporary accommodation, some in several countries. Most of those who had been in a camp, had been in a camp in Turkey. Some had also been in camps in other countries, for example, in Iran. In general, the living conditions in the camps outside Europe had been bad. However, compared to the Moria site, some asylum seekers found the situation in a Turkish camp better. Nevertheless, more respondents claimed that the camps were worse in Turkey.

Of the respondents, one third (35%) were employed for more than half of the journey time before entering Europe. On the other, almost half (44%) had not worked at all during the journey. The latter was most often due to only a short stay in Turkey. Most had stayed in Turkey for weeks or months. The employment in Turkey was to gain additional money to pay for the illegal boat trip to Lesbos or just to survive the waiting period. The informal work was poorly, if at all paid, and the working conditions were in general bad and unsafe. According to the re-

spondents, such informal employment was rather common in the coastal areas in Turkey. The UNHCR (2016b, 27) stated that most refugees, asylum-seekers and irregular migrants in Turkey work in the informal sector where they can face discrimination, difficult working conditions and low salaries. Many are subjected to xenophobia, social exclusion and discrimination and have difficulties to find decent working conditions. In general, the Turkish state, society and local people have welcomed the Syrian refugees (Yildiz & Uzgören 2016, 204). However, the situation has become more difficult when the asylum seekers have been blocked to the Turkish coastal areas after the EU-Turkey statement of March 2016.

Of the respondents, two out of three (64%) told that they had learned something useful during the journey to Lesbos. Many topics were mentioned. Most common were language learning, especially English, and gaining patience due to long-term waiting. Also many smaller work and profession related topics were mentioned often.

The arrival of asylum seekers to Lesbos is facilitated by smugglers in Turkey. In the survey, for reasons of sensitivity, there were no questions about how much an asylum seeker paid for the 10–20 km passage from the coast of Turkey to Lesbos. However, the oral response was received from about 150 asylum seekers. The average amount was about €1000. However, the price varied depending on the bargaining ability of the asylum seeker and the role he took in the passage. Smugglers openly advertised the possibilities for the passage, also in the social media (see also Frouws et al. 2016, 6; Juntunen 2016). To prevent this, the asylum related authorities and organizations utilize also social media to disseminate information on the dangers posed by traffickers and irregular movement (UNHCR 2016b, 17). Nevertheless, the illegal transporting of asylum seekers from the coast of Turkey to Lesbos creates a business with an annual turnover of tens to hundreds of millions of Euros. Europol (2016) has estimated that the illegal smuggling of asylum seekers creates an annual turnover of three to six billion Euro. Geopolitics at the global and national scales, organized and non-organized crime and various national and local economic interests are also involved.

Some asylum seekers tried twice or several times to reach Lesbos because they were caught during the first attempts. In fact, almost half (45%) told that someone had tried to stop him/her from coming to Lesbos. When they were caught, most were transported to Istanbul and released there. Very soon they returned back to the departure site at the Turkish coast. In the era of the Internet and the Google Maps, it is rather easy to find out the way back. Also one can also check if the smugglers are transporting one into the right direction (see Zijlstra & van Liempt 2017, 182–184). In general, the smugglers seemed to be aware of the border guarding system and able to use rather easily the opportunities to send the asylum seekers on their way. Also, they were aware of the possibilities of to-be

asylum seekers to trace their suggested and practiced trajectory through the GPS system.

Many asylum seekers also reported many kinds of problems during the short sea trip, including casualties. The passage from the coast of Turkey to the island of Lesbos took from less than one hour to almost a day. Some also described cases in which the boat had sunk before reaching the island and the asylum seeker had to swim for hours before he was rescued. Some of these events had also been documented by the rescuing authorities and the media as indicated by the asylum seekers, for example, through the Internet. In December 2016, there were several confiscated boats in the harbor of Mytilene.

### **3.3. Survey: Stay as an asylum seeker in Lesbos**

At the time of the survey in December 2016, in general, a respondent had stayed several months in a Lesbos reception site. The shortest time was three days and the longest over a year. The respondents of the Moria site had stayed in Lesbos on average for three months (90 days), at the Kara Tepe site for four months (115 days), and at the PIKPA site for six months (173 days).

Most asylum seekers in Lesbos can move freely on the island. Despite this, many are frustrated by the long stay in the reception sites and the uncertainty about their future. Therefore, some asylum seekers try to escape from the island to Athens. Various attempts are made every day, but it is very difficult and only very few manage it. However, according to talks with several asylum seekers, every week someone manages to get through and sends a confirming text message or picture through the social media from Athens that “s/he made it” (see also Frouws et al. 2016, 10). In Athens, there are thousands of current and former asylum seekers, so it is rather easy to live and hide as a paperless person there. The large amount of asylum seekers in Europe in 2015 and 2016 followed a large number of negative asylum decisions. Facing this, thousands asylum seekers have gone underground in many countries of the European Union. In general, under Greek law, an irregular immigrant is considered a criminal offender (Afouxenidis et al. 2017, 22).

In the survey, the asylum seekers were asked for their opinions on various topics. Table 1 gives a comparison of how the asylum seekers at the Moria, Kara Tepe, and PIKPA sites responded to certain statements. These responses are asylum seekers' subjective feelings and are not necessarily objective descriptions of the issues asked about.

In general, about two-thirds (68 %) of the asylum seeker had made friends while staying in a reception site in Lesbos. Most of the asylum seekers had taken the journey on their own. One out of four (25%) of them were in Lesbos with at least some of his/her family. Two out of five (39 %) also had contacts elsewhere in Greece.

Every second (48%) asylum seeker agreed that Germany was his/her most wished-for destination in the European Union. Asking directly, what would be the country where s/he would most preferably live, the most often mentioned countries were: Germany (29%), France (15%), Canada (10%) and the United Kingdom (9%). In total, 26 countries were mentioned. Earlier research shows that if the main destination country for an asylum seeker seems not to be possible to reach, s/he will stop in another country, often but not necessarily geographically close to the initial destination country (Barthel & Neumayer 2014).

A specific question was if Finland would be a country to seek resident permit: every second (50%) of responded asylum seekers agreed on this, over a third (29%) did not know, and one out of five (21%) disagreed. In general, very few (7%) wanted to return to their former home country. However, in the Kara Tepe site, almost every fourth (24%) wanted to return. One reason might be that many of them had stayed already months in very challenging everyday situations in Moria before having been relocated to Kara Tepe, and their and their family's future perspectives in the European Union had already been narrowed. Nevertheless, two out of three (67%) of all asylum seekers saw their future positively.

Six out of seven (86%) asylum seekers wanted to work in Europe. For over two out of three (70%) of them, the main goal would be to earn money (13%) or to learn something new (57%). Only every fourth (25%) would like to continue the career they had in their country of origin. In general, for an asylum seeker or a refugee, it is very difficult to get employment in the European Union (Dustmann et al. 2016). Hatton (2016) also proposes that it would be important to screen out genuine refugees from economic migrants. In fact, the tightening of policies and procedures in the European Union link to the belief that too many asylum seekers are not in need of genuine protection from persecution but are in essence economic migrants (Hampshire 2013, 76).

Safety, treatment, and everyday facilities are challenging and different in the Lesvos asylum seeker reception sites (Table 1). Of the studied asylum seekers, only one out of six (16%) felt safe at the Moria site, and slightly more felt safe at the Kara Tepe site (22%), and the majority (56%) at the PIKPA site. In the Moria site, one out of four (25%) asylum seekers felt that they were treated well. Almost half of the asylum seekers at the Kara Tepe site (46%) and well over the half (56%) at the PIKPA site felt that they were treated well. In general, mistreatment as a result of not being European was felt by two out of five (42%) of the asylum seekers. Nevertheless, religion seemed not to be a general issue. One out five (21%) of the asylum seekers felt that they were not able to practice their religion as s/he wanted.

Despite the asylum seekers received around 80–90 Euro monthly through the UNHCR in the sites in Lesvos, their daily livings costs were often higher this three Euro per day. Many had or wanted to buy additional food and beverages,

clothing or visit the town, and this money was not enough for it. Three out of four (75%) agreed that they need more money to improve their current situation. In fact, over the months spent in the sites consumed all savings of many asylum seekers.

The UNHCR has noticed that many asylum seeker reception sites in Greece fall short of meeting minimum international humanitarian standards. At the Moria site, only one out of seven (15%) felt that they had enough toilets and showers, etc., for their own use. Again, more asylum seekers felt that situation better at the Kara Tepe site (22%). Majority in the PIKPA site (56%) felt that they had enough toilets and showers, etc., for their own use. Inadequate services, poor living conditions, and scarce livelihood opportunities increase the risks of sexual exploitation and survival sex in the reception sites (UNHCR 2016b, 51). Due to overcrowding, poor reception facilities and the need to improve the asylum process, some 1,900 asylum-seekers have been transferred from the Greek islands, including Lesvos, to improved accommodation on the mainland Greece in state-run sites and UNHCR accommodation. This relocation took place within a year after the EU-Turkey agreement in March 2016. In fact, by the spring 2017, the situation in Lesvos had improved as regards the ratio between the sites and the occupancy. Based on the figures provided by the Greek government, the amount of asylum seekers in Lesvos was only slightly over the capacity of the sites (UNHCR 2017d)..

**Table 1.** Asylum seekers’ opinions in the asylum seeker reception sites in Lesvos, in 2016 (%).

	I agree			I don't know			I disagree		
	M	K	P	M	K	P	M	K	P
In Lesvos, I am safe	16	22	56	17	27	17	67	51	28
In Lesvos, I am treated well	25	46	59	15	14	18	60	40	24
In Lesvos, I am mistreated because I am not European	45	33	18	16	20	24	39	47	59
In Lesvos, I am able to practice my religion as I want	64	61	60	15	18	07	21	20	33
In Lesvos, I have made friends during my stay here	66	67	78	12	17	11	22	17	11
In Lesvos, there are enough toilets, showers for my use	15	22	56	08	13	11	77	64	33
I need necessarily more money to improve my current situation	74	78	90	15	14	05	11	08	05
I would like to go back to my former home country	04	24	11	13	07	11	83	70	79
I can freely choose where I will go after leaving Lesvos	38	29	37	26	25	05	36	46	58
I am in contact with other people elsewhere in Greece	41	40	37	11	21	05	48	40	58
I would like to work in Europe	86	89	82	10	10	12	04	02	06
My most wished destination in Europe is Germany	50	47	33	23	12	06	27	41	61

M = the Moria site (N=435); K = the Kara Tepe site (N=51); P = the PIKPA site (N=20)

These serious and critical comments by the asylum seekers in Lesvos about their wellbeing are in concordance with the observation of the UNHCR. It con-

cluded in the end of 2016 the situation of asylum seekers in Greece in the following: “The psychosocial wellbeing of many refugees and migrants is deteriorating, due to exposure to security risks, substandard living conditions and overcrowding in reception sites and detention facilities, inadequate humanitarian services, lengthy asylum processes and uncertainty.” (UNHCR 2016b, 50).

The asylum seekers are surrounded by a broader physical landscape for several months during their stay in Lesbos. Of the respondents, over two out of five (45%) agreed that the physical landscape of Lesbos is indifferent for him/her while one out of five (20%) did not know and a third (35%) disagreed on this. The amount of persons who were indifferent to the physical landscape of Lesbos was slightly higher (52% vs. 45%) among those who missed the landscape of their homeplace. Of those every third asylum seeker to whom the landscape in Lesbos seemed to matter, four out of five (79%) had lived most of their life in town or city and one out of five (21%) in a village or countryside.

Of all responded asylum seekers, two out of five (40%) agreed that they miss the landscape of their homeplace, while one out of five (19%) did not know and two out of five (41%) disagreed on this. Of those, who missed their home landscape, every fourth (28%) planned to return (yes or maybe) to their country of origin. The amount of potential returners was slightly higher among those who missed the landscape of their homeplace compared to those who did not miss it.

### **3.4. Survey: Social media among asylum seekers in Lesbos**

Social media has become a key information and communication channel for asylum seekers (Dekker & Engbersen 2014; Frouws et al. 2016; Merisalo 2017). Asylum seekers are in contact through various kinds of social media with families, relatives, and friends, and they also search for information about future destinations. Furthermore, social media is also used just to spend time.

Many asylum seekers used social media frequently before coming to Europe and also currently use it at the reception sites (Table 2). The use of social media has diminished a little when the asylum seeker left his/her country of origin to the asylum journey and when she/he entered Lesbos. Important reasons for this trend are the costs of social media during the journey and in the asylum seeker reception site as well as other difficulties such as the lack of power supply for the mobile phones and access to the Wi-Fi. However, earlier research indicates that when the asylum seekers reach their destination country in the European Union, the use of the Internet and the social media becomes more common and frequent, as it is evidenced with the case of asylum seekers in Finland (Merisalo 2017).

Of the respondents, the opinions varied if in Lesbos the use of Internet and/or social media makes one’s life easier: 42% agreed, 21% did not know, and 37% disagreed on this. Almost half (45%) agreed that information and interaction on

social media facilitated his/her decision to come to Europe, 21% did not know, and 34% disagreed. In addition, almost two out of three (62%) agreed that during his/her journey to Europe, social media was important for him/her, 16% did not know, and 22% disagreed. Furthermore, more than a half (54%) agreed that information and interaction on social media facilitates his/her decision regarding where s/he will move in Europe, 23% did not know, and 24% disagreed.

The responded asylum seekers search for various types of information on the Internet. Two out of three (68% agree) search from the Internet for places where s/he could live in Europe in the future (16% don't know, 16% disagree). Three out of four (76% agree) search for his/her rights in Europe (14% don't know, 11 % disagree). Almost three out of four (72% agree) search for work opportunities in Europe (20% don't know, 8% disagree). Two out of three (67% agree) search for future travel routes in Europe (20% don't know, 13% disagree). Less but still every second (50% agree) search from the Internet for information about the current situation of his/her country of origin (26% don't know, 24% disagree). In all, social media is a vital element in the everyday lives of asylum seekers in Lesvos.

**Table 2.** Use of social media among asylum seekers in the Lesvos reception sites, in 2016 (%) (N=506).

	every day	many times a week	once a week	less often	never
In country of origin	50	22	10	10	08
During journey before Europe	43	23	09	12	13
In Lesvos	38	22	10	15	14

### 3.5. Interviews: Governance, employment and social media among asylum seekers in Lesvos

As regards governance, the interviewed asylum seekers talked mostly about how they were treated in the asylum seeking process. This process starts from the situation the asylum seekers experienced in the country of origin and the place in which they lived there. It continues throughout the journey s/he took to arrive in Lesvos. It is especially connected to the circumstances, feelings and wishes that surround her/him in Lesvos. Finally, the process continues through the practices s/he takes on the journey forward or backward from Lesvos.

An asylum seeker feels that s/he is the same person with the same background than in the country of origin. Obviously, during the journey and in Lesvos s/he had experienced many things. However, the very same body of an asylum seeker is governed differently by different actors. The body of an asylum seeker receives different categorizations and practices from different stakeholders despite being in the same place and at the same time, for example, in Lesvos. Furthermore, the same body had received different categori-

zations and practices before entering Lesvos and will receive them differently after departing Lesvos.

An asylum seeker has seldom a possibility to influence how his or her body is categorized and governed in the process from home to the destination country. Therefore, many become frustrated and feel humiliated. Some even felt that they are without basic human rights. They claimed that they are treated in Moria worse than animals are treated in the country of origin of asylum seekers. Some pointed out ironically how they were in Lesvos that is in Greece, in the place where democracy was born, and in the European Union that should respect and treat people equally. They felt that there was no democracy and equality. Nieminen (2016, 14) observes that many asylum seekers are subjected to similar treatments as criminal suspects and offenders. In many places, immigration detention has become increasingly punitive. Bauman (2003) has even talked about “human waste” referring to refugees and irregular immigrants dumped into camps and ghettos. However, such categorization cannot be extended over all asylum seekers and irregular immigrants.

Who governs the body of an asylum seeker was not clear to the asylum seekers themselves. They rarely could grasp in detail who represented what in the asylum governance process. Obviously, they recognized some key actors such as the frontier guards, the asylum authorities, the police, the UNHCR, and different non-governmental organizations. However, the hierarchies between them were not evident and clear for asylum seekers. In addition, since many governmental and non-governmental organizations include also people from different countries, it was not clear for asylum seekers if they were in contact with a global, international, national or local actor and what is their formal and informal role in the asylum process.

UNHCR (2016b, 8) stated that the living conditions in the sites in Greece deteriorated during 2016 due to the congestion of asylum seekers. The interviewed asylum seekers mentioned many examples of bad governance. For example, in the interviews many argued that they were forced to sleep outside in small tents that are without heating despite the night temperature falls below zero. If it is raining, the water falls inside the tent. Similar issues were mentioned also in the public letter published by some asylum seekers in January 2017 (Lesvos Legal Centre 2017). Such conditions led also to casualties in the Moria site (Al Jazeera 2017). Interviewed asylum seekers also complained about the health services inside the sites. Many claimed that often a proper doctor is not available. There are many linguistic and gender-related issues when asylum seekers try to get relief on health problems.

In general, following the large amount of asylum seekers in 2015, the migration management policies in the European Union have become increasingly coercive, including the denial of effective access to the asylum system and basic



reception conditions (de Vries et al. 2016, 2). Many interviewed asylum seekers claimed that the provided daily food is not always properly cooked. In addition, when the reception site delivers once a week the chicken meat lunch, then they need even to fight physically in queues because the food is not enough for every asylum seeker. There are many kinds of fears and humiliating experiences inside the reception site, for example, they are forced to see and experience sexual harassment and acts by the fellow asylum seekers. Prostitution takes place there as well. In fact, the monitoring, prevention and response to sexual and gender-based violence among asylum seekers is one of the key protection strategies of the UNHCR (UNHCR 2016b, 16).

In the interviews, many asylum seekers experienced how the asylum authorities continuously postpone how the individual asylum process is progressed and this postponing is done without telling about it to the asylum seeker. This was also mentioned in the public letter by the asylum seekers in January 2017 (Lesvos Legal Centre 2017). Over the years, Greece has been rather slow in implementing clear and efficient screening facilities to distinguish promptly those who enter Greece illegally and who have or have not a need for international protection (Afouxenidis et al. 2017, 19). While in an undetermined initiation of the asylum process, the refugee struggles to be recognized as somebody by the law (Nieminen 2016, 6–7). Discriminatory practices, which delay the progress of the asylum seeking process of some nationalities such as Afghans and Iraqis, are not in line with European Union and Greek standards (UNHCR 2017c, 2).

The situation of asylum seekers changed substantially following the EU-Turkey statement on 18 March 2016. Before that the asylum seekers were moved relatively rapidly to the mainland Greece. After that they were kept in the sites until they were registered and processed. Furthermore, the liberty of asylum seekers was restricted, as per Greek law (UNHCR 2016b, 45). The result was that the process became slow and often interrupted by bureaucratic reasons. For example, an asylum seeker told how he prepared to an important interview with the asylum authorities and then it was suddenly moved to the next week. It may happen the next week again. Rumors of possibly soon starting forced deportations back to Turkey surround the body and the mind of the asylum seekers. However, according to the UNHCR (2016b, 45), less than 1,000 persons were returned in 2016 to Turkey under the EU-Turkey statement. Furthermore, around 6,000 people repatriated voluntarily according the International Organization for Migration. However, many asylum seekers demand for ceasing all deportation and return to Turkey (Lesvos Legal Centre 2017).

The issues of governance and the lack of clear future perspective contribute to the increasing use of alcohol and drugs among some asylum seekers. Many lose the consciousness of time. In fact, some interviewed had difficulties to remember the current week-day, precise date or even the month. It might be too

much to claim that the Moria site is an extraterritorial Agambenian nihilistic camp operating under the state of exception (see Levy 2010). However, from the interviews one gets a message that the daily practices of the reception site do not work appropriately for many asylum seekers. Life is wasted in seemingly eternal waiting.

The Moria site is crowded indicating that, as regards the asylum seekers, the burden sharing mechanism in the European Union does not function properly. In fact, in 2016, the asylum seeker reception sites in Lesvos had about 80% more asylum seekers than their capacity was (UNHCR 2016, 45). The situation in the Kara Tepe site and especially in the PIKPA site was much better.

As regards employment, the interviewed asylum seekers talked mostly about the wish to get any kind of job in the European Union. For many, it would not matter what would be the first job and its salary: the main issue is to get a job. Nevertheless, some also aimed at continuing their career. This did not depend on the qualification of the worker but included examples from self-trained bakers and bus drivers to teachers and programmers with a university background. However, it is very difficult to become employed for the majority of asylum seekers and refugees, even if they have qualifications. Dustmann et al. (2016) illustrate how migrants who arrived in the European Union for humanitarian reasons were less likely to be employed than economic migrants from the same origin areas despite similar levels of education. Greece suffers from serious economic downturn, welfare cutbacks and unemployment. Being temporarily and without clear future in Greece make their situation more difficult in the job market from the perspective of the employer as well. Furthermore, even if an asylum seeker would receive a temporary residence permit in Greece, it would be very difficult to move forward. Dwyer et al. (2016) have observed how asylum seekers at various stages of the asylum process are severely exploited and forced labor flourish among asylum seekers and refugees. Employment is also a gender issue since many female asylum seekers had previously stayed at home outside the paid working life.

In the European Union, there is a policy mismatch as regards the arrivals from countries outside the Union. A certain skilled labor migration from outside the European Union is encouraged while restricting the arrival of the generally less skilled asylum seekers (Weber 2016, 35). According to EU Directive 2013/33, asylum seekers can access the labor market after certain period that varies between 1–12 months depending on the member state (Dustmann et al. 2016). The asylum seeker reception site, at least in Lesvos and in the case of Moria, is not a place where to foster the earlier employment skills and to gather new ones. In the interviews, many asylum seekers mentioned that what they have learned is to passively wait. Some had formed new social networks among the fellow asylum seekers that could be useful if the person would be moved to Athens, for example.

In very few cases, an asylum seeker found a temporary assisting employment. For example, some worked as part-time waiters in the canteens outside the Moria site. Also, some of those who were fluent in English and some native languages of asylum seekers and also otherwise capable and reliable, were utilized by the authorities and NGOs as interpreters and translators inside the sites. However, in most cases they were not paid at all but were contracted on a voluntary basis. They also could work informally as advisers for newcomers or those with poor linguistic skills. However, since very few asylum seekers could pay for such extra service, in most cases it started to become more of a burden than a proper employment.

Nevertheless, finding even a part-time employment during the lengthy asylum seeking process is important both for the individual and the society. The reduction of the waiting period for asylum seekers enhances their integration into the host country. Employment reduces the significant public expenditures for welfare benefits and eventually increases the tax contributions of newly employed refugees. The long waiting time of the asylum decision in limbo strongly reduces the employment integration of refugees (Hainmüller et al. 2016, 4).

As regards the social media, the interviewed asylum seekers talked mostly about it as the most simple and practical, and, in many cases, the only communication tool they can have besides face-to-face meetings with fellow asylum seekers in the reception sites in Moria or Kara Tepe. The asylum seekers must rely on relatively expensive pre-paid SIM cards in the smart phones if there is no Wi-Fi available. Many used for pre-paid cards a quarter of the money they received monthly from the authorities. Also the lack of power charge for smart phones restricted, especially in the winter time, the use of the Internet.

A major problem is if one's smart phone is broken or stolen since many asylum seekers do not have money to purchase a new one. One can be blocked from family and friends for several weeks or even more. It is rather rare that the smart phones would be shared without a fee. Furthermore, the interviews revealed that a digital divide exist among refugee migrants as regards competences, possibilities and will to use the social media (see also Alam & Imran 2015). The poorest asylum seekers, in many cases from remote areas in Afghanistan, did not possess a smart phone and their competence to use the social media was limited. However, one cannot make clear-cut generalizations about this by asylum seekers' gender, age or ethnicity. Almost every asylum seeker is "fluent" in the use of social media and mobile applications, most often Facebook and WhatsApp.

Social media has transformed migrant networks and it facilitates migration, including those by the asylum seekers (Dekker & Engbersen 2014; Frouws et al. 2016). The social media is fundamental for many to make right decisions. However, not every individual is dependent on it during the journey. Nevertheless, one needs to be connected – if not directly personally, then through a mobile

phone of a fellow traveler – on-line in the key moments such as preparing the moves across borders and the departure from Turkey to Lesbos. When the moment of departure becomes nearer, only a few deal with the mobile communication – they just keep quiet in a secret place. Only a few of the interviewed asylum seekers had utilized GPS or other positioning systems to know if they were going on the right direction. At the moment of departure it is quite clear: on the horizon one sees the island of Lesbos or its lights and that is the target. Nevertheless, social media is not for the asylum seekers only to maintain the former social networks but also to become part of new social networks and to form entirely new networks. Information and favors are exchanged through the social media that may be useful and even crucial at specific moments along the asylum journey.

Facebook is a very common channel to inform in general what an asylum seeker is doing and what is his/her current situation. One has his/her own Facebook site and s/he may be a member of other groups. It is also a way to send information that is not necessarily so urgent. Facebook is not the site in which one would express too sensitive issues, for example, about the details of the continuing of the asylum journey to specific locations or too detailed information about persons. It is a kind of message board to share the happy and unhappy moments. According to Frouws et al. (2016, 11), many asylums seekers from Iraq shared pictures on Facebook that they had arrived on the shores of Greece.

For more instant on-line use of interactive communication and real-time information sharing, most asylum seekers use WhatsApp and Viber. During the 2015 and 2016 asylum migration journeys to and in Europe, these were used find about routes, border closures, border guards, reliable smugglers, and changing policies and practices of the European Union member states (Frouws et al. 2016, 2). In the Moria site, the asylum seekers used the social media channels for immediate not-so-important chatting as well as detailed plans and exchange of necessary quick information, including names. The practice of text messaging exists also but it seemed to be mostly for confirmation on agreed issues or sending a small detailed information. The use of e-mail was much less frequent partly due to its slowness, clumsiness and necessity to be constantly connected to the Internet that is often relatively expensive.

The social media has become an integrated element in the asylum seeking journey. It is also evident that the authorities are interested in trying to trace asylum seekers through the social media and GPS-related information. However, such practices are not yet comprehensive. Also, the globally major social media and the Internet actors such as Google and Facebook are directly involved and interested in the use of their applications in the asylum journey.



## 4. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The island of Lesbos in Greece near to the coast of Turkey is a particularly important site because it is the entry point to the European Union for hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers.

In December 2016 and March 2017, several thousand asylum seekers were in Lesbos. Many had been staying at the Moria, Kara Tepe, or PIKPA asylum seeker reception sites for several months. They had spent a fortune and risked their life to reach the European Union and ended up on the island. However, they did not know what was happening with regard to their asylum process or when it would be finished. Actually, many did not have any idea about the asylum seeking process in the European Union as such.

The Dublin agreement, the agreements between the European Union and Turkey, and the processes how the European Union countries would take asylum seekers directly from Greece were a topic of continuous rumors in the asylum seeker reception sites. These are connected to the geopolitical relations and migration governance strategies between the European Union, Greece and Turkey (Collyer 2016). Passing and waiting months in unsatisfactory conditions had made many asylum seekers nervous, frustrated, and unable to think about a positive future. Similar observations have been done by the UNHCR (2016b, 50) as regards the broader situation of asylum seekers in Greece.

The survey conducted in December 2016 and the interviews held in March 2017 indicate that most asylum seekers have serious concerns with regard to their everyday life at the reception sites in Lesbos. Safety, treatment, and basic facilities are common challenges for most. Asylum seekers feel governed from above without possibilities to impact on how they are defined, categorized and treated. This creates problems for their present activities and obstacles for their initial integration to the European Union.

Many would like to work and would take any kind of employment but do not have any possibilities for this, especially in Lesbos where they are obliged to stay. Almost everyone would like to move forward into the European Union and very few would like to return back. Germany is the most frequently mentioned destination country but many would be satisfied with any of the European Union countries. If they are returned by force, many will try to enter the European Union again. Well, many were already on their second or third attempt to get asylum in the European Union. In fact, the fundamental motive driving asylum seekers is to gain permanent settlement at almost any cost (Hatton 2016). The restrictive asylum and visa policies increase irregular migration into the European Union (Czaika & Hobolt 2016).

Social media is the most important communication tool for asylum seekers. Many of them argue that social media and the Internet makes their life easier in Lesbos. The most frequent channels are Facebook, WhatsApp and Viber. This

indicates that they use the social media both for general and rapid communication.

In the reception sites in Lesvos, on one hand, the asylum seekers use social media to be in contact with their family, relatives and friends in their country of origin. On the other, they actively seek possibilities to move forward in the European Union. This means to know the changing situations, for example, in Athens or Germany.

When the days and months are passing in the reception sites, many asylum seekers become less focused in their active search for asylum opportunities in the European Union. Instead, the social media becomes growingly an entertainment to spend some of the enormous free time they have or to chat about everyday issues with old friends. Technical problems such as the cost of the Internet use and the scarce possibilities to charge the batteries of the mobile phones are evident in the everyday of the asylum seekers in Lesvos. This has also diminished their use of the Internet and the social media.

### **The research results lead to three suggestions:**

First, in the asylum-seeking process, each asylum seeker needs to be treated well, respectfully, and individually, taking into account his/her background and needs. This helps his/her current and future integration into the European Union. If the asylum application is rejected, the responsible authorities must provide a safe and meaningful return to the country of origin for the asylum seeker. However, for most asylum seekers, their return to the country of origin is not an option. Furthermore, even from a more pragmatic perspective, Europe facing demographic challenges due to the aging population should consider if the forced return of the asylum seekers is a viable long-term practice.

Second, everyday life is important for asylum seekers. The authorities should provide more resources to the reception sites in Lesvos to manage them better and install necessary facilities and activities to make the everyday lives of asylum seekers more decent. The very cold winter with casualties turns into a hot summer and the asylum seekers continue to live with scarce basic and health services. Profound improvement of the Moria site should take place immediately. In addition, reliable information about the asylum procedures would help the asylum seekers to bear better their everyday.

Third, access to social media and the Internet is vital for asylum seekers. The provision of a complimentary fast Wi-Fi connection and easy access to charge mobile phones at the reception sites is a small inexpensive investment that would help the everyday lives of thousands of people.

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

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## **6. SUMMARY IN ENGLISH**

### **ASYLUM SEEKERS IN LESVOS, GREECE**

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This research is about the experiences of asylum seekers traveling from their home countries to their destination countries in the European Union. We have presented preliminary findings from a survey conducted with over 500 asylum seekers at the Moria, Kara Tepe, and PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) asylum seeker reception sites on the island of Lesvos, Greece, in December 2016. We are grateful to everyone who responded. Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen and Dr. Nikos Xypolytas conducted the survey in Lesvos. This report was written by Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen from University of Turku, Finland.

Lesvos is the entry point to the European Union for hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers. The arrival of asylum seekers to Lesvos is facilitated by smugglers in Turkey. This is an illegal business with an annual turnover of tens to hundreds of millions of Euros. Most asylum seekers stay in the reception sites in Lesvos for several months. They do not know about their future, including if and when they will be able to settle in the European Union or whether they will have to return to their country of origin. The long waiting process creates problems for asylum seekers, and the authorities are having to deal with these problems.

In December 2016, the Moria reception site was managed by the state authorities. The site was very crowded with several thousand asylum seekers whose daily living conditions there were very challenging. The Kara Tepe site was managed far better by the local municipality. It had about 1,000 asylum seekers, and there were more facilities available to them. The PIKPA site was small with around 100 asylum seekers. It was managed by volunteers who were able to offer activities to asylum seekers.

Germany is the most wished-for destination for every second asylum seekers. Almost all asylum seekers would like to work in Europe. Very few asylum seekers plan to return to their former home country. If returned by force, many will try to enter the European Union again.

The safety of the asylum seekers and their everyday facilities are challenging at the asylum seeker reception sites in Lesvos. Of the asylum seekers who responded to the survey, less than two out of ten felt safe at the Moria site, and slightly more at the Kara Tepe site and majority at the PIKPA site. At the Moria site, one out of four asylum seekers felt that they were treated well. Half of asylum seekers at the Kara Tepe and PIKPA site felt that they were treated well. At the Moria site, very few felt that they had enough toilets and showers, etc. Again, more argued that they had enough toilets and showers, etc., at the Kara Tepe site

and the majority at the PIKPA site. The facilities of the sites should be improved immediately to make the everyday lives of asylum seekers more decent.

Social media is the most important communication tool for asylum seekers on the journey to Europe. In Lesvos, most asylum seekers use the Internet at least several times a week. Two out of five asylum seekers argue that social media and the Internet make their lives easier in Lesvos. Facebook, Whatsapp and Viber are the most important channels they use.

Asylum seekers need to be treated well, respectfully, and individually, taking into account everyone's background and needs. If the asylum application is rejected, the responsible authorities must provide a safe and meaningful return for every asylum seeker to their country of origin.

## 7. SUMMARY IN GREEK

### ΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΕΣ ΣΤΗ ΛΕΣΒΟ. ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

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Η έρευνα αφορά τις εμπειρίες των μεταναστών και προσφύγων που φεύγουν από τις χώρες τους για να βρεθούν σε διάφορους προορισμούς εντός Ευρώπης. Έχουμε παρουσιάσει τα αρχικά ευρήματα από την ποσοτική έρευνα με περισσότερα από 500 ερωτηματολόγια που συμπληρώθηκαν από πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες και διεξήχθη στα κέντρα υποδοχής της Λέσβου (Μόρια, Καρά Τεπέ και ΠΙΚΠΑ) τον Δεκέμβριο του 2016. Θα θέλαμε να ευχαριστήσουμε όλους όσους συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα που πραγματοποιήθηκε από τον καθηγητή Jussi S. Jauhainen και τον Δρ. Νικόλαο Ξυπολυτά. Αυτή η έκθεση έχει συγγραφεί από τον καθηγητή Jussi S. Jauhainen από το Πανεπιστήμιο Turku της Φινλανδίας.

Η Λέσβος αποτελεί πύλη εισόδου στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση για εκατοντάδες χιλιάδες πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες. Η άφιξή τους πραγματοποιείται μέσω διακινητών από την Τουρκία. Πρόκειται για μια παράνομη επαγγελματική δραστηριότητα με ετήσιο κύκλο εργασιών εκατοντάδων χιλιάδων ευρώ. Οι περισσότεροι πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες παραμένουν στα κέντρα υποδοχής της Λέσβου για αρκετούς μήνες, χωρίς να γνωρίζουν το μέλλον τους συμπεριλαμβανομένου του εάν θα βρεθούν σε κάποια χώρα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης ή θα επιστρέψουν στη χώρα προέλευσης. Η μακρά περίοδος αναμονής δημιουργεί προβλήματα τόσο στους πρόσφυγες και τους μετανάστες όσο και στις ίδιες τις αρχές που καλούνται να διαχειριστούν τα προβλήματα αυτά.

Το Δεκέμβριο του 2016 το κέντρο υποδοχής της Μόρια ήταν υπό τη διοίκηση των κρατικών αρχών. Το κέντρο αντιμετώπιζε έντονο πρόβλημα υπερπληθυσμού με αρκετές χιλιάδες μεταναστών και προσφύγων να διαμένουν σε αυτό και των οποίων οι συνθήκες διαβίωσης ήταν εξαιρετικά προβληματικές. Το κέντρο υποδοχής του Καρά Τεπέ λειτουργεί υπό την αιγίδα της τοπικής αυτοδιοίκησης και ήταν σε πολύ καλύτερη κατάσταση, αφού φιλοξενούσε περίπου 1000 άτομα για τους οποίους υπήρχαν καλύτερες και περισσότερες υποδομές. Το κέντρο του ΠΙΚΠΑ είχε πολύ μικρή χωρητικότητα, καθώς διέμεναν περίπου 100 άτομα και η όλη δομή διοικούνταν από εθελοντές που πραγματοποιούσαν δραστηριότητες μαζί με τους μετανάστες.

Η Γερμανία είναι ο πιο δημοφιλής προορισμός για τους πρόσφυγες και τους μετανάστες. Σχεδόν όλοι θέλουν να ζήσουν και να εργαστούν στην Ευρώπη και ελάχιστοι επιθυμούν να επιστρέψουν στη χώρα προέλευσης. Μάλιστα, εάν υποχρεωθούν να επιστρέψουν στη χώρα τους, πολλοί θα προσπαθήσουν πάλι να μουν στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.

Το αίσθημα ασφάλειας των προσφύγων και μεταναστών και η πρόσβασή τους σε υποδομές στα κέντρα υποδοχής της Λέσβου είναι αρκετά προβληματικά. Από εκείνους που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα λιγότεροι 2 από τους 10 αισθάνονταν ασφαλείς στη Μόρια και λίγο περισσότεροι στο Καρά Τεπέ και η πλειοψηφία στο ΠΚΠΑ. Στη Μόρια ένας στους τέσσερις θεωρούσε πως αντιμετωπίζεται σωστά ενώ στην περίπτωση του Καρά Τεπέ και του ΠΚΠΑ οι μισοί πίστευαν κάτι τέτοιο. Στη Μόρια ελάχιστοι θεωρούσαν πως υπήρχαν επαρκείς εγκαταστάσεις όπως τουαλέτες, ντουζ κτλ.. Αντιθέτως, καλύτερη άποψη για την επάρκεια των εγκαταστάσεων εξέφρασαν αυτοί που διέμεναν στο Καρά Τεπέ και στο ΠΚΠΑ. Οι εγκαταστάσεις σε όλα τα κέντρα οφείλουν να βελτιωθούν άμεσα για να κάνει πιο αξιοπρεπή την καθημερινή διαβίωση των ανθρώπων.

Τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης είναι ο πλέον σημαντικός τρόπος επικοινωνίας για τους πρόσφυγες και τους μετανάστες σε σχέση με το ταξίδι τους στην Ευρώπη. Στη Λέσβο, οι περισσότεροι χρησιμοποιούν το ίντερνετ αρκετές φορές την εβδομάδα. Δύο στους πέντε υποστηρίζουν πως τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης κάνουν τη ζωή τους καλύτερη στη Λέσβο, με το Facebook, το WhatsApp και το Viber να είναι τα βασικότερα δίκτυα που χρησιμοποιούν.

Οι πρόσφυγες και οι μετανάστες πρέπει να αντιμετωπίζονται ανθρωπιστικά, με σεβασμό και λαμβάνοντας υπόψη το υπόβαθρο και τις ανάγκες του κάθε ένα ξεχωριστά. Εάν η αίτηση ασύλου απορριφθεί, οφείλουν να παρέχουν την επί της ουσίας ασφαλή επιστροφή του κάθε ανθρώπου στη χώρα προέλευσης.

## 8. SUMMARY IN FINNISH

### TURVAPAIKANHAKIJAT LESBOKSELLA KREIKASSA

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Tämä raportti käsittelee turvapaikkaprosesseja turvapaikanhakijan matkalla kotimaasta kohdemaahan. Esitetään alustavia tuloksia kyselystä, joka toteutettiin joulukuussa 2016 Lesboksen saarella Kreikassa. Kyselyyn vastasi yli 500 turvapaikanhakijaa Morian, Kara Tepen ja PIKPA:n (Lesvos Solidarity) vastaanottoyksiköissä. Professori Jussi S. Jauhiainen ja Dr Nikos Xypolytas toteuttivat kyselyn henkilökohtaisesti Lesboksella. Olemme kiitollisia vastaajille. Tämän raportin kirjoitti professori Jauhiainen Turun yliopistosta Suomesta.

Lesbos on satojen tuhansien turvapaikanhakijoiden saapumispaikka Euroopan unioniin. Salakuljettajat mahdollistavat heidän matkansa Lesbokselle. Tämän laittoman liiketoiminnan arvo on kymmenistä satoihin miljooniin euroihin vuodessa. Enemmistö turvapaikanhakijoista on Lesboksella vastaanottoyksiköissä useita kuukausia. He eivät tiedä tulevaisuuttaan: milloin he pääsevät Lesboksen saarelta eteenpäin Euroopan unioniin vai palautetaanko heidät takaisin. Turvapaikkaprosessin pitkästä kestosta aiheutuu ongelmia heille ja viranomaisille.

Joulukuussa 2016 Moria-vastaanottoyksikköä hallinnoivat valtion viranomaiset. Yksikössä oli useita tuhansia turvapaikanhakijoita. Se oli hyvin ahdas, ja turvapaikanhakijoiden arkipäivä oli hyvin haasteellista. Kara Tepe-vastaanottoyksikköä hallinnoivat paikalliset viranomaiset. Siellä oli noin tuhat turvapaikanhakijaa. Se oli paremmin varustettu ja hallinto toimi paremmin. PIKPA-vastaanottoyksikkö oli pieni, ja siellä oli noin 100 turvapaikanhakijaa. Se oli vapaaehtoisten ja järjestöjen ylläpitämä. Siellä oli mahdollisuus järjestää turvapaikanhakijoille suunniteltua toimintaa.

Saksa on joka toisen turvapaikanhakijoille kohdemaana. Lähes kaikki haluavat työskennellä Euroopassa. Hyvin harvat turvapaikanhakijat suunnittelevat palaavansa aiempaan kotimaahansa. Jos heidät käännytetään, monet palaavat uudelleen Euroopan unioniin.

Turvapaikanhakijoiden turvallisuus ja kohtelu sekä vastaanottoyksiköiden varustelu ovat haasteellisia Lesboksella. Kyselyyn vastanneista turvapaikanhakijoista alle kaksi kymmenestä tunsi itsensä turvalliseksi Morian yksikössä, tätä useammat Kara Tepen yksikössä, ja enemmistö PIKPA:n yksikössä. Hyvin kohdelluksi tunsi Morian yksikössä joka neljäs turvapaikanhakija, ja Kara Tepen ja PIKPA:n yksiköissä joka toinen. Hyvin harvojen mielestä Morian yksikössä on riittävästi peseytymis- ja saniteettitiloja. Tilanne oli parempi Kara Tepen yksikössä ja enemmistön mielestä riittävä PIKPA:n yksikössä. Viranomaisten tulisi antaa enemmän resursseja, jotta Morian yksikön hallinta onnistuisi paremmin.

Morian vastaanottoyksikön tulisi olla paremmin varustelu, jotta turvapaikanhakijoiden arkipäivä sujuisi siellä miellyttävämmin.

Sosiaalinen media on turvapaikanhakijoiden tärkein viestintäväline heidän matkallaan Eurooppaan. Lesboksella enemmistö turvapaikanhakijoista käyttää internetiä vähintään useita kertoja viikossa. Kahden viidestä turvapaikanhakijan mukaan sosiaalinen media ja internet tekevät heidän elämästään helpompaa Lesboksella. Facebook, Whatsapp ja Viber ovat tärkeimmät kanavat.

Turvapaikanhakijoita tulee kohdella hyvin, kunnioittavasti ja yksilöllisesti sekä huomioida jokaisen tausta ja tarpeet. Mikäli turvapaikkapäätös on kielteinen, vastuullisten viranomaisten tulee mahdollistaa turvapaikanhakijan turvallinen ja mielekäs paluu kotimaahan.

## 9. SUMMARY IN FRENCH

### DEMANDEURS D'ASILE SUR L'ÎLE GRECQUE DE LESBOS

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Ce rapport traite les processus de demande d'asile durant l'itinéraire des demandeurs d'asile de leur pays d'origine vers leur pays cible. Des résultats préliminaires de l'enquête réalisée en décembre 2016 sur l'île grecque de Lesbos sont présentés. Plus de 500 demandeurs d'asile qui se trouvent dans les camps de Moria, de Kara Tepe et de PIKPA (Lesvos Solidarity) y ont répondu. Le professeur Jussi S. Jauhiainen et Dr Nikos Xypolytas se sont chargés personnellement de la mise en œuvre de cette enquête sur l'île de Lesbos. Nous sommes reconnaissants à toutes les personnes qui ont répondu. Ce rapport a été rédigé par le professeur Jauhiainen de l'Université de Turku, Finlande.

L'île de Lesbos est le point d'arrivée sur le territoire de l'Union européenne pour des centaines de milliers de réfugiés et migrants. Des trafiquants de clandestins leur permettent d'y arriver. La valeur de cette activité commerciale illégale est de dizaines de millions à des centaines de millions euros par an. La majorité des demandeurs d'asile résident dans les centres d'accueil de l'île de Lesbos pendant plusieurs mois. Ils n'ont aucune idée sur leur avenir : pourront-ils continuer de l'île de Lesbos vers d'autres parties de l'Union européenne ou seront-ils expulsés. La longue démarche d'asile pose des problèmes pour tant les demandeurs d'asile que les autorités.

En décembre 2016, l'unité d'accueil de Moria était gérée par des fonctionnaires de l'Etat. Ce camp abritait plusieurs milliers de demandeurs d'asile. Il était surpeuplé et la vie quotidienne des demandeurs d'asile y était très difficile. L'unité d'accueil de Kara Tepe était gérée par des autorités locales. Environ mille demandeurs d'asile ont été hébergés dans ce camp mieux équipé et géré. Le centre d'accueil de PIKPA était petit, il n'accueillait qu'une centaine de demandeurs d'asile. Il était géré par des volontaires et des organisations. Des activités destinées aux migrants y étaient organisées.

L'Allemagne est le pays cible d'un demandeur d'asile sur deux. Presque tous les demandeurs d'asile désirent travailler en Europe. Très rares sont les demandeurs d'asile qui envisagent de retourner dans leur pays d'origine. Après une expulsion, beaucoup d'entre eux reviennent sur le territoire de l'Union européenne.

La sécurité et le traitement des demandeurs d'asile ainsi que l'équipement des unités d'accueil posent des problèmes sur l'île de Lesbos. Parmi ceux qui ont répondu à notre enquête, moins de deux demandeurs d'asile sur dix se sentaient en sécurité dans le camp de Moria, un nombre supérieur dans le camp de Kara Tepe et la majorité dans le camp de PIKPA. Un demandeur d'asile sur quatre se



sentait bien traité dans le camp de Moria tandis que dans les unités de Kara Tepe et de PIKPA l'équivalent était un demandeur d'asile sur deux. Selon très peu de gens, il y avait suffisamment de toilettes et de douches dans le camp de Moria. La situation était meilleure dans l'unité de Kara Tepe. Dans le camp de PIKPA, le nombre était considéré comme étant suffisant selon la majorité. Les autorités devraient octroyer davantage de ressources pour assurer la bonne gestion du camp de Moria. Le camp de Moria devrait être mieux équipé afin de faciliter la vie quotidienne des demandeurs d'asile qui s'y trouvent.

Les médias sociaux sont le moyen de communication principal des demandeurs d'asile durant leur voyage vers l'Europe. Sur l'île de Lesbos, la majorité des demandeurs d'asile se servent de l'Internet plusieurs fois par semaine. Selon deux demandeurs d'asile sur cinq, les médias sociaux et l'Internet facilitent leur vie sur Lesbos. Facebook, Whatsapp et Viber sont les moyens de communication les plus répandus.

Les demandeurs d'asile méritent un bon traitement respectueux et individuel dans lequel le passé et les besoins de chacun sont pris en considération. Si la décision d'asile est négative, les autorités responsables seront tenues d'assurer le retour sûr et rationnel du demandeur d'asile dans son pays d'origine.

## 10. SUMMARY IN ARABIC

### طالبى اللجوء فى لسبوس فى اليونان عام

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يتناول هذا التقرير مراحل عمليات طلب اللجوء، أثناء رحلة اللاجئين من البلد الأم الى بلد الوجهة المقصودة. نُقدّم نتائج الإستطلاع الأولية، والذي كُنّا قد اجريناه فى شهر كانون الأول/ ديسمبر ٢٠١٦ فى جزيرة لسبوس «باليونان». كان قد أجاب على الإستطلاع أكثر من ٥٠٠ طالب للجوء من وحدات مراكز إستقبال اللاجئين من Moria ( موريا (, Kara Tepe (كارا تيبه (و) PIKPA بيكيا (Lesvos Solidarity (تضامن لسبوس). قاما شخصياً كلٌّ من البروفسور Jussi S. Jauhainen (يوسى أس. ياوهيانين (والدكتور) Nikos Xypolytas (نيكوس شيپوليتاس) (بإجراء هذا الإستطلاع فى لسبوس. نحن شاكرين وممتنين لكل الذين أجابوا على الإستطلاع. أعدّ وكتب هذا التقرير البروفسور Jauhainen من جامعة توركو من فنلندا.

تعتبر لسبوس محطة وصول مئات الآلاف من طالبى اللجوء الى منطقة دول الإتحاد الأوروبي. ويُهمّد المهربون لعملية وصولهم بالرحلة الى لسبوس، ويساهموا فى جعل ذلك امراً ممكناً. تتراوح قيمة التجارة الغير المشروعة هذه، ما بين عشرات الى مئات الملايين من اليوروات سنوياً. يبقى غالبية طالبى اللجوء هؤلاء، لعدة اشهر فى وحدات مراكز إستقبال اللاجئين فى لسبوس. وهم لا يعلموا شيئاً عن مستقبلهم: متى سيخرجوا من جزيرة لسبوس، ويمضوا قُدماً الى الأمام الى منطقة دول الإتحاد الأوروبي، ام هل سيتم إعادتهم؟

تُنَجّ عن إستغراق عملية طلب اللجوء لفترة طويلة، مشاكل لطالبي اللجوء والسلطات. فى شهر كانون الأول/ ديسمبر عام ٢٠١٦، كانت وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى Moria تُدار من قبل سلطات الدولة. وكان هناك فى وحدة الإستقبال هذه عدة آلاف من طالبى اللجوء. كانت مُكتظة جداً، وكانت حياة اللاجئين اليومية صعبة جداً. كانت وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين Kara Tepe تُدار من قبل السلطات البلدية/ المحلية. وكان هناك فيها ما يقارب الألف من طالبى اللجوء. كانت افضل من حيث التجهيز وكانت الإدارة تعمل بشكل افضل. كانت وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى PIKPA صغيرة. وكان هناك فيها حوالي ١٠٠ طالب للجوء. وكانت هذه الوحدة تحت رعاية المتطوعين والمنظمات. وقد كان هناك فيها فرصة لإقامة النشاطات المنظمة لطالبي اللجوء.

تُعْتَبَرُ المانيا هي بلد الوجهة المقصودة لدى واحد من بين كل اثنين من طالبى اللجوء. ويرغب الجميع تقريباً بالعمل فى «اوروپا». وان القلة النادرة جداً من طالبى اللجوء هؤلاء، يخططوا للعودة الى بلد الأم السابق. وإذا ما تم ترحيلهم، فان العديد منهم سيعود مجدداً الى منطقة دول الإتحاد الأوروبي.

تواجه مسائل الأمن وحسن المعاملة طالبى اللجوء، وكذلك مستوى تجهيزات مراكز إستقبال اللاجئين، تحديات جمة. فأقل من شخصين من بين كل عشرة اشخاص من الذين اجابوا على الإستطلاع، شَعَرَ بانهم فى أمان فى وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى Moria، وأكثر من هذا العدد شَعَرَ بذلك فى وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين Kara Tepe، وكان هذا الشعور لدى الغالبية منهم فى وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى PIKPA. وأحسّ واحد من بين كل اربعة من طالبى اللجوء فى وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى Moria، بانهم قد تم معاملتهم بصورة حسنة، وأحسّ واحد من بين كل اثنين من طالبى اللجوء بحسن المعاملة، فى وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى Kara Tepe و PIKPA. بحسب رأي القلة النادرة جداً، فانه يوجد هناك وبكميات كافية اماكن للإستحمام والصرف الصحي، فى وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى Moria. كان الوضع افضل من ذلك فى وحدة إستقبال اللاجئين فى Kara Tepe، ويرأى

الأغلبية فقد كان في PIKPA ما يكفي من هذه الأماكن. ويجب على السلطات منح موارد وإمكانيات أكثر. من أجل ان تنجح إدارة وحدة Moria بشكل أفضل. يجب ان تكون وحدة Moria افضل تجهيزاً, من أجل ان تسير حياة طالبي اللجوء اليومية هناك بشكل أكثر متعة. تُعْتَبَرُ شبكات التواصل الإجتماعي هي الوسيلة الأكثر أهمية لدى طالبي اللجوء في التواصل والإتصال, أثناء رحلتهم الى «أوروبا». يَسْتَحْدِمُ غالبية طالبي اللجوء في لسبوس, شبكة الإنترنت وعلى الأقل لعدة مرات في الإِسبوع. بحسب رأي إثنين من بين كل خمسة من طالبي اللجوء, فان شبكات التواصل وشبكة الإنترنت تجعل من حياتهم في لسبوس أكثر سهولة. يُعْتَبَرُ «الفيسبوك Facebook», (Whatsapp الواتس أب (Viber) الفايبر) من القنوات الأكثر أهمية. ينبغي معاملة طالبي اللجوء بصورة حسنة, باحترام وكلّ بحسب خصوصيته كفرد وحسب خلفيته وإحتياجاته. وإذا جاء القرار سلبياً برفض طلب اللجوء, فينبغي على السلطات المسؤولة التمهيد لعودة طالبي اللجوء هؤلاء, الى بلدانهم الأم بطريقة آمنة ومرغوب فيها.

## 11. SUMMARY IN FARSI

### پناهجویان در جزیره لسبوس، یونان؛ در سال

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این تحقیق در مورد تجربه پناهجویانی است که از کشورهای خود برای رسیدن به کشورهای مورد نظر خود در اتحادیه اروپا در حال سفر هستند. ما یافته‌های اولیه را که از طریق نظرسنجی از ۵۰۰ پناهجو در کمپهای موريا (Moria)، کاراتپه (Kara Tepe) و پیکپا (PIKPA) (همبستگی لسبوس) در جزیره لسبوس یونان در دسامبر سال ۲۰۱۶ انجام شده است، ارائه کرده‌ایم. ما از تمام افرادی که در این نظرسنجی شرکت کرده‌اند سپاسگزاری می‌کنیم. این نظرسنجی را پرفسور یوسی یاهویاینن و دکتر نیکوس زیبولیتاس در جزیره لسبوس انجام داده‌اند. این گزارش توسط پرفسور یوسی یاهویاینن (Jussi S. Jauhainen) از دانشگاه تورکو فنلاند نوشته شده است.

جزیره لسبوس نقطه ورود برای صدها هزار نفر از پناهجویان به اتحادیه اروپا می‌باشد. ورود پناهجویان به لسبوس بوسیله قاچاقچیان در کشور ترکیه تسهیل شده است. این یک تجارت غیرقانونی است با گردش مالی سالیانه دهها و صدها میلیون یورو. بسیاری از پناهجویان در جزیره لسبوس برای ماهها در کمپها میمانند. آنها در مورد آینده خود چیزی نمی‌دانند، از جمله اینکه نمی‌دانند که چه زمانی می‌توانند در کشورهای اتحادیه اروپا ساکن شوند و یا چه زمانی به کشور خود بازگشت داده می‌شوند. فرایند طولانی مدت انتظار، مشکلاتی را برای پناهجویان ایجاد میکند و مسئولان نیز بایستی به این مشکلات رسیدگی کنند.

در دسامبر سال ۲۰۱۶، کمپ منطقه موريا توسط مسئولان دولتی اداره شد. این کمپ با حضور چندین هزار پناهجو که شرایط زندگی آنها بسیار چالشبرانگیز بود، با ازدحام زیادی روبرو بود. کمپ منطقه کاراتپه توسط شهرداری محلی بطور بهتری مدیریت شد. این کمپ با حدود ۱۰۰۰ پناهجو، امکانات بیشتری را برای آنها فراهم کرده بود. کمپ منطقه پیکپا کوچک بوده و حدود ۱۰۰ پناهجو در آن ساکن بودند. این کمپ بوسیله افراد داوطلب اداره میشد که فعالیتهایی را به پناهجویان پیشنهاد میدادند.

از هر دو پناهجو یک پناهنده، کشور آلمان را به عنوان مقصد خود (کشور مورد علاقه برای اقامت) انتخاب کرده است. تقریباً تمام پناهجویان دوست دارند در اروپا مشغول به کار شوند. تعداد بسیار کمی از پناهجوها قصد دارند که به کشور خود بازگردند. از نظر پناهجویان اگر آنها به اجبار به کشورهای خود بازگردانده شوند، بسیاری از آنها دوباره به اتحادیه اروپا بازخواهند گشت.

امنیت پناهجوها و امکانات زندگی آنها در کمپهای جزیره لسبوس با چالش مواجه بود. از میان پاسخگویان به نظرسنجی، کمتر از دو نفر از ده نفر در کمپ منطقه موريا، کمی بیشتر در منطقه کاراتپه و اکثریت پاسخگویان در کمپ منطقه پیکپا احساس امنیت داشتند. در منطقه موريا از هر چهار پناهجو، یک پناهجو احساس میکرد که با او برخورد مناسبی میشود. و نصف پناهجوها در منطقه کاراتپه و پیکپا احساس میکردند که برخورد مناسبی با آنها میشود. در منطقه موريا تعداد اندکی از پناهجویان فکر میکردند که امکانات توالیت و حمام و غیره در اختیار آنها قرار دارد. اما در منطقه کاراتپه اکثریت پناهجویان اعتقاد داشتند که توالیت، حمام و... کافی در اختیار آنها قرار دارد و اکثریت پناهجویان در منطقه پیکپا فکر میکردند که این امکانات (توالیت، حمام و...) در اختیار آنها قرار دارد. امکانات این مناطق (کمپها) بایستی به سرعت بهبود یابد تا زندگی روزمره پناهجوها مناسبتر گردد.

رسانه اجتماعی مهمترین وسیله ارتباطی پناهجویان در طول سفر به اروپا بوده است. در جزیره لسبوس اغلب پناهجویان چندین بار در هفته از اینترنت استفاده میکنند. از هر پنج پناهجو دو پناهجو فکر میکنند که استفاده از اینترنت و رسانه‌های اجتماعی زندگی آنها را در لسبوس آسانتر کرده است. فیسبوک، واتس آپ و وایبر مهمترین رسانه‌های ارتباطی مورد استفاده پناهجوها هستند. بایستی با پناهجویان بطور مناسبتر و با احترام برخورد گردد و باید پیشینه و نیازهای هر فرد بطور جداگانه مورد بررسی قرار گیرد. اگر درخواست پناهندگی آنها مورد پذیرش قرار نمیگیرد باید بازگشت ایمن و مقبولی برای آنها بمنظور بازگشت به کشور هایشان در نظر گرفته شود.

## 12. SUMMARY IN SORANI KURDISH

داواکارانی په نابهری له لیسبوس له یونان سالی

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ئهم راپورته تایبته به پرۆسه ی په نابهری له وگه شته دا که په نابهر دهیگریتته بهر له ولاته که ی خویوه هه تا ئه و ولاته ی که بوی ده چیت. زانیاریه سهره تایبه کانی ئه و راپرسیه ده خهینه رو که له مانگی دوانزه ی ۲۰۱۶ له دورگه ی لیسبوس له یونان ئه نجام درا. راپرسیه که زیاتر له ۵۰۰ داواکاری په نابهری وه لای دایه وه له کامپه کانی (Moria مۆریا (،) Kara Tepe که ره ته په (PIKPA) پیکپا) Lesvos Solidarity (هاوکاری لیسبوس). پرۆفیسور) Jussi S. Jauhainen لیبوسی س. یاوه یانین (و دوکتور) Nikos Xypolytas نیکوس سیپولیتاس (راپرسیه که یان به شیهه یه کی شه خسی جیبه جی کرد له لیسبوس. سوپاسی ئه و که سانه ده که ین که وه لامیان دایه وه. ئه م راپورته له لایه ن پرۆفیسور Jauhainen لوسراوه له زانکوی تورکو له فینله ندا.

لیسبوس شوینی گه یستی سهدان هه زار داواکاری په نابهریه بۆ ناو یه کیتی ئه وروپا. قاچاخچیه کان چاوساگی ئه وانه ده که ن بۆ گه بشتنه لیسبوس. داهاقی ئه م بازرگانیه نایاساییه له ده یان بۆ سهدان ملیون یورویه له سالتیکدا. زورینه داواکارانی په نابهری بۆ ماوه ی چه ندین مانگ له کامپه کانی لیسبوس ده میننه وه. ئه وانه نازان داهاقوی خویان چۆن ده بیت: چی رۆژیک ده توانن له دورگه ی لیسبوس بچنه دهره وه به ره و پيش بۆ ولاتانی یه کیتی ئه وروپا یان ئاخۆ نه یانگه ریننه وه بۆ شوینی پیشووتریان. درژه کیشانی پرۆسه ی په نابهری ده بیتته مایه ی دروستبوونی کیشه و گرفت بۆ خویان و بۆ کار به ده ستانیش.

له مانگی دوانزه ی ۲۰۱۶ کامپی Moria له لایه ن کار به ده ستانی حکومیه وه به رپوه ده برا. ئه و کامپه هه زاران داواکاری په نابهری تیا ده ژیا. شوینه که زور ته نگ بوو و ژیا نی رۆژانه ی په نابهره کان زور سهخت بوو. کامپی Kara Tepe له لایه ن کار به ده سته ناوچه ییه کانه وه به رپوه ده برا. له وی نزیکه ی هه زار په نابهری بوو. ئه و شوینه شتوومه کی باشتری تیدا بوو و به رپوه برده وه که شی باشت بوو. کامپی PIKPA شوینیکی بچووک بوو و له وی نزیکه ی ۱۰۰ په نابهری لی بوو. ئه و شوینه له لایه ن کهسانی خۆبه خش و ریکخراوه کان به رپوه ده برا. له و شوینه دهره قتی ئه وه هه بوو کارو چالاکي پلان بۆ دارپژراو بۆ په نابهره کان ریک بخریت.

ئه لمانیا ئه و ولاته یه که نیوه ی په نابهره کان بۆی ده چن. نزیکه ی هه موو په نابهران حه ز ده که ن له ئه وروپا کار بکه ن. زور که م له په نابهران پلانی ئه وه یان هه یه که بگه ریننه وه بۆ ولاتی خویان. ئه گه ر ئه و په نابهرانه بگه ریندریننه وه، زوریان دووباره ده گه ریننه وه بۆ ولاتانی یه کیتی ئه وروپا.

سه لامه تی په نابهران و رهفتارکردن له گه لیاندا ههروه ها هه بوونی پیداوستی ناو کامپه کان له لیسبوسدا سهختن. که مر له دوو کهس له ده که سدا له و په نابهرانه ی که وه لایه ن پرسیاره کانیا ن داوه ته وه ههستی به سه لامه تی ده کرد له کامپی Moria، له مه زیاتریش له یه که ی Kara Tepe بوو، له هه مویشی زیاتر له یه که ی PIKPA بوو. یه که له سه ر چواری په نابهره کانی Moria ههستی به وه ده کرد که رهفتاری باشی له گه لدا کراوه و له یه که کانی Kara Tepe و PIKPA نیواونیو بوو. زور که م کهس هه بوو که پی و ابیت شوینه کانی خۆشورین و پاک و خاوینی له یه که ی Moria به گویره ی پتویست بهش بکات. بارودوخه که له یه که ی Kara Tepe باشت بوو و زورینه ی

كەسە كانىش كە رايان وابىت لە يەكەى PIKPA بوو. پىويست بوو كار بە دەستان تواناى زياتريان  
بدايە بۆ ئەو بەرپۆە بردنى يەكەى Moria باشتر بكرىت. دەبوايە يەكەى Moria پىداويستى  
باشترى بۆ دابىن بكرىت تاكو لەوى ژيانى رۆژانەى پەنابەرە كان خۆشتر بوايە.

تۆرە كۆمەلايەتية كان گرینگترين ھۆكارى پەيوەندى كردنە لە گەشتە كەياندا بۆ ئەوروپا. لە  
لېسبۆسدا زۆرينەى پەنابەرە كان لايەنى كەم چەندىن جار لە ھەفتە يە كدا ئىنتەرنىت بە كار دەھيئن.  
دوو لەسەر پىنجى پەنابەرە كان واى دەپىين كە تۆرە كۆمەلايەتية كان و ئىنتەرنىت ژيانى ئەوان  
لە لېسبۆس ئاسانتەر دەكات. ( Facebook فەيسبوك (و) Whatsapp وەتس ئەپ (و) Viber  
فایبەر (كەنالە ھەرە گرینگە كانن).

پىويستە رەفتارى باش لە گەل داواكارانى پەنابەرى بكرىت، بە رېژلېنانەو و بە شىوہى تاكە كەسى  
تەماشابكرين و پيشينەو پىويستية كانى ھەركەسيكيش بەجياوازا رەچاوبكرىت. ئەگەر بريار لەسەر  
داواى پەنابەرىتى بە رەفز بوو واتە رەت كرايەو، پىويستە لەسەر ئەو كار بە دەستەى كە بەرپرسيارە  
دەرفەتى گەرانەو ھەيە كىئ سەلامەت و مانابەخش بۆ ئەو پەنابەرە ريك بخت.

### 13. SUMMARY IN URDU

طالب پناہ لیسوسس یونان میں

JUSSI S. JAUHIAINEN (jusaja@utu.fi)

یہ تحقیق پناہ گزینوں کے تجربات کے بارے میں بے جوآبائی ممالک سے یورپی یونین کے ممالک میں اپنی منزلوں کی طرف سفر کر تے ہیں۔ ہم سروے کے ابتدائی نتائج ایکے سامنے پیش کر تے ہیں جو کے ۰۰ طالب پناہ سے کئے گئے موریاً کارا تپی، اور پیکپا (لیسوسس یکجہتی) لیسوسس کے جزیرے پر پناہ کے متلاشی استقبالیہ سائٹس یونان، دسمبر ۲۰۱۶ میں۔ ہم تمام امیدواروں کے شکر گزار ہیں۔

اور پروفیسر Jussi S. Jauhainen نے لیسوسس میں سروے کیا -

ڈاکٹر Nikos Xypolytas

رپورٹ کو فن لینڈ کی تورکو Jussi S. Jauhainen کی طرف سے لکھا گیا ہے۔

یونیورسٹی سے پروفیسر

لیسوسس سینکڑوں ہزاروں پناہ گزینوں کے لئے یورپی یونین میں داخلے کا راستہ ہے۔ لیسوسس میں پناہ گزینوں کی آمد کو ترکی میں اسمگلروں کی طرف سے سہولت فراہم کی جا تی ہے۔ یہ ایک غیر قانونی کاروبار ہے۔ جسکا سالانہ کاروبار کروڑوں یورو میں ہے۔ زیادہ طالب پناہ کئی ماہ تک لیسوسس میں استقبالیہ سائٹس میں رہتے ہیں۔ وہ اپنے مستقبل کے بارے میں نہیں جانتے، یہ بھی کہ وہ یورپی یونین میں بسنے کے قابل ہو جائینگے یا پھر آبائی ملک میں واپس جانا پڑے گا۔ طویل انتظار کا عمل پناہ گزینوں کے لئے مسائل پیدا کرتا ہے۔ اور حکام کو ان مسائل سے نمٹنا پڑتا ہے۔

دسمبر ۲۰۱۶ میں، موریاً سائٹ کو ریاستی حکام کی طرف سے منظم کیا گیا تھا۔ سائٹ پر ہزاروں پناہ گزینوں کی بھیڑ تھی۔ جن کی روز مرہ زندگی کے حالات بہت مشکل تھے۔ کارا تپی سائٹ کو مقامی میونسپلٹی کی طرف سے کہیں بہتر منظم کیا گیا تھا۔ وہاں تقریباً ۱،۰۰۰ طالب پناہ تھے، اور ان کے لئے دستیاب زیادہ سہولیات تھیں۔ سہولیات کو رضاکاروں کی طرف سے منظم کیا گیا تھا جو پناہ گزینوں کے لئے سرگرمیوں کی پیشکش کرتے تھے۔ جرمنی ہر دوسرے طالب پناہ کے لئے سب سے پسندیدہ منزل مقصود تھی۔ تقریباً تمام طالب پناہ یورپ میں کام کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ بہت کم طالب پناہ سابق ملک میں واپس جانے کے لئے منصوبہ بندی کرتے ہیں۔ اگر طاقت کے ذریعے واپس بھیج دیا گیا تو، بہت پھر سے یورپی یونین میں داخل ہونے کی کوشش کریں گے۔

پناہ گزینوں اور ان کی روزمرہ کی سہولیات کی حفاظت لیسوسس میں پناہ گزین استقبالیہ سائٹس کے لئے چیلنج ہیں۔ سروے کے جواب میں جو پناہ گزینوں نے بھرے، ہر دس کے مقابلے میں سے دوسرے بھی کم موریاً سائٹ پر محفوظ محسوس کرتے تھے۔ اور تھوڑا سا زیادہ کارا تپی سائٹ پر اور اکثریت پیکپا سائٹ پر۔ موریاً سائٹ پر، ہر چار پناہ گزینوں میں سے ایک نے محسوس کیا کہ ان کے ساتھ اچھا سلوک ہوا۔ پیکپا اور تپی میں پناہ گزینوں کی نصف تعداد نے محسوس کیا کہ ان کے ساتھ اچھا سلوک ہوا۔ موریاً سائٹ پر بہت کم نے محسوس کیا کہ بیت الخلا وغیرہ کافی ہیں۔ ایک بار پھر، ان میں سے اکثر نے بحث کی کہ بیت الخلا



وغیرہ کافی تھے۔ کارا تپی سائٹ پر۔ اور اکثریت پیکپا سائٹ پر۔ سائٹس کی سہولیات بہتر بنانے کی فوری طور پر ضرورت ہے۔ تاکہ پناہ گزینوں کی روزمرہ زندگی کو بہتر بنایا جائے۔

سوشل میڈیا یورپ کے سفر پر پناہ گزینوں کے لئے سب سے اہم مواصلات آلہ ہے۔ لیسوس میں، زیادہ تر طالب پناہ ہفتے کے کم از کم کئی اوقات میں انٹرنیٹ استعمال کرتے ہیں۔ ہر پانچ میں سے دو طالب پناہ نے بحث کی کہ سوشل میڈیا اور انٹرنیٹ نے لیسوس میں ان کی زندگی کو آسان بنا دیا۔ فیس بک، واٹس اپ اور واٹس اپ سب سے اہم انکے استعمال کے چینل ہیں۔

پناہ کے متلاشی افراد، کے ساتھ اچھا سلوک کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ احترام، اور انفرادی طور پر، ہر فرد کے پس منظر اور ضروریات کو ذہن میں رکھتے ہوئے۔ پناہ کی درخواست مسترد ہونے پر حکام کو ان کے آبائی ملک محفوظ اور بامعنی واپسی فراہم کرنا چاہیے۔



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