

**BECOMING MEN: SOUTH ASIAN UNACCOMPANIED
MINORS' TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD IN GREECE**

by
Divya Mishra

A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland
October 2019

© 2019, Divya Mishra
All Rights Reserved

Abstract

Background: The influx of irregular migrants in Greece in 2015-2016 brought rising numbers of unaccompanied minors (UAMs), or children traveling without adult family members. In Greece, accommodation facilities for children aim to protect UAMs from exploitation. However, since most UAMs are older adolescent males, they are only eligible for these accommodation facilities for short periods. This study examines the role played by accommodation facilities in male UAMs' transition to adulthood in Greece.

Methods: Forty-four migrant youth who arrived in Greece as UAMs and were 18-21 years old at the time of the study were recruited for in-depth interviews. A trajectory approach was utilized to capture how UAMs' journeys coincided with their development as adolescents. Life history calendars were constructed alongside in-depth interviews to understand changes in living situations along youths' trajectories. Interviews were analyzed thematically.

Findings: UAMs who entered Greece through the islands were typically placed in specialized accommodation facilities without understanding why there were held there and for how long. UAMs who entered Greece through its land borders were often homeless and had to advocate for their placement in shelters. Among the latter group, younger UAMs were deemed more vulnerable and prioritized for shelter, whereas those who were 17 years and some months old often aged out of eligibility before they could be placed. Among those who were placed in shelters, UAMs who perceived NGO staff to be supportive tended to have future plans that involved social and economic participation in Greece, whereas those who deemed NGO staff to be unsupportive intended to leave Greece, even if it meant giving up asylee status to become irregular migrants again.

Conclusion: The brief time that UAMs were placed in accommodation facilities significantly shaped their experiences in adulthood. For those who were placed in shelters, the perceived supportiveness of NGO staff enabled youth to move out of marginalized, exploitative underground economies and

participate in Greek society. Youth who were not placed in accommodation facilities remained dependent on underground economies for survival, while youth who were placed but felt that staff weren't supportive intended to pursue onwards migration and possibly return to underground economies.

List of thesis committee members

Thesis Advisor:

Peter J. Winch, MD MPH

Committee Chair:

Jill Owczarzak, PhD

Thesis Readers:

Paul Spiegel, MD MPH

Rheanna Platt, MD MPH

Other Advisory Committee Members:

Vasileia Digidiki, PhD

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of several individuals and organizations. First and foremost, I would like to thank the Afghan, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi communities in Greece, who have let me into their lives and taught me to understand their world since 2016. Without their trust and support, this research could not have taken place. I am especially thankful to Rizwan Shah, Emrul Hassan, Rahmat Nazari, and Arash Dawoodi, and the research participants who shared deeply personal experiences. I am also thankful to the Greek organizations that shared their work with me and helped me understand the world of child protection and humanitarian aid in Greece. In particular, I would like to thank Mado Liadopoulou and the Network for Children's Rights (NCR), Tassos Smetopoulos and STEPS, the staff at Velos Youth Center, and Metadrasi. I hope that my work in Greece does not end with this thesis and that this research is able to strengthen the services that migrant youth in Greece receive.

I would like to sincerely thank my advisor, Dr. Peter Winch, for his mentorship and instruction throughout my time as a doctoral student. He not only supported my interests but challenged me to explore new perspectives and methods. I would also like to thank Dr. Paul Spiegel and Dr. Jill Owczarzak for their guidance as members of my thesis advisory committee over the course of this project, as well as Drs. Rheanna Platt, Ligia Paina, Danielle German, and Shanon Doocy for their feedback as members of my examination committees. I am especially thankful for Dr. Elli Leontsisni and Dr. Paul Spiegel for encouraging me to take a risk and pursue this topic, even though it received little academic attention at the time I began the research. I would also like to thank Dr. Vasileia Digidiki of the Harvard Center for Health and Human Rights for connecting me with organizations in Greece and helping me work out the logistics of fieldwork.

I am also grateful the Pulitzer Center for Crisis Reporting and the Johns Hopkins Center for Qualitative Research in Health and Medicine for providing the funds for fieldwork.

I also could not have carried out this research without the training and education I received at the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Anthropology, where I received my bachelor's degree. The qualitative research methods I learned under the guidance of Dr. Fran Barg, my undergraduate advisor, as well as the experiences I gained working with conflict-affected populations of South Asian descent, formed the foundation of this thesis research. I am also grateful to Dartmouth Medical School for supporting my decision to go on leave while pursuing this PhD.

Of course, I could not have made it through this program without the support of my parents, who patiently and sometimes nervously cheered me on as I made one unconventional decision after another, and my partner, Alex, whose support has been unwavering regardless of what adventure I run after. My friends and cohort mates have been a lifeline over the last few years, making sure I don't fall through the cracks as I juggled many lives in many places. To everyone who has made this journey possible, thank you.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
List of thesis committee members	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Unaccompanied migrant children	1
1.2 Dissertation aims and organization	3
Chapter 2. Study site, theoretical orientation, and study design	5
2.1 Study site: Greece	5
2.1.1 Brief history of migration	5
2.1.2 Response to the 2015-2016 surge in migration	7
2.1.3 Unaccompanied minors in Greece	9
2.2 Theoretical orientation	10
2.2.1 Categorizing migrants	11
2.2.2 The securitization of migration and exploitation of migrants	13
2.2.3 A focus on trajectories	14
2.3 Study design	15
2.3.1 Recruitment	16
2.3.2 Data Collection	18
2.4 Data analysis	22
Chapter 3. “The boys who came from the land don’t get anything”: Differences in accompanied minors’ access to accommodation based on route of entry into Greece	24
Abstract	24
3.1 Introduction	25
3.1.1 Migration patterns in Greece prior to 2015	26
3.1.2 Unaccompanied minors in Greece prior to 2015	28
3.1.3 Changes in immigration and humanitarian policies, 2015-2016	29
3.1.4 Liminal legality	31
3.2 Methods	33
3.3 Results	35
3.3.1 Before March 2016	35
3.3.2 After March 2016	36
3.4 Discussion	42
3.4.1 Implications for practice	45
3.4.2 Strengths and limitations	46
Chapter 4. “Neither minor, but not yet adults”: Interpretations of vulnerability and cumulative disadvantage for unaccompanied adolescent migrants in Greece	48
Abstract	48
4.1 Introduction	49

4.1.1	The vulnerability of unaccompanied youth	50
4.1.2	Life course theory and cumulative disadvantage	52
4.1.3	Migration trajectories of unaccompanied youth	53
4.2	<i>Methods</i>	54
4.3	<i>Results</i>	57
4.3.1	Looking for vulnerability	57
4.3.2	Cumulative disadvantages	58
4.3.3	The role of accommodation facilities for unaccompanied minors	65
4.4	<i>Discussion</i>	67
4.4.1	Implications for practice	70
4.4.2	Strengths and limitations	71
Chapter 5. The endings of journeys: The effects of unaccompanied minors' experience in children's shelter on their onward migration in Europe		72
	<i>Abstract</i>	72
5.1	<i>Introduction</i>	73
5.1.1	The ends of journeys	74
5.1.2	Encountering child protection services along the journey	75
5.2	<i>Methods</i>	78
5.3	<i>Results</i>	80
5.3.1	Making sense of bureaucracy	81
5.3.2	Interactions with bureaucratic actors	84
5.4	<i>Discussion</i>	89
5.4.1	Programmatic recommendations	92
Chapter 6. Conclusions		95
6.1	<i>Summary of results</i>	95
6.2	<i>Strengths and limitations</i>	97
6.3	<i>Recommendations for future practice</i>	99
Chapter 7. Appendices		104
7.1	<i>In-depth Interview Guide</i>	104
7.2	<i>Life History Calendar for follow-up interview guide</i>	107
7.3	<i>Key Informant Interview Guide</i>	109
Chapter 8. References		111
Chapter 9. Curriculum Vitae		121

List of Tables

Table 1.	Case Study 1: Unaccompanied minor from land route placed in shelter	41
Table 2.	Disadvantages prior to departure	59
Table 3.	Comparative case studies, part 1: Disadvantages prior to departure.....	61
Table 4.	Circumstances experienced while living alone	63
Table 5.	Comparative case studies, part 2: Experiences in transit	64
Table 6.	Comparative case studies, part 3: Experiences in Greece.....	66
Table 7.	Case study 2: “A nice gang”	82
Table 8.	Case Study 3: “I started to change my mind about school”.....	86
Table 9.	Case Study 4: “If they cared, we wouldn’t have started drinking”	88

List of Figures

Figure 1.	Map 1: Migration routes, reception centers, and UAM shelters in Greece	30
Figure 2.	Trajectory of unaccompanied minor from the islands	36
Figure 3.	Trajectory of unaccompanied minor from land route	39
Figure 4.	The role of accommodation facilities in UAMs' trajectories.....	96

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Unaccompanied migrant children

The number of migrant children traveling without adult family members has been rising globally at least as far back as 2009 (Bhabha, 2009; UNICEF, 2016, 2017a). Approximately 300,000 unaccompanied minors (UAMs) were recorded crossing international borders in 2015-16, up from 66,000 in 2010-2011 (UNICEF, 2017b). In Europe, the number of UAMs spiked from 13,800 in 2013 to 23,300 in 2014, and then rose to an unprecedented 96,000 in 2015. Actual numbers are likely to be much higher, as many UAMs remain undetected by authorities (UNICEF, 2017b). An estimated 35% of the 173,000 migrants who arrived on the Greek islands in 2015 were UAMs (Fili & Xythali, 2017; IFRC, 2017).

UAMs are widely recognized to be especially vulnerable to exploitation (UNICEF, 2016, 2017a). They are at once disproportionately poor, stateless, and separated from supportive adult family members (Bhabha, 2009). A 2017 International Organization of Migration (IOM) survey found that children crossing the Mediterranean unaccompanied were more likely to respond positively to indicators of exploitation than adults or children traveling with families (IOM, 2017). The most common types of exploitation indicated were sexual exploitation and forced labor (IOM, 2017), both of which can have lasting consequences for mental and physical health (Chynoweth, Freccero, & Touquet, 2017; Romano & De Luca, 2001). The sexual exploitation of male UAMs has received particular attention in Greece after the 2015 rise in migration (Brun, 2016; Chynoweth et al., 2017; Digidiki, 2016; Digidiki & Bhabha, 2017; Freccero, Biswas,

Whiting, Alrabe, & Seelinger, 2017). Humanitarian workers were aware of this phenomenon, but reported feeling unprepared to respond to it (Brun, 2016; Freccero et al., 2017).

In Greece, as in most of Europe, UAMs are entitled to certain protections. These are outlined in binding legal instruments, such as the 1989 Convention on the Rights of a Child (OHCHR, 1989), and non-binding guidelines, like the Inter-Agency Guiding Principles on Unaccompanied and Separated Children (ICRC, 2004), and the Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action (CPWG, 2012b). Historically, humanitarian aid for unaccompanied or separated children took the form of targeted, issue-based programs for certain categories of children, such as the rehabilitation of former child-soldiers, protection of girls from sexual violence, or other “fundable” projects (CPWG, 2012a). However, in 2012, the concept of child protection was expanded to include “the prevention of, and response to abuse, neglect, exploitation, and violence against children” in general (CPWG, 2012b), at the behest of major organizations like UNICEF, UNHCR, and Save the Children, who were dissatisfied with the earlier, more fragmented approach (CPWG, 2012a). Of note, the Child Protection Working Group (CPWG) specifies that their goal does not extend to upholding all rights afforded to children, but specifically concerns abuse, exploitation, and neglect, corresponding to Articles 19, 32, and 39 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CPWG, 2012b; OHCHR, 1989).

Protection for UAMs typically includes provision for their basic needs, including accommodations (ICRC, 2004). Innovative strategies like cash assistance for minors and life skills curricula have also been considered as interventions to prevent exploitation (Freccero et al., 2017). However, at the time of this writing, neither of these interventions are commonplace. Cash assistance for minors remains controversial in humanitarian practice, and less than half of life-skills programs globally address matters of exploitation (Freccero et al., 2017).

Despite measures taken to protect UAMs, the vast majority are older adolescents who will soon age out of eligibility for these programs. Over 90% of UAMs in Europe are males between the ages of 15-17 (Brun, 2016; Galos, Bartolini, Cook, & Grant, 2017). Once they turn 18, these youth will constitute one of the least prioritized groups in humanitarian settings, as adult males are widely assumed to not be particularly vulnerable (Brun, 2016; Feldman, 2018; Kotef, 2010; Ticktin, 2011). There is little information regarding what happens to these youth after they turn 18, though some reports suggest that even as young adults, unaccompanied males remain vulnerable to exploitation (Brun, 2016; Galos et al., 2017). Even less data is available regarding the impact that UAMs' interactions with child protection programs might have as youth transition into adulthood.

1.2 Dissertation aims and organization

This study examines the role that child protection programs in Greece play in shaping UAMs' overall life trajectories. In particular, the study focuses on placement in specialized accommodation facilities for UAMs, as a safe, stable place to live is necessary in order for other psychosocial interventions to be successful or even accessible. The specific aims of this study are 1) to explore how UAMs' access to accommodation facilities changed during the 2015-2016 peak in migration into Greece, 2) to understand how placement in accommodation facilities addresses the psychosocial needs that UAMs have when they arrive in Greece, and 3) to understand how the experiences that UAMs have while in accommodation facilities shape their trajectories into early adulthood.

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 2 provides background information on migration in Greece, outlines theoretical frameworks that inform the dissertation as a whole, and

describes the study design in detail. Chapter 3 examines how the rise in media and policy attention given to migrants arriving on the Greek islands impacted UAMs' ability to access accommodation facilities. Chapter 4 explores how the priorities of NGOs providing services to UAMs interacted with and impacted youths' psychosocial needs as developing adolescents. Chapter 5 examines how UAMs' interactions with NGO staff in accommodation facilities shaped their integration into Greek society as young adults. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings and implications for practice suggested in Chapters 3-5, and discusses the strengths and limitations of this study.

Chapter 2. Study site, theoretical orientation, and study design

2.1 Study site: Greece

2.1.1 Brief history of migration

Greece historically played an important role in global migration due to its extensive coastline and easily crossed borders. The land borders in the north of the country have been an important point of entry for irregular migrants (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012), and its islands in the Aegean Sea lie along the Eastern Mediterranean route, one of three maritime routes for migrants seeking to enter Europe (IOM, 2017). The others include the Western Mediterranean route, which consists of boats going from Libya to Spain, and the Central Mediterranean Route, which consists of boats from Libya to Italy.

In the decades following World War II, the country experienced a net emigration. However, the collapse of Eastern European states in the late 1980s led to waves of migrants that overwhelmed the Greek immigration system (Ahmad, 2016; Kasimis & Kassimi, 2004). Most of these migrants entered through the land borders in the north (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012).

While Greece was a destination country for migrants from Eastern Europe and the Balkans, it was primarily a transit country for those travelling from Asia (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006). Restrictive immigration policies discouraged many Asian migrants from applying for asylum or staying in Greece, and often compelled them to rely on underground economies for as long as they stayed (Papadopoulou, 2004; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012).

In 1991, the Law on Aliens framed migration as a security threat (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006). As a result, migrants were criminalized and excluded from formal economies, which then

pushed them into unregulated, underground markets and contributed to low levels of asylum applications (Ahmad, 2016; Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006; Campana, 2017; Papadopoulou, 2004). In 2001, the Greek government implemented Act 2910/2001, or the 2001 Law on Aliens, which extended some civil rights to undocumented immigrants living in Greece (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006; Kasimis & Kassimi, 2004), and contributed to the establishment of sizable South Asian, primarily Pakistani, communities (Ahmad, 2016; Kasimis & Kassimi, 2004). The 2001 census counted over 700,000 non-EU “foreigners” living in Greece, among a total population of approximately 11 million. The actual number of migrants was estimated to be much higher, as many remained undocumented (Kasimis & Kassimi, 2004).

While the implementation of Act 2910/2001 and accompanying political discourse appeared to soften Greece’s stance towards immigrants, a nationalist rhetoric advanced by the Greek Orthodox Church promoted an exclusionary ideal of Greek citizenship (Karyotis & Patrikios, 2010). Against the backdrop of Greece’s Ottoman history, which is often seen as a threat to the country’s identity (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2009), the Greek Orthodox Church presented itself as the protector of Greek civilization (Chrysoloras, 2004). Social institutions such as schools and churches framed Greek identity as inseparable from the Greek Orthodox Church (Chrysoloras, 2004; Zambeta, 2000), and the two were referred to as “virtually synonymous” in a 1981 speech by former Prime Minister Constantinos Karamanlis (Chrysoloras, 2004). The dominance of the Orthodox Church posed a problem for immigrants of different faiths, as places of worship for other faiths could not be constructed without the advice of the local Orthodox Bishop and the police (D. C. Anagnostopoulos, Giannakopoulos, & Christodoulou, 2017; Chrysoloras, 2004). Islam in particular was associated with Turkey and the Ottoman empire, and while mosques were

promised to Athens' various Muslim immigrant communities, not a single new mosque was constructed in Greece since the end of the Ottoman Empire (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2009). Adding to the exclusionary attitudes promoted by the religious discourse in Greece, the economic crisis and international bailouts of 2010 and 2012 saw a rise in anti-immigrant sentiments in the political sphere. Following the international bailouts, discontent among young voters led to a rise in popularity of the Golden Dawn Party, which calls for cultural and religious homogeneity in Greece. In 2012, the party received 6.97 percent of the vote and a seat in parliament, up from only 0.29% of the vote in 2009 (Ellinas, 2013; Petrou & Kandyliis, 2016). As the nation's economy continued to suffer, having shrunk by 18% by 2013, disenfranchised youth turned against immigrant communities, accusing them of taking jobs that belonged to Greeks. This rise of anti-immigrant sentiment coincided with increased refugee migration from Syria and Afghanistan, among other nations, which peaked in 2015 (UNHCR, 2015). Anti-immigrant sentiment manifested as acts of violence against migrants, including attacks on refugee camps by Golden Dawn and their sympathizers (Ellinas, 2013; Petrou & Kandyliis, 2016). Conservative groups also appropriated transnational anti-Muslim discourses that solidified over the course of the war on terror, framing Greece's predominantly Muslim refugees as a national security threat (Kirtsoglou, 2013).

2.1.2 Response to the 2015-2016 surge in migration

Even before the 2015 surge in migration, the implementation of Greece's immigration policies was haphazard. Officers presiding over asylum applications had a broad scope of discretion over who could or could not file an application, and both officers and migrants used the asylum system in unintended ways (Cabot, 2014). In 2015, the rising numbers of migrants arriving on the islands voluntarily registered themselves and received deportation notices, which gave them

a limited number of days to leave the country (Rozakou, 2017). These deportation orders in fact facilitated their travel onwards to Italy (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006) or the Balkan route (MSF, 2015; Weber, 2017). Common destination countries for these migrants were the UK, France, and Germany (IOM, 2017). The sheer number of migrants who arrived in 2015 overwhelmed the system, and the documentation that many of them received as they traveled from the islands and up through the mainland was incomplete, incorrect, or simply missing (Rozakou, 2017).

In March of 2016, countries to the north of Greece heightened security at their borders, effectively trapping migrants in Greece (Squires & Holehouse, 2016; Weber, 2017). In connection with the EU-Turkey deal was implementation of a “Fast-Track Border Procedure” on the Eastern Aegean Greek islands, which prevented migrants and asylum seekers from moving to the Greek mainland and allowed Hellenic Police and members of the Armed Forces to carry out asylum duties on the islands (AIDA, 2018). This measure lowered the standards for asylum procedures and trapped migrants and asylum-seekers on the islands.

The combined effects of the closing of borders in the north of Greece and the EU-Turkey Deal transformed transit centers on both the mainland and the islands into de facto long-term refugee camps for which there was little preparation. Incoming migrants were first stranded on the islands, where the Fast Track Procedure determined whether they were asylum seekers. If they were determined to be asylum seekers, they could stay and wait for their case to be processed, which could take months, and if they were deemed to be economic migrants, they were sent back to Turkey (AIDA, 2018; Collett, 2016). While the inflow of migrants to the Eastern Aegean Islands dropped rapidly from over 850,000 in 2015 to less than 200,000 in 2016, the overall migrant population on the islands continued to grow (UNHCR, 2017a). Periods of worsening

conditions on the islands, such as the harsh winter of early 2017, led authorities to relocate thousands of migrants from the islands to the mainland (Oxfam, 2017; UNHCR, 2017b). Once migrants are moved to the mainland, they continued to wait there while the overburdened asylum service processed their cases.

The nature of the humanitarian response in Greece was haphazard, in part due to the sudden transformation of transit centers into long term camps (DeLargy, 2016). By late 2015, major organizations, such as UNHCR, Médecins Sans Frontières, and Save the Children were present on major islands and in Athens, with Greek civil society organizations and volunteers filling in the gaps (DeLargy, 2016). On August 1, 2017, many major international NGOs withdrew from Greece, transferring responsibilities to the Greek government. The EU directed monetary assistance for the management of the refugee crisis to the Greek government, which contracted local Greek organizations to fulfill specific responsibilities (SAVE, 2017). However, at the time that this transfer of responsibility occurred, the Greek government did not have the infrastructure in place or a plan to take on many humanitarian activities, including child protection. This led to discontinuities in services provided to migrants, including lack of shelter for 2,000 UAMs when NGOs withdrew (CARE, 2017).

2.1.3 Unaccompanied minors in Greece

The majority of UAMs in Greece are of Afghan origin (Galos et al., 2017), including Afghans who came from displaced families living in Pakistan or Iran (Dimitriadi, 2013). The second largest group of UAMs in Greece are of Pakistani origin (Galos et al., 2017). Approximately 90% of UAMs are males (Galos et al., 2017). Languages spoken by these UAMs include Farsi, Pashto, Punjabi, Urdu, and Bengali (Dimitris C. Anagnostopoulos, Triantafyllou, Xylouris,

Bakatsellos, & Giannakopoulos, 2016). Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, is a common second language for many UAMs of Pakistani origin, as well as for many Afghans and Bangladeshis.

Ninety percent of UAMs in Greece are between the ages of 15-17 (Galos et al., 2017). However, since many UAMs travel without legal documentation of their age, Greek reception centers use forensic age determination exams, such as the development of molar apices, to classify individuals as either minors or adults (Cameriere et al., 2014; De Sanctis et al., 2016). The use of these exams is widely criticized by medical professionals, as they were designed to age human remains and have a margins of error too large to responsibly age living humans, especially when the result of these exams determines access to resources (Hjern, Brendler-Lindqvist, & Norredam, 2012; Malmqvist, Furberg, & Sandman, 2017). As such, the legally recognized age of UAMs in Greece may not necessarily correspond with their chronological age.

NGO-provided living facilities for UAMs typically include shelters, which are repurposed homes or hotels staffed with interpreters and staff who provided psychosocial services, Safe Zones in mainland camps, which are supervised sections of camps exclusively for minors, or island reception centers, which often have designated sections for minors but fewer resources than Safe Zones on the mainland (EKKA, 2018).

2.2 Theoretical orientation

The structures that facilitate irregular migration span underground economies--where smugglers and other black market contractors provide clandestine transportation, lodging, or counterfeit documents—as well as legal immigration procedures, such as asylum applications and deportation orders, as well as humanitarian aid (Cabot, 2014; Massey et al., 1993;

Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). The theoretical orientations of this study center the experiences of unaccompanied minors (UAMs) as they move back and forth between underground economies, where they remain hidden from government oversight, to spaces where they are recognized by governments and humanitarian agencies.

In order to effectively capture UAMs' experiences while they are hidden from government oversight, this study is cognizant of the social construction of the categories through which states and NGOs view, enumerate, and govern migrants. The uncritical use of institutionally defined categories in research, as is often done in refugee studies, can make the categories seem naturally occurring (De Genova, 2002b). This not only privileges more powerful voices of institutional actors over those of displaced persons themselves, but it also limits the analytical tools available to study the unregulated movement of populations across international borders (Benezer & Zetter, 2015).

2.2.1 Categorizing migrants

The categorization of migrants, whether as refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, or simply “persons of concern”, is the result of extensive negotiations between governments and multinational organizations such as the UNHCR (Castles, 2006). Under international law, a refugee or an asylee is defined as “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group” (UNHCR, 2011). However, only a minority of forcibly displaced persons are recognized as refugees or asylees under the existing protection regime (Castles, 2006). The legal frameworks that define this protection regime were developed to address the mass displacement that followed World War II. The assumptions underlying them

have become increasingly incongruent with contemporary causes of displacement (Castles, 2006; Zetter, 2015). From the perspective of these legal frameworks, most contemporary migration is described as “mixed flows” consisting of forced migrants—refugees and asylum seekers—as well as economic migrants who migrate by choice (van der Klaauw, 2010; Van Hear, Brubaker, & Bessa, 2009). However, efforts to distinguish forced migrants from voluntary migrants overlooks the intertwined nature of political persecution, economic strife, and increasingly, climate change (Rodriguez, 2018). The migration of a single person may be encouraged by multiple forces, including physical, social, or economic violence, structural forces, the desire to reunite with family members, hope for a better life, and other individual aspirations (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016), but these mixed motives are typically not taken into account by asylum processes (van der Klaauw, 2010). Furthermore, people with varying motivations travel together in mixed flows, so the distinction between different types of migrants doesn’t reflect how processes of migration actually take place (van der Klaauw, 2010; Van Hear et al., 2009; Zetter, 2015).

Governments and international organizations have been strongly resistant to providing protection for all displaced persons (Castles, 2006). Among the various motivations and forces that propel individuals to migrate, for example, the UNHCR’s mandate concerns only aspects that align with the criteria for international protection described in the Geneva Conventions (Rodriguez, 2018). Tellingly, there were 9,200,000 recognized refugees but 19,200,000 “persons of concern” (Castles, 2006). These categories can be seen as “a grid that has been... superimposed upon a deeper stratum of human migrations and diasporas” (Pieterse, 2000), and are associated with a hierarchical system of rights (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018).

In order to avoid naturalizing any of the categories that describe displaced persons (De Genova, 2002a) and to stay true to the underlying processes and experiences of migration, this study will refer to all displaced persons using the broad term “migrants”. This term denotes any person who has moved away from his or her usual place of residence, whether within a country or to another country, permanently or temporarily, for any reason, including reasons not addressed by international laws (IOM, 2019). However, the majority of participants in this study have applied for or received asylum in Greece.

2.2.2 The securitization of migration and exploitation of migrants

The presence of irregular migrants within a country’s borders is typically seen as an issue of national security. Police and border security agencies charged with addressing the security threat presumably posed by irregular migrants are given a wide range of discretion over who they apprehend and how they choose to process them (Ticktin, 2005). In practice, the checks and balances that typically protect civilians from excesses of police power are suspended during interactions between irregular migrants and law enforcement agencies (Agamben, 2005; Ticktin, 2005). Consequently, migrants may be subject to police violence without access to any kind of recourse (HRW, 2011; Kotef, 2010). The camps and detention centers that migrants are often relegated to after coming into contact with law enforcement agencies are likewise exceptional spaces where the regulations that ordinarily protect individuals from abuses of power or neglect are not applied (Agier, 2011). Even accessing the humanitarian assistance provided to them typically requires that migrants comply with law enforcement and remain in conditions of extreme neglect (Agier, 2011).

In order to avoid the restrictive and neglectful circumstances that law enforcement agencies place them in, migrants often try avoid the gaze of state agencies altogether while they travel irregularly, relying instead on services provided in underground economies (Ahmad, 2016; Campana, 2017; Massey et al., 1993; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). These services are unregulated and can expose migrants to exploitative circumstances. Scholars have noted that the bulk of the exploitation that migrants experience occurs during their clandestine travels (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016; Zimmerman, Kiss, & Hossain, 2011).

2.2.3 A focus on trajectories

As migrants travel across borders, they also move between various legal statuses (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018), often in circuitous, difficult to predict ways (Castles, 2006; Schwarz, 2018). The majority of studies regarding refugees and asylum seekers, including UAMs, focus on displaced persons at a single point in time, while they occupy a particular legal status in a particular country, and are perhaps also the clients of a particular organization through which they are recruited (Demazure, Gaultier, & Pinsault, 2017; El-Awad, Fathi, Petermann, & Reinelt, 2017; Jacobs, 2017; Jakobsen, Meyer DeMott, & Heir, 2017; Jakobsen, Meyer DeMott, Wentzel-Larsen, & Heir, 2017; Keles, Idsoe, Friborg, Sirin, & Oppedal, 2017; Meyer DeMott, Jakobsen, Wentzel-Larsen, & Heir, 2017; Norredam, Nellums, Nielsen, Byberg, & Petersen, 2018; Sarkadi et al., 2017). Examination of one single place and category of migrants at a given time divorces them from the social and historical forces that brought them to the circumstances captured in the study (Malkki, 1996). Furthermore, examining migrants in their host countries tends to reduce their journeys, which are powerful, transformative experiences, to brief, transitory phases for which analytical tools remain underdeveloped (Benezer & Zetter, 2015).

This study employs a trajectory-based approach to understanding UAMs' experiences. The trajectory approach, while uncommon in humanitarian and refugee studies, is much more prominent in migration studies (Benezer & Zetter, 2015), and involves tracing migrants trajectories through multiple locations, legal statuses, and mobility regimes (Schwarz, 2018). Trajectory-based approaches are well suited to examine how various legal frameworks and social circumstances interact to shape migrants trajectories, and lead to the formation of new identities and understandings (Benezer & Zetter, 2015). They are also able to capture the prolonged, circuitous nature of migrants' journeys (Castles, 2006; Collyer, 2007; Collyer & de Haas, 2012; Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016; Schwarz, 2018). The focus on trajectories counters the common bias towards those who have already settled in host countries (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016), and can inform reception and settlement policies to be more responsive to migrants' experiences (Benezer & Zetter, 2015).

A trajectory approach is especially useful in studies regarding UAMs, as their migratory trajectories coincide with their developmental trajectories through adolescence. As a result, the social environments they travel through impact their psychosocial development and can have effects that persist into adulthood (Elder, 1998; Sanders, 2013). An understanding of how experiences during migration shape developmental needs can better inform psychosocial programs that support UAMs. Furthermore, a trajectory approach can follow UAMs into adulthood and explore the long-term effects of the humanitarian aid that they receive.

2.3 Study design

This study uses multiple qualitative methods, including in-depth, semi-structured interviews with migrant youth who entered Greece as UAMs, semi-structured life history calendars (Nelson, 2010), key informant interviews, and participant-observation. The study recruited former UAMs

in order to capture how their interactions with NGOs and shelters shaped their experiences in early adulthood. The semi-structured life history calendar was used due to its compatibility with the trajectory approach. All data were collected between August and October of 2018 and March and April of 2019.

This study is constructivist and recognizes that the identity of the researcher shapes the data collected. In humanitarian settings, the frequent affiliation of the researcher with an NGO affects the information that the study population is willing to share (Agier, 2011). Therefore, researchers were not affiliated with any NGOs working in Greece. This fact was made explicit to migrant youth who were interviewed, and interviews were conducted in cafes or other settings convenient to the interviewee, instead of on the premises of an NGO. The gender of the researcher can likewise shape the data that is collected (Pante, 2014). In this particular study, the researcher responsible for conducting interviews was female, while interviewed migrant youth were male. Given migrant youths' cultural norms, it is expected that this difference in gender may lead to some censorship, particularly with regard to information about drugs and sexual exploitation. To address this, participants were asked about experiences of migrant youth in general with these issues, as participants are often more comfortable sharing information regarding others than themselves. The researcher's ethnicity likewise shaped the data that was gathered. As an American of Indian descent, the researcher was likely perceived as culturally familiar to South Asian youth, and potentially neutral with respect to conflicts between different nationalities—such as Afghans and Pakistanis—as well as conflicts between Europeans and refugees.

2.3.1 Recruitment

Participants included male, young adult asylum seekers who arrived in Greece as UAMs.

Specific eligibility criteria for interviewees were:

- Male and over the age of 18, according to legally recognized age
- Fluent in Urdu or Dari/Farsi
- Arrived in Greece as a UAM
- Not supported by relatives in Greece
- Able and willing to participate

Female UAMs were excluded because, as they constitute less than 10% of UAMs in Greece and likely have experiences significantly different from males, recruiting and interviewing a sufficient number to reach saturation would have required additional resources. Most key informants had never met a female UAM. Though data on these girls was scarce, they were typically thought to be of African descent rather than South Asian.

Participants were recruited via initial ethnographic assessment coupled with snowball sampling. Snowballing began with eligible individuals recruited by key informants in Pakistani and Afghan migrant communities. Concurrent ethnographic assessment was carried out to identify different subgroups of unaccompanied youth and the spaces they frequent. Ethnographic assessment included 1) participant-observation at a youth center for migrants aged 16-21 near Victoria Square in Athens, 2) a homeless clinic that also offered free food and laundry services near Omonia Square, and 3) predominantly immigrant neighborhoods. Identification of additional subgroups of migrant youth, such as those who lived in organized squats in abandoned schoolhouses, or those who engaged in agricultural labor, was used to expand the sampling frame and maximize the number of subgroups represented in the sample. A total of 44 migrant youth participated in this study.

2.3.2 Data Collection

2.3.2.1 Interviews

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were collected from each participant. Interviews began by asking interviewees “How did you happen to come to Greece?” The open-ended nature of this question allowed participants to construct their narrative at whatever starting point they saw fit. Some began with their departure from their home country, while others chose to describe the circumstances that precipitated their departure in detail. The interview focused on the following three phases in participants’ trajectories:

1. From their departure from their home countries to their arrival in Greece
2. From their arrival in Greece to when they turned 18
3. From when they turned 18 up to the point they were interviewed

Though participants were given considerable discretion over how they constructed their narratives, the following topics were covered with respect to each phase of their trajectory:

1. The nature of their interactions with adults in positions of authority (smugglers, law enforcement, NGO staff)
2. Sources of economic and social support
3. Interactions with members of host communities
4. Challenges or difficulties they faced
5. Any incidents that stood out as particularly important
6. Their reactions and reflections regarding the events they narrated

Probing questions were used to understand the vocabulary they used to describe their experiences, such as the names of documents or processes related to irregular migration. Probes

also explored details regarding interviewees' social circumstances, such as familiarity with Greek or English languages, nationalities of friends in Greece, correspondence with family members outside of Greece, as well as access to resources such as a cell phone, internet, or money transfers from social contacts abroad.

Interviews were conducted in or around Athens at locations selected by the participant. These included parks, cafés, and occasionally, participants' homes. Interviews were either conducted in Urdu, Dari/Farsi¹, or English. Interviews in Urdu or English were conducted by researcher DM, while interviews in Dari/Farsi were facilitated by a Dari/Farsi-to-Urdu or Dari/Farsi-to-English interpreter. All interviews were audio recorded, translated, and transcribed. A translator who was not involved in the original data collection translated interviews in Dari/Farsi to English, and included the words of the participant as well as the interpreter facilitating the interview if they were incongruent.

2.3.2.2 Life history calendars

Throughout each interview, semi-structured life history calendars were constructed to establish the sequence of events in the participants' trajectory. The calendars consisted of straight lines representing participants' trajectories, and marked changes in participants' living situations, as well as how long each living situation lasted, and the approximate dates of other important events described in participants' narratives. The calendar functioned to establish a reliable sequence for the events that the participant narrated and was reviewed with the participant towards the end of the interview to establish accuracy.

¹ Dari and Farsi are mutually intelligible and are typically not distinguished when used by NGOs in Greece

Participants were also contacted for follow-up interviews to extend life history calendars to cover the period between their birth and departure from home countries. These life history calendars likewise focused on changes in living situations, sources of support, as well as access to education and experiences with independent decision-making. Follow-up interviews were likewise audio-recorded, translated, and transcribed.

2.3.2.3 Participant-Observation

Participant-observation was carried out concurrently with interviews and was used to develop the sampling frame and contextualize interview data. Participant-observation sites included the following:

1. Youth center near Victoria Square

This youth center provided lunch, laundry facilities, showers, Wi-Fi and computer access, referral services, and recreational activities for youth aged 16-21.

Researcher DM volunteered as an Urdu interpreter at the center from August to October of 2018. Conversations with management staff and interpreters hired from refugee communities were used to identify other organizations and recreational spaces used by migrant youth. In addition, interactions between youth and staff were observed.

2. Homeless clinic near Omonia Square

This clinic provided basic medical care, dinner, laundry and barber services twice a week. The clinic serviced homeless populations irrespective of their nationalities. Researcher DM volunteered as an interpreter. Conversations with staff were used to gather information regarding the living situations of homeless migrants.

3. Recreational and residential spaces

Other participant-observation sites included neighborhoods, NGO-provided apartments, cricket matches, vocational training centers, and participants' workplaces. This data collection was unplanned and initiated by study participants' invitation to visit places important to their day-to-day lives.

Detailed field-notes were taken on interactions and conversations that occurred during participant observation.

2.3.2.4 Key informant interviews

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with staff of NGOs that worked with migrant youth and members of migrant communities. Key informants affiliated with NGOs are described below:

1. NGO X

NGO X referred homeless and unstably housed UAMs to shelters and provided comprehensive case management services until they could be placed. The organization also ran a recreational center that offered workshops for youth up to the age of 21, and operated a newspaper run by migrant youth. Interviewed staff included a psychologist, two social workers, a lawyer, and a Pakistani cultural mediator.

2. NGO Y

NGO Y trained interpreters, operated one shelter on Chios island, referred homeless or unstably housed UAMs in Athens to other shelters, and provided supervised transport for UAMs on the islands who were being relocated to the mainland. The organization also provided Greek language lessons and operated a

guardianship program that assigned UAMs to Greek legal guardians. Interviewed staff included two social workers.

3. Transitional Shelter Z

Transitional Shelter Z provided dormitory style accommodations for young adults who had recently aged out of UAM shelters. Interviewed staff included a social worker and a psychologist.

Interviews with NGO staff covered the following themes:

1. Day-to-day professional responsibilities
2. Typical interactions with UAMs
3. Challenges faced by UAMs
4. Challenges faced by the staff themselves as they tried to assist UAMs
5. Changes in challenges faced as UAMs approached adulthood.

Interviews with NGO staff took place in English and were audio recorded and transcribed.

Key informant interviews with adults from migrant communities were used to clarify phenomena described by UAMs, such as smuggling routes or payment methods. These interviews were often less formal and not recorded, but notes were taken instead.

2.4 Data analysis

Data analysis was done concurrently with data collection. This allowed findings from interviews and participant-observation to inform further sampling, as well as interview questions. Initial findings were analyzed using unstructured memos to identify different subgroups of UAMs and inform future interview questions. For example, if findings suggested that the experience of a certain subgroup differed from those already in the study, attempts were made to recruit members of that subgroup. If findings indicated that certain themes might be particularly

important to understanding the youths' experiences, future interviews included more questions or probes regarding those themes.

Once data collection was complete, interview transcripts were analyzed using NVivo. Thematic coding was used to characterize common features of participants' experiences along different phases of their trajectory. Coding will began inductively with transcripts that demonstrated "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). Once transcripts are coded, patterns of codes in each narrative were analyzed as a whole, treating each narrative as the unit of analysis. Progressively structured memos stemming from the analysis of whole narratives were used to develop theories regarding the relationships between major themes.

Chapter 3. “The boys who came from the land don’t get anything”: Differences in accompanied minors’ access to accommodation based on route of entry into Greece

Abstract

Background: Humanitarian and immigration responses to the 2015-2016 refugee crisis in Greece focused on crowded boats arriving on the Greek islands. Relatively little attention was paid to migrants who entered Greece through its northern borders with Turkey and Bulgaria. This study examines how the changes in migration patterns and humanitarian assistance policies in 2016 affected unaccompanied minors’ (UAMs’) access to accommodation facilities in Greece.

Methods: Forty-four migrant youth who arrived in Greece as UAMs during or after 2015 were recruited for in-depth interviews regarding their experiences in Greece. Youth were recruited via a combination of ethnographic mapping and snowball sampling to capture the experiences of those who had access to shelters and institutional support as well as those who didn’t. Life history calendars were constructed alongside in-depth interviews to establish the sequence of events and changes in living situations along youths’ trajectories. Interviews were analyzed thematically with attention to the dates and routes through which youth had entered Greece.

Findings: Before March of 2016, UAMs were able to access shelter in Athens irrespective of the route through which they entered Greece. After implementation of new movement restrictions and humanitarian funding regulations in March of 2016, the experiences of UAMs who entered the country via land borders diverged from those who entered via the islands. UAMs who entered by crossing land borders had to find adult intermediaries on their own to advocate for their placement in shelters. In order to recruit adult intermediaries, they had to be visible in humanitarian spaces, which was made difficult due to frequent homelessness and required exceptional communication skills and persistence. UAMs arriving via the islands did not need to exert effort to secure adult intermediaries. They were automatically visible in humanitarian spaces when they were automatically processed in reception centers. They were routinely placed in UAMs’ shelters through a referral process that did not require their concurrence.

Conclusion: The island-centered policy changes that were implemented in March 2016 created barriers to accessing shelter for UAMs who entered by crossing land borders, giving rise to new disparities in access based on the route through which youth entered Greece. To reduce this disparity, innovative measures are needed to target and follow up with homeless and unstably housed youth.

3.1 Introduction

In 2016, 16-year-old Javed walked across the border between Bulgaria and Greece with his 14-year-old brother. The boys had journeyed from Afghanistan with their father and attempted *make a try* from Turkey to Greece via a narrow strip of Bulgaria with the help of smuggler. Six times, they had been caught by Bulgarian police and sent back to Turkey. On their 7th try, the boys passed through Bulgaria undetected, but their father got left behind in Turkey. Once in Greece, the boys were alone, and invisible.

The land route that Javed and his brother traveled, as well as the nearby route traversing the Evros river between Greece and Turkey, did not come to the attention of Frontex, the European Union's border agency, until 2010 (HRW, 2011; Schapendonk, 2012). In 2013, a migrant reception center was set up in the Evros region (ECRE, 2019). These land routes received little attention during the 2015-2016 surge in migration (UNHCR, 2015), to which the European Commission responded by setting up 5 "hot-spots", or migrant reception centers, on the Aegean islands (Collett & Le Coz, 2018; ECRE, 2016) and enacting significant changes in immigration and humanitarian assistance policies (AIDA, 2018, 2019). While reports of migrants entering Greece via the islands have been published and updated regularly since 2015 (IFRC, 2017; UNHCR, 2018a, 2018b), there is little to no data regarding those who entered via the land routes during the same period. Nonetheless, anecdotal evidence shows that the land routes into Greece continued to be used (Strickland, 2018), even though humanitarian aid concentrated on those coming through the islands.

Comparing his experience in Greece to that of unaccompanied minors (UAMs) who arrived via the islands, Javed reflected in 2018, "When the boys who came from the water are sent from the islands to Athens, they are given good accommodation, they are in decent houses, they are given

everything. But the boys who came from the land route don't get anything. Their life is harsh.”

This paper examines how the changes in immigration and humanitarian aid policy implemented in 2016 affected UAMs’ ability to access accommodation facilities based on their route of entry into Greece.

3.1.1 Migration patterns in Greece prior to 2015

In the early 2000s, as heightened airport security made false passports and visas less effective, clandestine land travel became the norm among smuggling networks in Asia (Ahmad, 2016). Consequently, Greece became a major point of entry for irregular migrants traveling to the European Union. There were two primary routes through which migrants traveling across Asia could enter Greece. The first involved crossing land borders in the north of the country, either by transiting through Bulgaria or crossing the Evros river between Greece and Turkey. The second required taking boats from the western shores of Turkey to Greece’s Aegean islands (see Map 1). The majority of migrants entered through land routes (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012).

The arrangements that migrants made with smugglers in their home countries typically only brought them as far as Greece. To travel from Greece to Western Europe, they made new arrangements with smugglers operating within Greece (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). In 2003, the Greek Ministry of Public Order was aware of 190 such smuggling networks within the country (Papadopoulou, 2004). Certain spaces around the country, such as parks, sea ports, reception centers, and parking lots, emerged as important sites where deals were struck between migrants and smugglers (Papadopoulou, 2004; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). Migrants transiting through Greece typically saw their next stop as Italy, which they attempted to reach by stowing away on an Italy-bound vessel from the port of Patras (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk,

2006; Papadopoulou, 2004; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). Others travelled north through the Balkan route (Weber, 2017).

Many migrants stayed in Greece for extended periods of time to work and pay off debts to smugglers who brought them there, or to raise money for further travel (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). During these stays, Greece's restrictive immigration policies excluded migrants from formal markets and forced them to rely on smuggling networks and illegal or unregulated activities to meet their basic needs (Papadopoulou, 2004). Smuggling networks often helped migrants find work in Greece's sizeable informal economy of family-owned farms and businesses (Ahmad, 2016; Kasimis, 2005; Papadopoulou, 2004). They also provided auxiliary services to meet migrants' basic needs, such as showers and accommodations in decrepit, overcrowded travelers' houses for a daily rate (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012).

Migration activities often intersected with the Greek asylum system in counterintuitive ways. Afghans fleeing war in their home country did not, in fact, number high among registered asylum seekers prior to 2015, and preferred instead to apply for asylum in other European countries (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). Pakistanis, including those who had been in no apparent danger in their home country, were the fifth most common nationality among asylum seekers (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). Motivations for migrants to apply for asylum when they weren't fleeing danger included obtaining the right to work legally and reducing the risk of police harassment (Papadopoulou, 2004). However, many simply misunderstood the difference between an asylum application card and a residential permit (Cabot, 2014). Furthermore, Greek police who registered asylum applicants had discretionary power over who could and could not apply for asylum, and they sometimes used the asylum system to keep track of otherwise undocumented

migrants (Cabot, 2014). As a result, migrants' ability to apply for asylum depended on multiple contingencies, such as the attitude of the individual officer processing their application, the arbitrary decisions of officers who determined which groups of migrants could submit an asylum claim on a given day, or a migrant's success in securing a lawyer to help overturn a deportation order (Cabot, 2014). Some migrants acquired an asylum application card without even asking for it, yet others were unable to obtain the document even after several tries (Cabot, 2012, 2014).

3.1.2 Unaccompanied minors in Greece prior to 2015

In most European countries, UAMs are entitled to certain protection services irrespective of their reason for traveling illegally or their intent to apply for asylum. UAMs who enter European countries irregularly and are intercepted by authorities, should, in theory, be placed in safe care arrangements (Ferrara et al., 2016). In reality, many UAMs throughout Europe went undetected by government and social service institutions (Bloch, Sigona, & Zetter, 2012; Ferrara et al., 2016), or disappeared after being placed in protected facilities (Ferrara et al., 2016; Fili & Xythali, 2017). Presumably, these youth left accommodation facilities to travel to other countries, or to find income generation opportunities, which were often in unregulated, exploitative sectors (Bhabha, 2009; Bloch et al., 2012).

As a result of the limited migrant reception and processing facilities in Greece, many UAMs remained invisible to authorities who could provide them with shelter and other assistance (Ferrara et al., 2016). Thousands were likely never detected at all, and many who were intercepted could not be traced. In 2013, 1519 of 3122 UAMs intercepted by Greek police were never found again (Bloch et al., 2012; Ferrara et al., 2016). UAMs who entered Greece via the islands were supposed to be placed in protective care settings when intercepted by authorities

(Rozakou, 2017), but this practice was not consistently followed. Of the UAMs who were placed in accommodation centers, 20% disappeared within 24 hours (Fili & Xythali, 2017), presumably to transit onwards to another country (Ferrara et al., 2016), find work opportunities, or out of fear of detention (Allsopp & Chase, 2019; Bloch et al., 2012). Even as recently as 2015, when 2248 UAMs requested accommodations in Greece, only 426 applied for asylum in the country (Fili & Xythali, 2017) and the rest could not be traced. The expectation that UAMs would only stay in protective care facilities for short periods of time, in part, prevented investment by governments and humanitarian agencies in more comprehensive care facilities (Fili & Xythali, 2017).

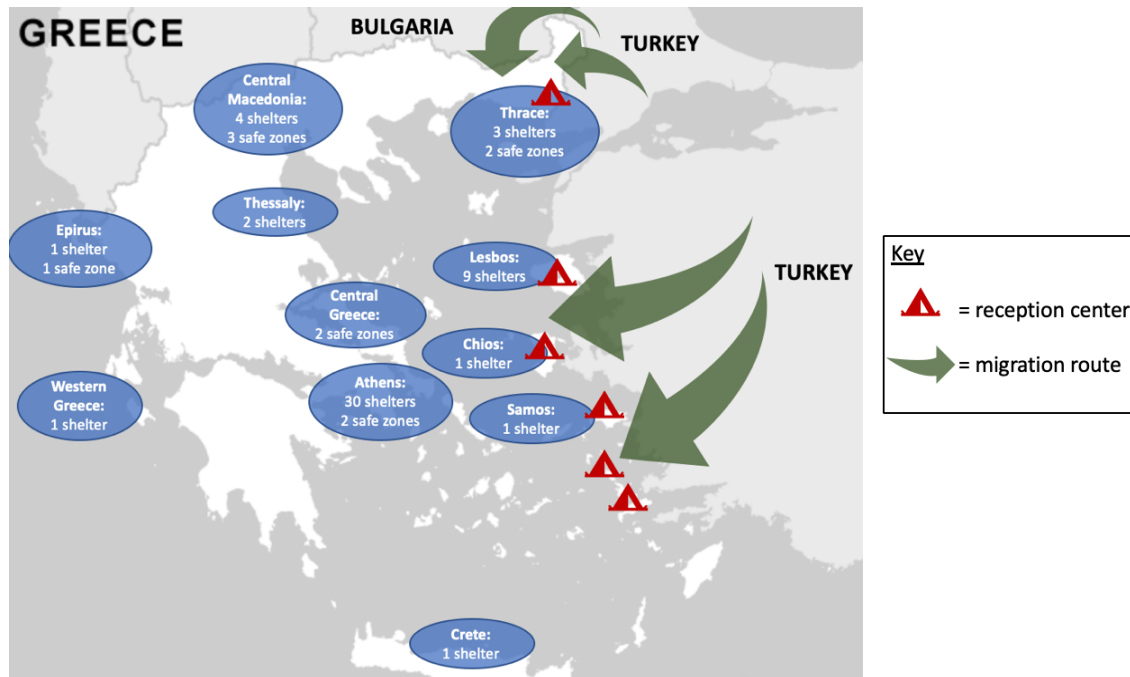
3.1.3 Changes in immigration and humanitarian policies, 2015-2016

The influx of refugees arriving irregularly on the Aegean islands in 2015 represented a departure from longstanding patterns of migration into the country (UNHCR, 2015). An estimated 173,500 irregular migrants, primarily Syrians, entered Greece through its islands in 2015, rising to 800,000 in 2016 (IFRC, 2017; UNHCR, 2015). To quickly process the migrants, the European Commission set up “hot-spots” (Collett & Le Coz, 2018), which were reception centers that contained camp-like accommodations, food distribution, and an assortment of NGOs providing legal aid, protection services, and medical assistance. These were established on the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Leros, and Kos (see Map 1). In March of 2016, a regulatory decision made by the Director of the Asylum Service imposed geographical restrictions on the movement of migrants out of the islands (AIDA, 2019), effectively sequestering the individuals who arrived there. At the same time, migration out of Greece became restricted due to heightened border security (Weber, 2017), and funds for humanitarian assistance became earmarked for asylum seekers (Fili & Xythali, 2017). As a result of these changes, migrants became trapped in Greece,

either on the islands or in the country as a whole, and had no choice but to apply for asylum to access the resources they needed to survive.

Map 1.

Migration routes, reception centers, and UAM shelters in Greece



Shelters: repurposed homes, hotels, or other residential building staffed with support staff for UAMs.
Safe Zones: sections of camps that primarily house UAMs, typically staffed by social workers and interpreters. Safe Zones differ from the minors’ sections in minors; section of reception centers because they allow youth to freely exit the camp during daytime hours, whereas reception centers typically restrict minors’ movement.
 Data used to create this map comes from (ECRE, 2016; EKKA, 2018; Fili & Xythali, 2017; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012)

Of the estimated 173,000 migrants who entered the Greek islands in 2015 (IFRC, 2017), an estimated 35% were UAMs (Fili & Xythali, 2017). The demographics of UAMs reflected long-standing patterns of migration into the country, rather than the Syrian-dominant surge in 2015. While the most common nationality among migrants in Greece after 2015 was Syrian, the most common nationality among UAMs was Afghan, followed by Pakistani (Galos et al., 2017).

Afghans were the largest group of irregular migrants apprehended by Greek police between 2005 and 2009 (Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2006; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012), while Pakistanis were one of the largest settled communities of Asians in Greece by the late 1990s (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012).

The child protection services available for these UAMs were rudimentary. The underdevelopment of child protection services was in part due to Greek reliance on extended family networks to care for children, as well as the decrease in social spending during the country's financial crisis (Fili & Xythali, 2017). UAMs were typically placed in accommodation facilities that covered very basic needs, like food and shelter (Fili & Xythali, 2017), rather than the recommended community-based or foster care arrangements (ICRC, 2004). Despite the surge in demand for youth shelters, the capacity of shelters in Greece remained extremely inadequate. Though there was no comprehensive tracking of UAMs in need of protection (Fili & Xythali, 2017), approximately two-thirds of UAMs who requested shelter in 2018 were waitlisted every month, during which time many were homeless or informally housed (EKKA, 2018).

3.1.4 Liminal legality

It is not uncommon for migrants to encounter difficulties in realizing the rights that they have on paper. The extent to which they are able to realize these rights can be examined through the lens of liminal legality (Chacón, 2015; Gonzales, 2011; Menjívar, 2006). Legal liminality is a social theory that describes how tenuous legal statuses, like those of asylum seekers in the EU or migrants with temporary work visas in the US, shape the ways in which migrants are able to participate in society (Menjívar, 2006). These tenuous statuses can enable a single migrant to participate in certain spheres while excluding them from others (De Genova, 2002a). For

example, a migrant's legal status may permit him or her to be physically present in the host country but be insufficient to allow social participation. Conversely, a migrant may be socially integrated in terms of language or religious organizations but restricted in terms of his or her physical presence or mobility due to legal status (De Genova, 2002a). Migrants of different legal statuses have different sets of rights within their host countries, and these differences can be great enough to create different social classes among migrants (Menjívar, 2006). The concept of liminal legality also captures the precariousness of migrant youths' futures, as many countries grant certain rights to minors that are revoked when they turn 18. For example, the US permits undocumented children to attend public schools, but their access to secondary and post-secondary educational institutions becomes restricted as soon as they turn 18 (Gonzales, 2011). The documentation that migrants do or do not possess plays a critical role in facilitating the realization of rights (Cabot, 2012, 2014). Upon entering Greece, UAMs are invisible to state and humanitarian institutions due to their lack of documentation (Coutin, 2000; Scott, 1998). It is only by registering, becoming documented and classified as asylum seekers and minors that UAMs become visible to NGOs and eligible for accommodation facilities (Rozakou, 2017; Scott, 1998). However, processes other than the documentation of legal status, such as labor policies, confer additional rights, recognition, and forms of membership independently of legal status (Engel & Munger, 2003). For UAMs, the advocacy of an adult, particularly an adult with some kind of institutional authority, can also be a prerequisite to the realization of rights and social membership (Bhabha, 2009). This paper explores how circumstances of legal liminality shape UAMs' access to accommodation facilities.

3.2 Methods

This study primarily consisted of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 44 male migrant youth, aged 18-21, who arrived in Greece as UAMs (Magnani, Sabin, Saidel, & Heckathorn, 2005). Female UAMs were excluded because they make up less than 10% of all UAMs in Europe, and would require alternative recruitment strategies. Recruitment was carried out using a combination of ethnographic assessment and snowball sampling. Snowball sampling began with youth referred by key informants in Afghan, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi communities in Athens. Concurrently, ethnographic assessment was carried out at 1) a clinic and food distribution site for the homeless, 2) a youth center where 16- to 21-year-old migrants received food, laundry, recreational activities, and referrals for other NGOs, and 3) parks and other public spaces frequented by migrant communities. When distinct categories of unaccompanied youth emerged during ethnographic assessment, such as those who worked as agricultural labor and those who lived in communities squatting in empty school building, participants from those categories were purposefully sought and included in snowball sampling procedures to maximize diversity in the sampling frame. This sampling approach was designed to capture the experiences of youth who did not receive any institutional support as well as those who did.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were carried out with participating youth regarding their journeys across Asia and their experiences in Greece. Alongside each interview, a semi-structured life history calendar (Nelson, 2010) was constructed to capture the trajectories that participants' lives had taken. The life history calendar took the form of a timeline that identified changes in participants' living situations, how long each living situation lasted, and the sources of support that were available in each situation. This method was able to capture how participants' circumstances changed as they moved between countries and within countries, such

as from one accommodation facility to another. It also helped establish the sequence of events that participants narrated, as narratives did not necessarily proceed in chronological order. Life history calendars were constructed in full view of participants so that they could make corrections if needed.

Interviews took place in cafés, parks, or other public spaces suggested by participants. This ensured that interviews were accessible to youth who were homeless and without public transportation vouchers, which required addresses, and so that the interviewer did not appear to be affiliated with any local NGOs. Interviews were conducted in Urdu or Dari/Farsi. These languages were selected to access Afghans and Pakistanis, the two largest nationalities among UAMs. However, some Iranians and Bengalis were also included, as Iranian Farsi is mutually intelligible with Afghan Dari, and Bangladeshis were often bilingual in Urdu. Interviews in Urdu were conducted by researcher DM, while those in Dari/Farsi required the assistance of an interpreter. Interviews were audio recorded, translated into English, and transcribed.

To contextualize the information gathered via in-depth interviews, key informants from 2 major NGOs were interviewed. These will be called NGO X and NGO Y. NGO X was a Greek organization contracted by UNHCR to provide protection services for UAMs. NGO X provided UAMs with a social worker, lawyer, and psychologist, and organized access to recreational activities and skill building workshops. NGO X primarily worked with UAMs who had not yet been placed in a shelter, and provided comprehensive case management until placement in a shelter was arranged. NGO Y operated one shelter, provided referrals to other shelters, paired UAMs with local guardians, and facilitated the transfer of UAMs from island accommodation facilities to the mainland. Interviews with staff from these NGOs explored how policy changes affected the provision of services to UAMs.

Analysis of data focused on the patterns in UAMs' trajectories based on the routes through which they entered Greece. Trajectories were categorized by whether youth had entered via the land route or the Aegean islands. They were then categorized by whether or not youth arrived before or after March 2016, when movement out of Greece and between the islands and the mainland became restricted (AIDA, 2019; Weber, 2017). Participants' narrative descriptions of their trajectories were used to understand their experience of each living situation and their attempts to access accommodation facilities for UAMs, if such attempts were made.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Before March 2016

Prior to March of 2016, there was little difference in UAMs' ability to be placed in an accommodation facility based on the route through which they entered Greece. UAMs who arrived on the islands requested shelter after taking a ferry to the mainland. This is described by Rehan (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 16):

R: I stayed in [Lesbos] about six or seven days...Then, someone told me I needed a ferry ticket to get to Athens. The next day, I got my ticket and came to Athens.

When I got off the ferry, I didn't know what to do. I didn't know anyone in Athens, so I stayed at the port for five or six days...There were lots of other refugees around, too, sleeping on benches. I eventually started talking to the others and found out there was a camp. One of the refugees, may Allah bless him, helped me find the camp...It was Elliniko camp. I stayed in the camp for 8 months before they shifted me to a [minors'] shelter.

UAMs who crossed the land border and directly entered the mainland were likewise able to get placed in a shelter by requesting assistance from NGOs that managed minors' shelters. Khalid (Afghan, 20-years-old, arrived by land route at age 14) tried to smuggle himself to Italy several times before requesting shelter and applying for asylum in Greece.

K: I came to Athens and got myself a room...in a *musafar khana*²...I tried to leave [Greece] from [the port of] Patras. I was there for 5 or 6 months before I ran out of money and came back to Athens. Then, I tried to get a *red card*³...I asked [other refugees] how to get a red card...They told me I had to go to a camp for people who were less than 18 years old, so I went there to get my red card. I stayed in the camp until I turned 18.

Youth who arrived before migration restrictions sequestered new arrivals on the Aegean islands were typically able to be placed in a shelter for UAMs by going to an accommodation facility and requesting assistance in person.

3.3.2 After March 2016

After migration restrictions between the islands and mainland Greece were implemented in March of 2016, two distinct trajectories emerged between youth who entered the country through the islands and those who used the land route. Youth who arrived via the islands were typically housed in the minors' sections of reception centers and referred to shelters without their knowledge. Those who came through the land route did not encounter organizations that could provide them with accommodations until they reached Athens.

3.3.2.1 *Minors arriving via the islands*

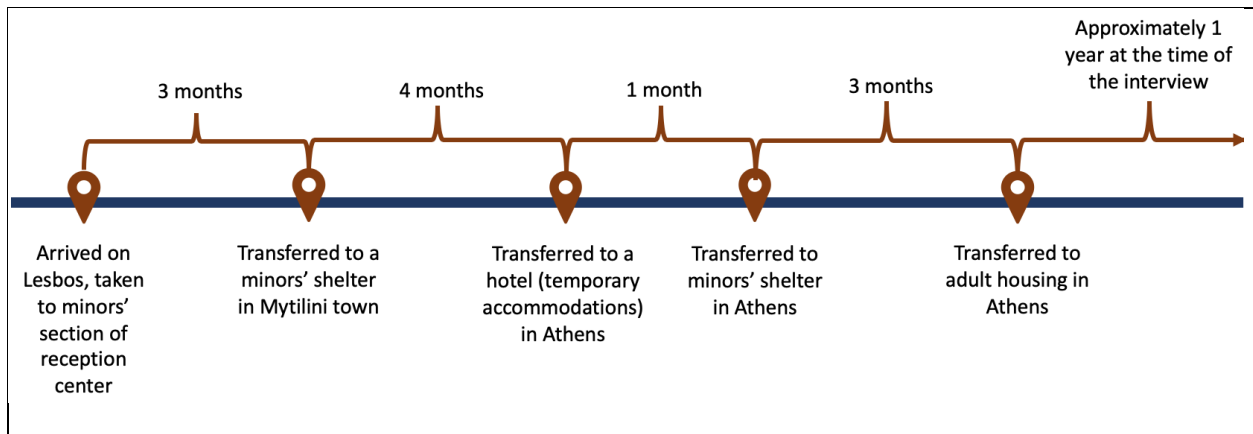
UAMs who arrived on the islands were received by rescue teams and bussed to nearby reception centers. The typical trajectory of a UAM who arrived via the islands is shown below:

Figure 2. Trajectory of unaccompanied minor from the islands

Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17

² Musafar khana: literally means traveler's house in Urdu and Dari/Farsi. Refers to smugglers' safehouses.

³ Red card: refers to an older version of an asylum application card, also described in (Cabot, 2014). At the time of this study, the version of the asylum application card used was referred to as the "white card".



Once UAMs were registered as minors at reception centers, NGO staff facilitated their asylum application and referred them to shelters without their active participation. They were also typically placed in adult housing after they turned 18. Youths' lack of involvement with this referral process is described by Lutfullah (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 16) below:

L: They don't treat you the way they should when moving you from one place to another. They just transfer you without telling you anything about it...They asked me to pack up a day before [I turned 18], because they were going to move me to a different place.

If, for some reason, youth lost access to accommodation facilities for minors, they could recruit the support of NGO staff in the reception center to regain access to UAM accommodations.

When Adil (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17) lost access to the minors' section in Moria reception center, the advocacy of a staff member he had built a relationship with helped him regain his accommodations.

A: The doctor said, "your age is over 18, so you have to leave [from the children's section]." But I had my birth certificate from Pakistan. I showed it to them, I said, "I have the original [birth certificate]. How can you say I'm not a minor?"

After they *rejected*⁴ me [from the children's section], they sent me outside where the adults lived. They put me in a tent. After a week or two, there was a fire in the adults'

⁴ Rejected: Among Urdu speakers, the English word "reject" was applied to any situation in which the migrant was turned away. For example, when a youth was deemed ineligible to participate in this particular study, he would say he was rejected from the study.

section. When I saw the whole situation-- there was a woman who worked there, she became like my mother. So, when the fire happened, I called her. She took me to her house, and for one or two weeks, I stayed in her home. Then she talked to the *In-Charge*⁵. She said, "He has proof of his age, he is a minor, why are you keeping him in the adult camp?" There was a lot of argument between them...After that they accepted me and put me the camp for children.

3.3.2.2 *Minors arriving via the land route*

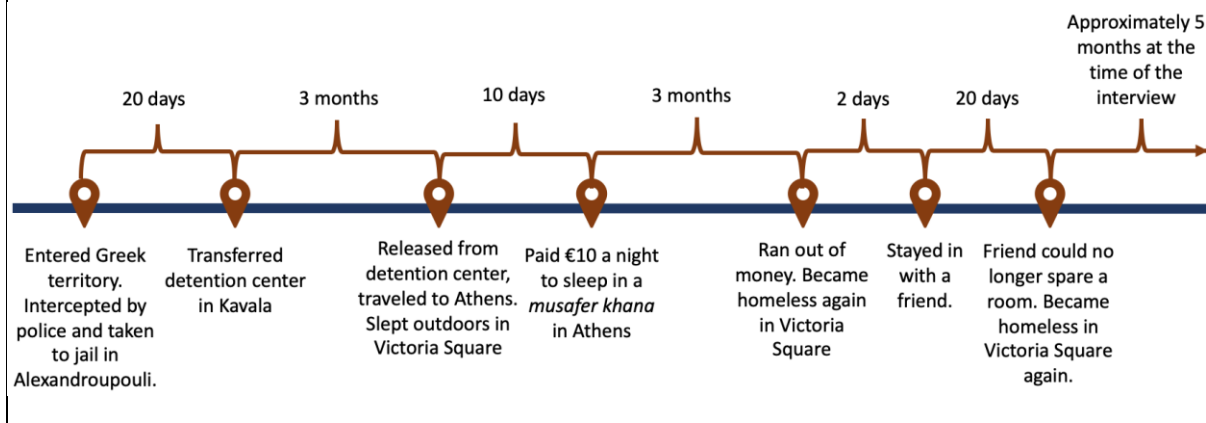
The trajectories of UAMs who entered Greece via the land route highly were variable. Some were intercepted by police and placed in detention for months in Alexandroupoli or Kavala. Others made their way to Athens completely undetected by any institutional authority. Some paid a nightly rate to sleep in a *musafir khana*⁶ for as long as they could afford it, while others squatted in abandoned buildings or stayed temporarily with a friend. Those who were homeless often slept in parks and squares frequented by migrants who shared their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, with whom they could exchange information. One such park was Victoria Square, which was within half a kilometer of 3 shelters for UAMs. The trajectory represented in Figure 3 captures many of the circumstances that youth who entered via the land route had experienced by the time they were interviewed.

⁵ In-Charge: The English phrase "In-Charge" is used by Urdu speakers to refer to responsible staff in accommodation facilities. It is not used for interpreters employed by the facilities.

⁶ Musafir khana: literally means traveler's house in Urdu and Dari/Farsi. Refers' to smugglers' safehouses.

Figure 3. Trajectory of unaccompanied minor from land route

Afghan, 18-years-old, entered via land route at age 16



Despite considerable variations in kinds of spaces these youth had lived in, a common theme was that they were unable to access accommodation facilities for minors. This was echoed by Psychologist ML at NGO X, who said most of her clients who needed accommodations had entered Greece from the land route. Although these youth were not in the care of organizations that facilitated their asylum application, most of them had applied for asylum, relying on information they gathered from other migrant acquaintances in the parks where they slept and passed their time, as shown in the excerpt from Umed (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived via land route at age 16) below:

U: The boys in the park (Victoria Square) told us that we needed our *white card*⁷ on the first day we arrived. Otherwise the police can bother us, even beat us.

DM: Do you know what the white card means?

U: I don't know much, but the day I got the white card, they told me that I am free to be in Greece, and that the police will not bother me.

⁷ White card: An asylum application card. This is an unlaminated piece of paper that contains the migrant's name, photograph, date of birth, country of origin, and asylum case number. It functions as the migrants' identity card when he or she has applied for asylum but has not received a decision.

With a white card, or asylum application card, youth were eligible for accommodation facilities. However, when youth approached NGOs that provided accommodation facilities for minors and requested assistance, much like the UAMs who had arrived prior to March 2016, most were unsuccessful. This is illustrated in the following excerpt of an interview with Gauhar (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17), who did not speak English or Greek and was homeless at the time he was interviewed.

G: I came to Athens because, in Athens, there are lots of organizations. Since coming to Athens, for the last year, I stayed here (points to Victoria Square). For one year, I've had no help. I asked the police, I asked them, take me to a camp, help me find a room. But [nothing happened]...After 4 months...I went to [NGO Z]. They told me to come back in one month.

DM: Did you talk to any other organizations?

G: I went to every organization!

DM: Do you remember their names?

G: I don't know the names of the organizations. I went to [NGO Z] and they gave me addresses. So I followed the addresses and asked [the organizations] about getting a home, I told them all of my problems, everything. But they told me, we cannot do anything for you. The last time I went to [NGO Z]... [I said,] "Please help me, help me!" They didn't help me, so I got in a fight with the translator...They say they cannot help me because I don't have my white card...It was stolen...After that I didn't go back...I also went to Malakasa [camp], Thiva [camp], and some camp farther than Malakasa. I don't know the name.

Gauhar's experience is typical among youth who entered Greece using the land route.

Homelessness was common among this population, and challenges associated with homeless hindered their ability to communicate with NGOs. Without a place to stay, they were susceptible to having their documents stolen, such as the white card, as well as their phones. Psychologist ML explained how stolen phones prevented UAMs from learning that they had been placed in a shelter:

ML: If [an NGO] sent a referral [for the UAM], and they have a positive answer from a shelter, they have to call the boy's number to inform him that he will be placed. Sometimes they call, and the number is not valid anymore... Then, you can't inform him... If they don't get called back, [the boys] think, "[The NGO] didn't do anything for me".

Furthermore, without an address, homeless youth could not apply for cash assistance schemes, which made it difficult to replace stolen items, or vouchers for the metro system, which could facilitate their travel within Athens. Even when they lived close to NGOs that could offer support, homeless youths' ability to engage them was limited. One youth who lived in a cardboard lean-to explained that he could not spend time at the nearby youth center, which offered showers, meals, and recreational activities, because he feared his belongings would be stolen if he left them unattended.

Table 1 describes in detail the experience of the only interviewed youth who had entered Greece through the land route after March 2016 and was successfully placed in a minors' shelter. Unlike the majority of UAMs, Bilal (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17) was fluent in English when he entered Greece, and had finished the twelfth grade in Pakistan prior to his departure. Like Gauhar, Bilal was initially homeless in Victoria Square when he arrived in Athens. The first NGO he approached told him to check back in a month and gave him a map with the addresses of other organizations that might be able to assist him. While Gauhar had a fight with the interpreter at NGO Z and did not return, Bilal returned the youth center and Skaramagas camp multiple times and built relationships with the staff. He also accepted other forms of support that did not meet his primary need for accommodations, such as a guardian from NGO Y and temporary housing. However, it still took the advocacy of several NGO staff, as well as EKKA, the government agency responsible for UAMs, for him to secure accommodations.

Table 1. Case Study 1: Unaccompanied minor from land route placed in shelter

Bilal (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived from land route at age 17)

B: When I got [to Athens], I slept in Victoria park during the night. I had some documents in my email, like my birth certificate, my school certificates. I printed them out and went to every organization to ask for a place to stay.

DM: How did you know what organizations to go to?

B: There was a Pashto-speaking boy who told me about the organizations. He was just a random person. He said, he was going to [Transitional Shelter Z for young adults], and I should go with him. There was a lady [at Transitional Shelter Z] who went through my documents and asked if I had an original copy of my birth certificate. I said, I didn't and it would take a long time for my birth certificate to get here. They told me to wait for a month. I told them I lived in parks and I could be in trouble if the police arrested me. They didn't do much.

They gave me a map, where all the organizations were listed, including the refugee youth center. Back then, I didn't have a phone, so, I used the map to find the youth center. [The youth center] asked me to go to [the shelter] Faros because they might give me a place. When I went to Faros, they said, they only take children under 15 years of age. I was 17.

Faros sent me back to the youth center. [The psychologist at the youth center] made phone calls for me. She contacted the Refugee Information Center. Then, I kept on chasing the Refugee Info Centre. I told them I needed a place and that I slept outdoors.

DM: What do you mean, chasing them?

B: I kept on messaging them for help online. Then, [the psychologist] told me to go ask for accommodations in Notara 26, a squat where refugees live.

DM: Did they give you a place?

B: No, they didn't. Then, I went to NGO Y. They said they could not give me a place, but they could give me a guardian if I wanted. I said I did want the guardian. My guardian told me I should go to find a place to live in the camps.

So, I went to Skaramagas camp. There, I found an Afghan lady and a Syrian guy, they also tried to help me, but they couldn't. They said, the camp had stopped taking new people, but they will help me with food and clothes. They even took me to the Ministry of Education one day. They helped a lot.

When I came back [from Skaramagas], my guardian told me he had found a place where I could stay for a week. During that one week, I woke up at six in the morning every day, to look for a place. The Afghan lady called me every morning to ask if I found anything. Sometimes I used to go to her and she called different camps to ask if they had a place for me.

Skaramagas Camp sent me to Elliniko. But Elliniko didn't let me in for two days. The third time, when I came to Elliniko, they called the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in Elliniko to confirm whether they had really sent me. Then the IRC people came and took me inside Elliniko. They said, they only take people who have been released from jail. But they took me because I emailed them almost everyday. Also EKKKA (the government agency responsible for UAMs) contacted them [about me] daily.

I stayed in Elliniko, my guardian helped me join a school. I also thanked the Afghan lady who took me to the Ministry of Education.

3.4 Discussion

The routes through which UAMs entered Greece had little bearing on their ability to access accommodations until 2015. Those who entered via the islands took commercial ferries to the

Athens, where they, as well as UAMs who entered through land borders, could approach camps or NGOs that offered shelter and request assistance. However, once movement restrictions were implemented in 2016 and referral patterns from island accommodation facilities to mainland shelters were established, UAMs arriving through the land routes faced significantly more barriers to accommodation facilities than those arriving from the islands. In order to be eligible in the accommodation facilities, youth first needed to be documented as underaged, unaccompanied asylum seekers (Scott, 1998). For those who arrived via the islands, this was done at reception centers, where their age was documented and their asylum application was submitted. UAMs who arrived through the land route did not have this documentation until they applied for asylum on their own. Like Umed, many youth who were not in the care of NGOs were advised by other migrants to apply for the white card, or asylum application card, simply to minimize police harassment.

Once UAMs had applied for asylum, they were equally eligible for and entitled to minors' shelters irrespective of how they entered the country. However, those who arrived through the land route were typically not able to realize their right to an accommodation facility for UAMs. Instead, they remained invisible to NGOs, and either paid smugglers for shelter, made informal arrangements with other migrants, or were homeless. A close examination of Bilal's experience (Table 1) highlights two factors that UAMs needed in order to actualize their right to shelter. The first is access to adult intermediaries. Bilal's successful placement in an accommodation facility required the involvement of several NGO staff. The second is visibility in humanitarian spaces where adult intermediaries can be recruited. Bilal persistently made himself visible to several organizations, both in person and on paper. He made multiple visits to the youth center and to Skaramagas camp to seek support and update staff on his situation. He made himself visible

online by sending multiple emails to NGOs that he thought might be able to support him. He agreed to take guardianship services from NGO Y, which gave him the support of yet another adult intermediary.

Youth who arrived from the islands were visible in humanitarian spaces from the moment they are placed in reception centers. Visibility in humanitarian spaces allowed youth to forge relationships with NGO staff who advocated for them if they somehow lost their accommodations. This is demonstrated by Adil's experience, when a staff member who became "like his mother" negotiated with camp administration to readmit him in the minors' section of the reception center. Adil's presence and visibility in the reception center, where many humanitarian organizations operated, allowed him to recruit the support of an adult intermediary when he needed it.

UAMs who arrived via the land route typically had access to neither adult intermediaries nor humanitarian spaces. The trajectory shown in Figure 3 demonstrates how these youths' living arrangements did not involve humanitarian spaces. In fact, accommodations in *musafir khanas* in the illegal economy likely drove these youth further underground, keeping them invisible to humanitarian organizations. When these youth did enter humanitarian spaces to request accommodations, such as NGOs or camps, they were turned away due to the scarcity of accommodations (EKKA, 2018), or told to wait for a month. As excerpts of Gauhar's interview illustrate, these short interactions in humanitarian spaces were insufficient to recruit the advocacy of adult intermediaries who could facilitate his placement in a shelter.

The homelessness that youth from the land route commonly experienced further diminished their ability to be visible in humanitarian spaces. Without a safe place to stay, youth were susceptible to having their belongings lost or stolen. Gauhar recalled NGO Z's refusal to help him because

he lost his white card. Lost or stolen phones prevented UAMs being in contact with NGOs. The need to guard their belongings further prevented them from spending time in humanitarian spaces like the youth center, and the lack of an address prevented them from applying for several types of assistance.

UAMs who arrived on the islands did not have similar barriers to overcome in order to be placed in shelters. In fact, they often had no active involvement in the process at all. However, the complexity of successfully accessing accommodations, described by Bilal in Table 1, suggests that similar success was likely out of reach for the majority of UAMs who were not well educated and fluent in English. In effect, the referral system for shelters that emerged in 2016 systematically excluded UAMs who arrived from the land route.

3.4.1 Implications for practice

This study found that an important subgroup of UAMs was systematically excluded from accommodation facilities for minors. UAMs who entered Greece using land routes were not able to access accommodations despite having requested shelter at camps and NGOs, and living in close proximity to shelters while they were homeless. Consequently, the study highlights the need for more flexible referral processes that recognize the needs of UAMs who do not have access to adult intermediaries. It also underscores the importance of working with migrant communities when providing humanitarian assistance. While the staff at most NGOs and shelters had no involvement with homeless youth in Victoria Square despite walking past them on their way to work every day, the clinic for the homeless where ethnographic assessment took place trained migrants as street outreach workers, and was therefore able to provide services to

homeless youth. Such strategies may be better suited to reach the most vulnerable UAMs than traditional office-based procedures.

Though the role of adult intermediaries is briefly described by Bhabha (Bhabha, 2009), its effectiveness in humanitarian assistance for UAMs has not been widely studied. The importance of adult intermediaries shown in this study raises the need to study the impact of guardianship programs such as the one run by NGO Y, which assigns guardians even to homeless UAMs.

This study also highlights the fact that the underground smuggling economy is a long-standing feature in the landscape that humanitarian organizations in Greece are operating in. Unlike humanitarian organizations, services in the smuggling economy, such as accommodation in *musafir khanas*, are designed to serve mixed flows of migrants and do not require documentation of age and asylum status as long as customers can pay. When humanitarian organizations fail to meet the needs of UAMs, youth often rely on vendors in the smuggling economy who may exploit their vulnerability for a profit. UAMs who are systematically excluded from humanitarian assistance, such as those who enter Greece through its land borders, are increased risk for exploitation because they are forced to rely on smuggling economies for survival.

3.4.2 Strengths and limitations

The recruitment strategy used in this study centers on migrant youth themselves, rather than institutions that assist them. As a result, the study is able to explore highly contextualized data regarding youths' experiences with smuggling networks, homelessness, and police custody in addition to camps and NGO-provided shelters. Most studies regarding UAMs typically recruit the beneficiaries of a particular institution, and exclude youth who not receive services from that

institution (Jakobsen, Meyer DeMott, Wentzel-Larsen, et al., 2017; Keles et al., 2017; Norredam et al., 2018). However, as this study demonstrates, UAMs who do and do not receive services from humanitarian institutions can have dramatically different experiences, outcomes, needs, and challenges, and meaningful data can be lost if youth who are not served by institutions are excluded.

This study combined the trajectory approach to migration studies (Schwarz, 2018) with a semi-structured life history calendar (Nelson, 2010). The use of a life history calendar established a sequence of events and allowed migrants' trajectories to be treated as a unit of analysis.

Limitations of the study included challenges with the recruitment of homeless and informally housed youth. Homeless youth tended to have social networks that were less dense than youth who lived in accommodation facilities. Snowball samples skew towards individuals with denser social networks (Magnani et al., 2005), and as a result, youth in accommodation facilities were better represented in the sample than homeless youth, despite efforts to keep the groups approximately equal. Attempts were made to mitigate this bias by combining ethnographic mapping with snowball sampling (Magnani et al., 2005). Among youth who arrived via the islands, those from Lesbos were much better represented than those from Chios or Samos. This may have been influenced by researcher DM's own networks in migrant communities stemmed from her experience as a volunteer in Lesbos. None of the included youth had come from Leros or Kos, though these islands might lead to significantly different experiences since they do not have any UAM shelters (see Map 1).

Chapter 4. “Neither minor, but not yet adults”: Interpretations of vulnerability and cumulative disadvantage for unaccompanied adolescent migrants in Greece

Abstract

Background: Humanitarian organizations prioritize aid for the most vulnerable among affected populations. Unaccompanied minors (UAMs) are recognized as a vulnerable group. This study examines how the operationalization of vulnerability by the shelter system for male unaccompanied minors in Greece shapes their trajectories into adulthood.

Methods: In 2018-2019, participant-observation and key informant interviews were carried out in organizations that refer UAMs to shelters in Athens to understand how vulnerability is interpreted and operationalized by staff members. In-depth interviews and life history calendars were collected from 44 male migrant youth who arrived in Greece as UAMs but had since transitioned into adulthood. Analysis of in-depth interviews and life history calendars examine how youths’ engagement with the shelter system altered their trajectories into adulthood.

Findings: Younger adolescents were perceived as more vulnerable and prioritized for shelters over those who were “almost 18”. However, a subset of youth who requested shelter at the age of 17 had experienced prolonged journeys in during which they spent months or years living on their own in socially isolated environments that excluded them from developmental experiences conducive to adolescent development. The shelter system for UAMs in Greece enabled youth to develop new skills and networks to integrate into society, and transferred them into adult housing when they turned 18 so that they could continue developing new skills. Those who were not in shelters at the time they turned 18 were not transferred to adult housing and lost this opportunity.

Conclusions: Due to the way vulnerability was interpreted and operationalized by the shelter system, the subgroup of UAMs who requested shelter at “almost 18” but spent extended periods of time living alone prior to arriving in Greece had the greatest need to learn new skills to facilitate their integration, but often the least opportunity to do so. Following UAMs’ trajectories into early adulthood was critical in capturing this long-term consequence of the shelter system’s operationalization of vulnerability.

4.1 Introduction

In Greece, as in most of Europe, over 90% of unaccompanied minors (UAMs) are males between the ages of 15-17 (Brun, 2016; UNHCR, UNICEF, & IOM, 2017). For UAMs in Athens who did not have access to accommodation facilities, the Greek organization NGO X was an important resource. The organization, primarily funded by UNHCR, referred homeless and informally housed UAMs to children's shelters. Child protection units, comprised of a psychologist, a social worker, and a lawyer, provided comprehensive case management for UAMs until they were placed in a shelter. Given the scarcity of children's shelters in Greece, over half of UAMs who requested accommodations remained on the waitlist at any given time (EKKA, 2018). To successfully find placement for UAMs typically took several months, unless the UAM in question was considered exceptionally vulnerable, in which case, placement might be arranged within a month. When asked how these varying wait times affected 17-years-olds who would soon age out of eligibility for children's shelters, Psychologist M. of NGO X responded:

M: The problem is, there is a prioritization of the younger ages...If they are almost 18, it is a very gray zone, because they are neither minor—let's say, not very, very vulnerable, though of course, it is not just about their age—but they are not adults yet. We try to help them, but it is very difficult for an almost-18-year-old to enter a shelter.

M.'s explanation highlights an important relationship between UAMs' age and perceived vulnerability. Younger UAMs are prioritized because they are considered more vulnerable. "Almost-18-year-olds" are not prioritized for shelters because they are not considered vulnerable enough. However, M. acknowledges that age alone does not determine a young person's vulnerability. Since most UAMs in Greece are older adolescent males, significant proportion of them are likely to be in the "gray zone" of almost 18 at the time they request shelter.

4.1.1 The vulnerability of unaccompanied youth

Vulnerability is defined by the International Organization of Migration (IOM) as “the diminished capacity of an individual or group to have their rights respected, or to cope with, resist or recover from exploitation, or abuse” (Galos et al., 2017). Among humanitarian aid organizations, UAMs are identified as an especially vulnerable subgroup of migrants, and consequently prioritized for aid (AIDA & ECRE, 2017). Targeting humanitarian aid to the most vulnerable is seen as a way to mobilize equal protection for populations in need (Flegar, 2016). However, the use of such group-based conceptualizations of vulnerability constitute a simplistic response to a complex issue (Luna, 2009). Vulnerability is not inherent to an individual or group, but a product of social and institutional environments (Peroni & Timmer, 2013). Within any given group, some individuals may be more vulnerable than others (Luna, 2009). Changing social, political, and economic conditions can create new vulnerabilities, and the characteristics that can make an individual vulnerable in one environment may not have the same effect in another (Luna, 2009). UAMs are in a particularly vulnerable position because they are disproportionately poor, have limited social support, lack a government to represent them, and often need for adult intermediaries to actualize their rights (Bhabha, 2009).

When a particular group is defined as vulnerable, those outside that group are assumed to make up a mature, self-supporting, less needy baseline (Luna, 2009). The boundaries of the vulnerable group become consequently policed (Peroni & Timmer, 2013). In the humanitarian context, children are considered vulnerable, while adult men are not (Fassin, 2010; Kotef, 2010; Ticktin, 2011). As adolescent males, most UAMs fall on the cusp between these two groups.

Consequently, where the rights of children are widely affirmed, UAMs’ access to those rights has been contested. Lawmakers have argued that the rights of a child are based on Western,

middle class constructs of childhood, and therefore do not apply to UAMs who are accustomed to harsher conditions (Bhabha, 2009). Adolescent UAMs are subjected to forensic age assessments to verify their status as minors (BBC, 2016), despite the fact that these exams cannot reliably distinguish between a 17-year-old and 18-year-old (Hjern et al., 2012; Malmqvist et al., 2017). Some politicians have even cast UAMs as dangerous teenage gang members instead of vulnerable children in need of protection (Kim, 2018).

Despite controversies regarding the vulnerability of UAMs, empirical research has found that unaccompanied migrant males remain subject to abuse and exploitation well into early adulthood. The IOM's 2017 survey of migrants in the Mediterranean identified male gender and traveling unaccompanied as statistically significant indicators of vulnerability to exploitation among both minors and adults (Galos et al., 2017). Although UAMs were more likely to respond positively to indicators of exploitation than adults overall, when adults were stratified by 3-year age intervals, no significant difference in indicators of exploitation was found between UAMs and adult males until the age of 27 (Galos et al., 2017). Substantiating these findings, a study by the organization Care International found that unaccompanied single males, both adults and minors alike, commonly experienced sexual and economic exploitation in Greece and did not receive institutional support that could help them leave exploitative circumstances (Brun, 2016). The continued exploitation of unaccompanied young males even in adulthood may be explained by environmental factors that remain unchanged as youth transition from adolescence into adulthood.

4.1.2 Life course theory and cumulative disadvantage

Development in adolescence is shaped by interactions between biological and social phenomena that take place over a period of time (McDade & Harris, 2018). Ongoing physical, psychosocial, and emotional changes (Sanders, 2013; WHO, 2014) are influenced by youths' social environments (McDade & Harris, 2018). Social processes like rites of passage vary between social and cultural groups (Markstrom & Iborra, 2003; Monsutti, 2007; Vigil, 1996) and guide youth through the changes of adolescence to help them form adult identities (Delaney, 1995; Dunham, Kidwell, & Wilson, 1986).

The life course theory of adolescent development (Elder, 1985, 1998) is well suited to examine how youths' developmental processes interact with their social environments. The theory focuses on individual trajectories, which represent the line of development in some aspect of an individual's life over a period of time. Trajectories are marked by a sequence of transitions brought on by life events, such as departing from childhood homes, changing legal statuses, or moving to a new country. Certain transitions alter the overall direction of an individual's trajectory and function as turning points (Elder, 1985, 1998).

Life course theory further allows for an understanding of how the trajectories of disadvantaged youth can be shaped by early life circumstances (Sampson & Laub, 1997). If an individual is disadvantaged in some way within the environment(s) he⁸ occupies, his reaction to the disadvantage, and the environment's response to his reaction may lead to even further

⁸ This paper uses the pronoun "he" to center the discussion on young unaccompanied males, who make up over 90% of UAMs in Greece. Though theories regarding cumulative disadvantage or life course theory may apply equally well to female UAMs, this study focuses exclusively on male UAMs because recruitment of females would have required additional resources and different recruitment strategies.

disadvantages. Several cycles of such reciprocal interactions between the individual and his social and institutional environment may cause disadvantage to accumulate over the years. The cumulative disadvantage that young people accrue over their childhood and adolescence can lead to poor outcomes in adulthood. Authors identify isolation from society—for example, through incarceration or detention—as an important disadvantage that can lead to poor adult outcomes (Moffitt, 1993; Sampson & Laub, 1997).

4.1.3 Migration trajectories of unaccompanied youth

The developmental trajectories of UAMs coincide with their migratory trajectories (Schwarz, 2018). Migrants' journeys often have ambiguous beginnings and ends (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). Instead of proceeding linearly from a starting point to a destination, migratory trajectories can be fragmented, sometimes circuitous, encompassing various legal statuses, living conditions, and changing motivations (Collyer, 2007), with long periods of immobility punctuated by bursts of mobility (Collyer, 2007; Kaytaz, 2016; Schapendonk, 2012). Many migrants make multiple attempts to arrive at their destinations, while others move on from their “destination” countries when faced with hardship or unexpected opportunities (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). Life course theory's emphasis on individual trajectories makes it possible to examine UAMs' developmental trajectories as they move through time, distance, and social and institutional environments.

Among UAMs entering Europe through Greece, approximately 25% experience journeys that last 3-6 months, and 13% experience journeys longer than 6 months (UNICEF, 2017b).

Prolonged journeys have associated with traveling unaccompanied and male gender (Galos et al., 2017). According to a 2017 report by UNICEF, 51% of these journeys were prolonged because

UAMs were “waiting for other arrangements” (UNICEF, 2017b). The limited evidence available on UAMs’ trajectories suggests that prolonged journeys are associated with increased incidence of exploitation (Galos et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2017b). An examination of UAMs’ concurrent developmental and migratory trajectories may explain how they become exposed to exploitative circumstances. This study explores how age figures in NGOs’ interpretation and operationalization of male UAMs’ vulnerability, and how the operationalization of vulnerability impacts UAMs’ life trajectories.

4.2 Methods

To understand NGOs’ interpretation and operationalization of vulnerability, the study relies on participant-observation at a migrant youth center, and key informant interviews with staff at three organizations that support unaccompanied youth. Participant-observation was carried out at the refugee youth center near Victoria Square. The youth center was selected because it catered to migrants aged 16 to 21, and therefore offered space to observe staffs’ interactions with youth who were approaching their transition to adulthood as well as those who had recently experienced the transition. The center offered essential services like meals, showers, laundry facilities, Wi-Fi and computer access, as well as referrals for accommodation facilities and educational opportunities. It was staffed by a psychologist, a social worker, case managers, interpreters from refugee communities, as well as short-term volunteers who organized recreational activities. Importantly, it was an open space where youth could come and go as they pleased without any kind of registration, allowing homeless and informally housed youth to spend time there as well as those who already lived in shelters. Researcher DM volunteered at the youth center as an Urdu interpreter from August to October of 2018 and gathered

ethnographic data on youths' interactions with the center's staff, with the written permission of the center's then-project manager.

Key informant interviews took place with staff at NGO X, NGO Y, and Transitional Shelter X for young adults. NGO X's staff included psychologists, social workers, lawyers, and cultural mediators. NGO X referred homeless and unstably housed UAMs to shelters and provided holistic case management services until the youth were successfully placed. Two lawyers, a social worker, a psychologist, and a cultural mediator were interviewed at NGO X. NGO Y operated one UAM shelter, transferred youth from the islands to the mainland, provided legal guardians for UAMs, and referred UAMs to other shelters when needed. A social worker and a project manager were interviewed at NGO Y. Transitional Shelter X was staffed by a social worker and psychologist, and housed 24 young adult males. Interviews focused on staffs' typical responsibilities towards UAMs and the processes through which youth were placed in shelters. A total of 9 staff members from these three organizations were interviewed in 2018. Follow up interviews were conducted with staff from NGO X and Transitional Shelter X in 2019.

Participant-observation notes and key informant interview transcripts were qualitatively analyzed using open, inductive coding. Codes focused on NGO staff's reactions to and discussions of UAMs' age as well as how they interpreted and addressed UAMs' vulnerability in their day-to-day work.

To understand UAMs' life trajectories, in-depth-interviews and semi-structured life history calendars collected from 18- to 21-year-old male migrant youth who had arrived in Greece as UAMs (see Chapter 2). A combination of ethnographic assessment and snowball sampling were used to ensure that homeless and informally housed youth as well as those in accommodation

facilities were represented. At the time they were interviewed, 16 youth were either homeless or informally housed, and 28 were living in NGO provided accommodation facilities. Interviews and life history calendars focused on events surrounding youths' departure from their home countries up through the time of the interview. Due to the open-ended nature of interviews, some participants gave provided information regarding their life history prior to their departing their home countries while others did not. To have comparable data on life history prior to departure for all participants, follow-up interviews were conducted. Follow up interviews were more structured than initial interviews and extended life history calendars to cover the period between birth and departure from home country, with a focus on 1) place and type of residence during each year of life, 2) sources of economic support in each place of residence, 3) co-inhabitants in each residence, 4) years of schooling, and 5) experience with independent decision making. Of the 44 youth who were interviewed, 32 could be contacted and were able to give follow-up interviews. Follow-up interviews were audio recorded, translated, and transcribed.

To analyze life history calendars and interview transcripts, participants' lives were divided into 4 different time periods. These were 1) from birth to departure from home country, 2) from departure to arrival in Greece, 3) as UAMs in Greece, 4) from age 18 to the time of interview. Disadvantages and advantages were identified in each time period, and their impact on later periods of life were qualitatively assessed. To understand how placement in children's shelters impacted life trajectories, the life history calendars of youth who were and were not placed in children's shelters were compared.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Looking for vulnerability

To place a homeless or informally housed UAM in a children's shelter, child protection organizations sent a referral on his behalf to EKKA, the Greek National Center for Social Solidarity. Social worker R. and psychologist M. from NGO X explain that EKKA's interpretation of UAMs' vulnerability differed from their own interpretations.

R: EKKA does not have the opportunity to meet each unaccompanied minor for whom they receive referral for accommodations. So that means they don't...exactly understand the situation of the minor.

M: If EKKA [is looking at] five cases, and they're all from Pakistan, 16-years-old, maybe hosted by some friends now and then, [and] they have no papers—they have the same criteria. How will [EKKA] prioritize? Of course, if they see someone 15, or 14, they prioritize them...But sometimes, we see that someone 15-years-old feels safe where he is hosted. We can also see someone who is 16 or 16-and-a-half who doesn't give the impression that he feels safe... If the child is dirty, [or] if he is totally homeless [and] it seems as if the child has not taken a bath in ten days... [Or] if he has not had food to eat for five days...[Then] we decide to prioritize his case.

Social worker R. explained that, though it was possible to emphasize factors other than age that were indicative of UAMs' vulnerability, but whether or not this was done depended on the staff member who completed the referral:

R: We have a specific form from EKKA...The end of the template [has space for] the social history...It is in the [case] worker's role to understand what are the vulnerabilities of each minor...so that they can write down in the social history, and EKKA can be informed about why that child is more vulnerable than the other, for example...[But] it depends on the case worker.

M: [The case worker] may write one or two sentences, that [the UAM] is homeless, that he is distressed. [This] vague, general information doesn't help the boy.

Though Social worker R. and Psychologist M. said that their descriptions of UAMs' factors other than age can counter the assumption that the youngest UAMs are the most vulnerable, their

ability to do so seemed to diminish as UAMs approached adulthood. Social worker V. of NGO Y explained:

V: You can understand that, someone who is 16 years old can be easily prioritized to be placed in the facility. Someone who is two months until 18 would not be that eligible. I mean, they are eligible under what the law says. But they will not be prioritized.

Even when NGO staff had the opportunity to assess UAMs vulnerability in person, their judgement was often tied to how young a UAM subjectively looked. At the youth center, the psychologist writing a referral for a completely undocumented UAM contested the child's own claim that he was 16. "He says he is 16, but I think he could be even younger. Look at him," she said to author DM, referring to the boy's small stature. The project manager at the same center later explained that a nearby legal aid organization helped them secure expedited assistance for the center's youngest clients. "They have to be very, very young," the project manager qualified. "Like, feeble, in a way."

4.3.2 Cumulative disadvantages

In order to illustrate how cumulative disadvantages shape UAMs' trajectories and how children's shelters can alter them, the following sections follow the experiences of 3 youths whose experiences were representative of the 44 study participants. These young men are Gauhar (Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived via the land route at age 17), Hafez (Iranian, 18-years-old, arrived on Samos island at age 16), and Bilal (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17). Table 3 presents their experiences prior to leaving their home countries, Table 5 presents their experiences while traveling unaccompanied, and Table 6 presents their experiences in Greece.

4.3.2.1 Disadvantages prior to departure

The disadvantages that youth faced in their home countries shaped the experiences they had along their journeys. For example, youth whose families were economically struggling often could not pay a smuggler to take them all the way to Greece. These youth spent months or years in Iran or Turkey working or homeless. Youth whose families had extensive connections with diasporic communities were often able to seek help from a relative or family acquaintance even though they were unaccompanied. Table 1 describes how different disadvantages that youth experienced prior to their departure shaped future experiences, and often led to more disadvantages. This table is not intended to provide an exhaustive list, but rather to illustrate the impact that early disadvantages can have.

Table 2. Disadvantages prior to departure

Disadvantage	Explanation	Example
History of displacement	Youth who were displaced with their families prior to traveling unaccompanied often grew up in circumstances where they had limited rights, and their families had few assets.	<p>“I am Afghan, but I was born in Iran...Afghan refugees are not allowed to go to school in Iran so I came to Turkey to study. But, I couldn’t study in Turkey because I had to work to make a living.”</p> <p>—Jamal, Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17</p>
Death or disappearance of parent(s)	Youth who lost one or both parents as children were susceptible to neglect, poverty, limited educational opportunities, and child labor. The death of fathers in particular caused economic hardship.	<p>“When my father passed away, we had no breadwinner in the family to take care of us in Kabul. My aunts and uncles were in Pakistan...so we decided to move there...I had to drop out of school, because I had studied up to the eight grade in Afghanistan...If I wanted to study in Pakistan, I would have to start from the first grade.”</p> <p>—Mahdi, Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17</p>
Lack of education	Youth who had limited access to education usually could not communicate in English when they arrived in Greece. Some were	<p>“When I came to Lesbos, they taught us how to read and write [English], and I learned a little bit...I cannot read or write in</p>

	not literate in any language. Youth who did not spend time in school also had less experience interacting with adults in institutionalized settings.	my first language. If someone messages me [in Dari] on Facebook, I can't write back." —Masood, Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17
Ability to pay smuggler	Youth whose families could only afford to pay a smuggler to take them as far as Iran or Turkey, instead of all the way to Greece, often spent long periods of time homeless or working undocumented before they reached Greece.	“We had only arranged with the smuggler to take me as far as Turkey...My mother paid...She sold her jewelry...and then I stayed and worked...I met some other Afghans, and I found [factory] work through them.” —Fayaz, Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 14
Contacts in diaspora communities	Youth whose families had contacts within diaspora communities sought help from these contacts to avoid homelessness and access other information and resources when they were unaccompanied.	“I didn't have anywhere decent to live...I didn't have any relatives in Greece... Then I called home and asked if there was anyone from our village here...In two, three days, I found someone...I went and lived with him for a month.” —Hasib, Bangladeshi, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17

Gauhar (Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived via the land route at age 17) and Hafez (Iranian, 18-years-old, arrived on Samos island at age 16), as described in Table 3, experienced many of these disadvantages prior to their arrival. Gauhar's family was displaced from Afghanistan to Pakistan, where he was born. They family did not own property, and Gauhar never went to school. Though Gauhar's father didn't pass away, he became too ill to work, at which point Gauhar, aged 10, had to start working to support the family. Hafez lost both of his parents by the time he was 9-years-old, at which point he dropped out of school. He lived with different relatives and family friends for short periods of time, and by age 12, had started working in construction. At age 14, he rented an apartment with his little brother. Both Gauhar and Hafez could only afford to pay a smuggler to take them as far as Turkey.

Bilal (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17), on the other hand, had several advantages prior to his departure (see Table 3). Though his parents could not afford to send him to university in Pakistan, they lived on their extended family’s property, and could afford to pay a smuggler to take Bilal all the way to Europe. Bilal had also finished high school before he left and was fluent in English.

Table 3. Comparative case studies, part 1: Disadvantages prior to departure

Gauhar (Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17)

Gauhar was born in Peshawar, Pakistan, where his family were registered refugees. He lived with his mother, father, and four siblings in a dirt house that his father rented from the money he earned as a taxi driver. Gauhar never went to school.

When Gauhar was 10 years old, his father was diagnosed with cancer and could no longer work. The family returned to Afghanistan and rented a house in rural Langarhar, where his older brother began working as a rickshaw driver and Gauhar worked as a part-time butcher’s assistant to support the family and pay for their father’s medical bills. When Gauhar was 13-years-old, local Taliban attempted to recruit him, and his mother told him to leave Afghanistan. His brother paid a smuggler 1200 USD to take him to Turkey.

Hafez (Iranian, 18-years-old, arrived on Samos island at age 16)

Hafez was born in Mashhad, Iran. His father passed away when he was 2-years-old, at which time his mother moved him and his younger brother to an apartment in the town of Gonbad, where she worked as a teacher. When Hafez was 9 years old, his mother, too, passed away. Hafez stopped attending school after his mother died.

Hafez and his brother spent 3 years living with their aunt, who Hafez found intolerably harsh. When he was 12 and his brother 11, they left their aunt’s house and were briefly homeless. However, a man who knew their mother offered to let them stay in a room above his garage in exchange for their assistance at his mechanic’s shop. Hafez worked at a construction site while his brother assisted the mechanic. When Hafez was 14-years-old, he and his brother rented an apartment of their own. An elderly Christian woman who lived nearby helped the boys frequently—“she became like my mother,” Hafez said—and Hafez decided to convert to Christianity, which constituted a crime in Iran. When some relatives threatened to report him to authorities, an aunt paid a smuggler to take him to Turkey where he could avoid

Bilal (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17)

Bilal was born in Peshawar, Pakistan into a large, joint family household. His mother came from an educated family of lawyers, whereas his father’s side of the was implicated in local gang violence. When Bilal was 14 years old, his parents sent him to a English-medium boarding school in a different town, away from the violence that the family was embroiled in. At the age of 17, Bilal’s parents told him they couldn’t afford to send him to university. After a family discussion, Bilal and his parents decided to send him to Europe, in hopes that he could build a life, and maybe even continue his education in a place safe from violence. With money borrowed from relatives, Bilal’s family paid a smuggler to take him to Italy.

persecution. At the time, he was 16-years-old.

4.3.2.2 *Disadvantages as an irregular child migrant*

Once youth left their home countries, their experiences could be divided into two broad categories: being transported by smugglers and living alone. The experience of being transported by smugglers was often dangerous and traumatic, as described by Fayaz (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 14).

F: I started my journey from Nimroz...Along the route, there were mountains, [and] a desert. Sometimes, we walked on foot for one whole day and night, for 24 hours. Sometimes, [they] took us in a car, up to 12 or 16 people in a car the size of a normal taxi. They even put people in the trunk.

My worst memories are of the car. When they put 12 or 16 of us in a car. They mistreated us, and we couldn't do anything because it wasn't our country. The agents harassed the Pakistanis a lot, violently. They harassed Afghans, too, yanking our hair, and things like that. For someone who hasn't seen all this, when he sees it for the first time, he becomes mentally unhinged.

Even though they were in the process of being transported, youth were not necessarily on the move every day. When there was high police activity, or if weather conditions were harsh, migrants were kept waiting for weeks, even months, in smugglers' safe houses, called *musafir khanas* in both Urdu and Dari/Farsi. However, the intention of further travel was always present.

Despite being unaccompanied, there were few independent decisions that youth needed to make—or even could make—when they were being transported by smugglers. The food they ate, the amount of water they drank, where they stayed and how they traveled, were all determined by smugglers and their associates. The following excerpt from Mohammad (Bangladeshi, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17) demonstrates the lack of autonomy youth experienced when traveling with smugglers.

M: One day, I tried to tell [the agent] that I had a fever and couldn't walk. It was cold and raining really hard, and we had to walk outside. When I told the agent, he started to beat me. I was like, "Why are you doing this? I have a fever, and you are beating me?"

He said, "You will have to walk. If you stay here, the police will catch you. If the police catch you, and they ask you how you got here, you will tell them about me...If they ask you anything, and you talk, then I will be in trouble. I'm not going to get caught for you. So you walk. If you die, I will toss you to the side of the road."

In contrast to when they were being transported, once youth had been taken to an agreed upon destination and accounts with smugglers were settled, they were left on their own. For many youth, this was their first experience making independent decisions without adult supervision. Table 2 gives an overview of the types of circumstances that migrant youth found themselves in while living on their own. Common among these varying circumstances was the fact that youth were socially isolated, without a peer group or supportive community. They were excluded from activities that would help them build new social networks or supportive skills.

Table 4. Circumstances experienced while living alone

Circumstances	Explanation	Example
Homeless	While they were homeless, youth had little to no social support. They could not participate in activities or build relationships that might prepare them to be self-sufficient adults, and their desperation to meet basic needs, like food and shelter, left them vulnerable to exploitation.	<p>“When I came to Turkey, I slept on the streets...After a month and a half, a Turkish man asked me why I sleep outdoors. I told him I didn't have a place to stay and he took me to his house...Two days later, he asked me to work with him on a construction site. I worked with him, but he didn't mention anything about paying me.”</p> <p>—Asgar, Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 16</p>
Working	Youth who worked while living abroad typically worked in exploitative industries where they were vulnerable to injuries, paid very little, and denied opportunities for personal growth and development as adolescents. Some were loosely supervised by relatives, while others were on their own.	<p>“I lived in Turkey for about a year...It was very difficult work. I worked 13 or 14 hours a day in a factory that made and packaged speakers...I was just so tired afterwards. I really like football, but I could only watch it on TV, I couldn't play. I was fed up.”</p> <p>—Fayaz, Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 14</p>

In the care of relatives	Even in the care of relatives they trusted, youths' participation in host societies was limited due to their undocumented status, or differences race, religion, or language. They remained isolated from their peers.	<p>"I was doing well in Iran...My uncle took care of me...I didn't meet the people of Iran, because I am Sunni and they are Shia. My uncle said, stay home, but if you want to go out...don't talk to [Iranians], and don't pray outside...If they see you pray [like a Sunni], they might attack you."</p> <p>—Mohammad, Bangladeshi, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17</p>
Passing time	A minority of youth were able to request enough money from their families back home, through agencies like Western Union or MoneyGram, and did not need to work while in Iran or Turkey. However, these youth were still undocumented and unable to participate or integrate into host societies.	<p>"There was nothing for me to do [in Turkey]. I wasn't in a good place...I just wandered about, from place to place, to internet cafés...I used to call home for money whenever I needed anything."</p> <p>—Tariq, Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived directly at Greek mainland at age 17</p>

Youth whose families could afford to pay smugglers to take them all the way to Greece often did not experience living alone at all. Bilal (see Table 5) was being transported by smugglers for the entire duration of his one-month journey from Pakistan to Greece. Furthermore, his father gave him additional cash with which to pay smugglers for better treatment. By doing so, Bilal was able to get better treatment than his fellow migrants.

Gauhar and Hafez (Table 5) had only paid to be taken as far as Turkey. Gauhar was in Turkey for 4 years, during which he was homeless, then later paid rent to stay in someone's basement. He collected cardboard scraps to earn money, most of which he spent on rent. It was only when he felt threatened by a local trafficking gang that he paid a smuggler to take him to Greece. Hafez spent 6 months working in a clothing factory in Turkey before he unexpectedly received an opportunity to go to Greece.

Table 5. Comparative case studies, part 2: Experiences in transit		
Gauhar (<i>Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17</i>)	Hafez (<i>Iranian, 18-years-old, arrived on Samos island at age 16</i>)	Bilal (<i>Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17</i>)

When Gauhar arrived in Turkey, he was undocumented, had nowhere to go, and slept in a park. While he was homeless, he saw other migrants collecting cardboard boxes from the streets and trash bins. He asked these other migrants and discovered that he could get paid for collecting cardboard. He began collecting and selling cardboard as well, and earned about 800 Lira (130 USD) per month). Not long after he had been doing this work, a Kurdish man saw him sleeping in the park and offered him a basement room for 500 Liras per month. For four years, Gauhar spent his days collecting cardboard and sleeping in the Kurdish man's basement.

When Gauhar was 17 years of age, he got into a knife fight with a local trafficking gang when they wanted to sell a homeless woman he was close to. From that point on, he continued to face threats of violence from the gang and decided to leave Turkey in search of safety, using he savings to pay a smuggler to take him to Greece.

When he crossed the border into Turkey, Hafez boarded a bus to Istanbul, where he went to a neighborhood nicknamed Iranian street to look for a job. He found work in a factory making jeans and paid rent to stay in an apartment with 4 other Iranians. He had been working in the factory for 6 months when his smuggler contacted him saying that his aunt paid him to take Hafez to Greece. Hafez was still 16-years-old when he left for Greece.

Bilal recalled his journey to Europe as terrifying. He witnessed Iranian border security shoot at migrants, was made to walk for entire days without water, ordered to run through the night by the smugglers. He was slapped by a smuggler once for lagging behind the group. However, he said journey was often safer than that of his co-travelers. Prior to his departure, Bilal's father had equipped him with US dollars, the dominant currency in Asia's smuggling networks, and instructed him to tip the guides and drivers who transported him to avoid harassment. By tipping preemptively, Bilal believed he was usually able to secure relatively comfortable arrangements, even as he watched other travelers get forced into the trunk of a car by smugglers. It took Bilal approximately a month to arrive in Greece, during which he was continuously transported by smugglers.

4.3.3 The role of accommodation facilities for unaccompanied minors

After their arrival in Greece, Hafez and Bilal were eventually, though not immediately, placed in shelters for UAMs (Table 6). Shelters facilitated access to Greek lessons, and both young men were fluent in Greek at the time they were interviewed. Bilal was able to resume his education and had plans to apply for university. Though Hafez had no plans to pursue higher education, he nonetheless had plans to participate in the Greek economy by opening up a fruit stand. Both Hafez and Bilal had been transferred to adult accommodations after they turned 18, where they were able to continue learning Greek, attend school, or otherwise pursue activities that could

facilitate their integration into Greek society. Since they lived in NGO provided housing, they did not have to pay rent. They also received cash assistance from the UNHCR that helped cover their basic needs.

Despite having requested accommodations while he was a minor, Gauhar was not placed in a shelter before he turned 18. Since he was homeless at 18, and therefore without a mailing address, he was not able to apply for cash assistance that adult asylum seekers were entitled to. Unable to find other work, he sold sex in order to survive, and considered trying to go to jail in order to have a place to stay.

Psychologist M. from NGO X explained that, if, like Gauhar, homeless or informally housed UAMs were not placed in children’s shelters before they turned 18, it was unlikely that they would receive any kind of housing assistance at all.

M: More than 18, and [the youth] is considered a single man...Single men are not very prioritized for accommodations, whether it is a shelter, even if it is a camp, [or] it is the apartments [provided] by UNHCR...So, it is very difficult when [UAMs] are almost 18.

Supporting M.’s comments, an interview with the manager of Transitional Shelter Z revealed that 16 of the 24 young adults who lived there had been transferred from children’s shelters. The remaining 8 had been transferred from camps, suggesting that it was unlikely for youth like Gauhar, who were not placed in any kind of accommodation facility before turning 18, to receive accommodations later on.

Table 6. Comparative case studies, part 3: Experiences in Greece		
<i>Gauhar (Afghan, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17)</i>	<i>Hafez (Iranian, 18-years-old, arrived on Samos island at age 16)</i>	<i>Bilal (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived via land route at age 17)</i>
Upon arriving in Greece, Gauhar was intercepted by police and detained for one month. After he	As soon as Hafez reached Samos island, he was taken to a nearby reception center. The reception	Upon arriving in Greece, Bilal realized he had been duped by his smuggler and would not be taken to

was released, he worked at a construction site for 3 days and made €100. He then bought a train ticket to Athens, where he registered for asylum. In Athens, he requested accommodations but turned 18 before he was placed in a shelter. At the time he was interviewed, Gauhar had been homeless in Victoria Square for approximately 8 months. He not been able to find a job, and without an address, he could not apply for the monthly €150 cash assistance that adult refugees received from UNHCR. For approximately 4 of those 8 months, Gauhar reported selling sex to Greek men for €10-20 per customer. He said he was tired of living in Victoria Square, and was considering selling drugs or getting into a fight so that the police would take him to jail, where he would have a roof over his head.

center did not permit migrants to leave the center for a period of 20 days, at which point they were given their asylum applicant cards and were allowed to move freely within the island, but not to the mainland. Before Hafez's 20 days were up, a group of Iranians invited him to join them as they attempted to stow away on a cargo ship headed for the mainland. Hafez successfully made it to Athens, but was undocumented.

Without anywhere to go in Athens, Hafez was taken in by a group of older Iranians in Elefsina camp in exchange for household work. This arrangement lasted 3 months, during which Hafez was abused and beaten, but kept a low profile due to his undocumented status.

Eventually, Hafez was discovered by a social worker who facilitated his asylum application and transferred to a shelter for UAMs. At the shelter, Hafez attended Greek classes, and was fluent at the time he was interviewed. When he turned 18, he was transferred from the shelter to an apartment for adults, where he could continue taking language classes without worrying about rent payments. He also received €150 a month in cash assistance from UNHCR. In 2019, he was making plans to open up a small fruit stand in Athens.

Italy after all. He had nowhere to go when he arrived in Athens, and was homeless in Victoria Square for one week, and informally hosted by other migrants for 1.5 months, and given temporary accommodations by a local NGO for 2 weeks. During that time, Adil advocated to be placed in a shelter with the assistance of several NGO staff (see Chapter 2 for details). Four months before he turned 18, Adil was placed in the children's section of a camp. Six days after his 18th birthday, he was transferred to an apartment for young adults, where he had been living for a year at the time he was interviewed.

Since he was placed in the camp, Adil had taken Greek lessons and repeated the 11th grade in Greece. He was looking for a summer job when he was interviewed, and had plans to repeat the 12th grade in Greece as well, with plans to eventually study engineering in university. As an adult, he received €150 a month in cash assistance from UNHCR.

4.4 Discussion

Data collected from interviews and participant-observation at NGOs that supported UAMs suggested that there was a widespread tendency to see younger UAMs as the most vulnerable, and to prioritize them for aid. Staff from NGO X acknowledged that age was not the only determinant of UAMs' vulnerability, and that factors, such as whether or not the UAM felt safe

where he was staying, or if he wasn't able to afford food or stay clean, may be even more telling than age. However, the communication of these other, more subjective factors was dependent on the individual staff members who sent referral forms to EKKA. If these other factors were not described convincingly enough, EKKA defaulted to using UAMs' chronological age as a proxy for vulnerability. However, the ability of other factors to counter the perceived inverse relationship between age and vulnerability seemed to diminish after UAMs turned 17, at which point NGO staff described them as "not that eligible" or "neither minor...but not yet adult."

NGO staff's association of vulnerability with younger ages doesn't take into consideration the cumulative disadvantages (Sampson & Laub, 1997) many of them had accrued by the time they requested assistance. Youth from poorer families often could not pay a smuggler to take them all the way to Europe, and therefore had longer journeys during which they spent months or years either homeless or working as child labor in Iran or Turkey. During their extended stays in Iran or Turkey, youth were exposed to traumatic or exploitative conditions. Cultural and geographic distance weakened their ties with families back home (UNICEF, 2016), and their undocumented status, as well as cultural and linguistic differences, prevented them from integrating with peer groups in host countries. Living alone in such detrimental, isolated circumstances was itself a disadvantage, and was precipitated by earlier disadvantages such as poverty, death of a parent, or history of displacement. The longer UAMs were living alone before arriving in Greece, the longer they were denied opportunities to build skills and networks that would help them become self-sufficient adults. These youth had no social structures to guide their passage through adolescence and towards adulthood. Since many youth who could not afford to pay smugglers to take them from their home countries all the way to Europe came from disadvantaged families, they also had fewer skills that could help them integrate in Europe, such as language skills and

years of education. Youth who had fewer disadvantages, like Bilal, experienced fewer and shorter disruptions in their adolescent trajectories, had enough financial support from their families to avoid many exploitative circumstances, and had more skills that facilitated integration in Europe.

Once youth arrived in Greece, placement in a children's shelter constituted a turning point (Elder, 1998) that had the potential to significantly alter the trajectories of UAMs' lives. This is illustrated the trajectory of Hafez, who, prior arriving in Greece, shared many of the disadvantages that Gauhar had. However, after he, like Bilal, was placed in a children's shelter, he received many more opportunities to integrate into Greek society than Gauhar. At the time they were interviewed, both Hafez and Bilal lived in NGO provided housing and participated in some kind of skill building activity. In contrast, Gauhar remained homeless, and still in potentially exploitative circumstances.

Shelters provided for UAMs' basic needs, but also gave them opportunities to network with peers their own age who had similar backgrounds and experiences. In addition, shelters connected youth to activities that could help them build new skills that would facilitate their integration in Greece. These included Greek and English language classes, vocational training, or in some cases, guidance on applying to higher education. Importantly, when these youth turned 18, they were transferred to adult accommodations where they could continue investing time in personal development, learning to participate in Greek society without worrying about basic needs like shelter.

On the other hand, UAMs who could not be placed in a shelter before they turned 18 were typically not able to access any kind of accommodation facility at all as young adult males, as

they were considered no longer vulnerable. Such young men continued being homeless or relying on underground economies for survival, which exposed them to exploitative circumstances, irrespective of whether they were minors or adults. In fact, as Gauhar's trajectory illustrates, turning 18 did not make these UAMs any less vulnerable. Their environment did not change, except the possibility of receiving aid diminished even further. The continued lack of stable accommodations further added to youths' cumulative disadvantage, as the lack of an address prevented them from applying to forms of assistance that they would have otherwise been eligible for as adults. The cumulative disadvantage that characterized these youths' trajectories constituted a kind of vulnerability on its own, as it diminished unaccompanied youths' ability to protect themselves from abuse and exploitation.

4.4.1 Implications for practice

Shelters not only protect UAMs from exploitative circumstances while they are living there, but also alter their life trajectories in a way that makes them less likely to encounter exploitation in the future. Conversely, UAMs who are not placed in shelters may remain in unsafe, potentially exploitative well into early adulthood. In order to avoid creating long lasting disparities between youth who are placed in shelters and those who are not, pathways should be developed to allow young adult males to enter accommodation facilities and build skills and networks that enable them to integrate into Greek society. Furthermore, cumulative disadvantages (Sampson & Laub, 1997) should be taken into account while assessing UAMs' vulnerability. Youth from disadvantaged backgrounds may have more unmet needs than those with fewer disadvantages, even if they are older in age. The assumption that, as they get closer to becoming adult males, these youth are less vulnerable and therefore less in need of assistance (Feldman, 2018; Kotef, 2010; Tickin, 2011) may inadvertently increase their exposure to exploitation.

4.4.2 Strengths and limitations

The use of semi-structured life history calendars (Nelson, 2010) allowed for an examination of cumulative disability shaped their trajectories as migrants as well as developing adolescents (Elder, 1998; Sampson & Laub, 1997; Schwarz, 2018). Furthermore, by extending youths' life history calendars into early adulthood, this study captured long-lasting effects of children's shelters. While some longitudinal studies incidentally capture UAMs who age out of services for minors (Jakobsen, Meyer DeMott, Wentzel-Larsen, et al., 2017; Keles et al., 2017), most studies focus on these youth only while they remain underage, and are therefore unable to capture the long-term effects of interventions.

Limitations of this study included the fact that, due to resource constraints, participant-observation could only capture staff's interactions with UAMs at one NGO. Similar observations at other NGOs would have contributed to a fuller picture of how staff operationalize vulnerability. Additionally, not all youth could be reached for follow-up interviews. Some youth had already moved out of Athens to find work by the time they were contacted, while others left Greece altogether. Some could not be reached at all.

Chapter 5. The endings of journeys: The effects of unaccompanied minors' experience in children's shelter on their onward migration in Europe

Abstract

Background: Migrants' journeys are often better characterized by clandestine relationships with state institutions than by geographic movement, as their trajectories can be non-linear and directed towards abstract destinations. The ends of journeys may be marked by periods of integration rather than individuals' arrival in any particular place. This study explores how male South Asian unaccompanied minors' interactions with accommodation facilities and associated NGO staff in Greece shape their future trajectories as migrants.

Methods: The transcripts of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 26 youth who arrived in Greece between 2015 and 2017 and were placed in accommodation facilities for unaccompanied minors were qualitatively analyzed using inductive coding. Particular attention was paid to how youths' experiences with bureaucratic actors shaped their perceptions of Greece, and how those perceptions informed their future decisions as young adults.

Findings: When youth arrived in Greece, they were unable to make sense of the array of bureaucratic organizations that greeted them. Whether or not they perceived the individual NGO staff they interacted with as supportive had an important impact for their future trajectories as migrants. Youth perceived staff to be supportive when they believed the staff were invested in preparing them for their futures. Youth who believed that they were supported by staff typically had future plans that involved remaining in Greece. Youth perceived staff to be unsupportive when they felt that staff were indifferent to what was best for their futures. These youth typically had intentions to leave Greece, even if it meant giving up their rights as asylees to be irregular migrants in another country.

Conclusion: NGO staffs' investment in UAMs' futures as young adults has important implications for the decisions youth make and their trajectories as migrants. When youth believe staff's efforts align with their own desire to have meaningful futures, they typically stay in Greece and participate in social and economic activities. When youth believe staff are indifferent to their best interests, they often disengage and continue their journey to another country, where they will once again have to be avoiding the attention of state institutions.

5.1 Introduction

At the age of 16, Asgar embarked on the brutal journey from Afghanistan to Greece in search of a better life. He crossed hazardous, snow covered mountains between Iran and Turkey, endured homelessness and child labor in Turkey, and was forced onto a rubber dinghy by smugglers against his will. “I was afraid the boat would sink to the bottom of the sea with so many people in it,” he recalled when he was interviewed in 2018. “I refused to go, but...[the smugglers] literally threw me into the boat.” Having spent close to a year in Greece moving between various camps and children’s shelters, Asgar had yet to find the better life he had been looking for. “I haven’t had a good experience in Greece...we need support, but [the NGOs] don’t support us. We could do positive things if they supported us, [but] they simply don’t care. They are no better than the smugglers.” When asked regarding his plans for the future, Asgar said, “I will leave Greece if I can find enough money. There is nothing here.”

Though the 2016 increase in border security in countries surrounding Greece trapped migrants in the country for months or years, many, like Asgar, still hoped to find a way out. Asgar’s experience is typical in that most unaccompanied minors (UAMs) in Greece are placed in a variety of care facilities, including reception centers with dedicated minors’ sections, camps with UAM-only sections, temporary accommodations in hotels, and a heterogenous array of shelters that are highly variable in the quality of support they provide (Fili & Xythali, 2017). Despite acknowledgement of the inadequacies of this child protection and accommodation system (Fili & Xythali, 2017; Freccero et al., 2017), there is little investigation into how UAMs’ experiences in accommodation facilities shape their future decisions and experiences as young adults.

5.1.1 The ends of journeys

For migrants, journeys are powerful, often defining segments of their lives, where they form new identities and come to new understandings regarding their place in the world (Benezer & Zetter, 2015). Rather than being characterized by geographic movement, the experience of a journey is often defined by living in clandestine, unregulated environments, which usually constitute a sharp rupture from the lives migrants had lived before their departure (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). Once migrants leave their countries of origin and become “illegal” or “irregular” in another country, their precarious legal status marginalizes them and bars them from participating in most social and economic sectors (Papadopoulou-Kourkoula, 2008; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). Furthermore, their irregular status places them outside the law, where they have few legal protections and actors representing the state, such as police or immigration officers, are either hostile or indifferent towards them (Ticktin, 2005). It is this clandestine nature of migrants’ journeys that forces them into unregulated social and economic sectors, where they may be exposed to dangerous, often exploitative conditions (Bloch et al., 2012; Brun, 2016; UNICEF, 2017b).

The trajectories of migrants’ journeys can be ambiguous, with beginnings and ends not as clearly demarcated as most academic, policy, and humanitarian discourse suggests (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). Instead of proceeding linearly from a starting point to a destination, journeys can be fragmented, sometimes circuitous, encompassing various legal statuses, living conditions, and changing motivations (Collyer, 2007), with long periods of immobility punctuated by bursts of mobility (Collyer, 2007; Kaytaz, 2016; Schapendonk, 2012). Many migrants make multiple attempts to arrive at their destinations, while others move on from their “destination” countries when faced with hardship or unexpected opportunities (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). It is also

common for migrants to travel towards abstract destinations, such as Europe, the West, or “a good place to live” (Collyer, 2007; Papadopoulou-Kourkoula, 2008; Schapendonk, 2010). In the context of such ambiguous mobility, what academics and policy makers perceive of and frame as the endpoints of migrants’ journeys are often little more than artefacts of the particular time and place at which migrants are counted or interviewed (Kaytaz, 2016). Kaytaz (Kaytaz, 2016) describes that, though Turkey was both the host country and intended destination of the Afghans she interviewed, were she to interview them again, she would find a number of them in Europe or North America.

The endpoints of journeys, as they are experienced by migrants, often have less to do with their arrival in a particular place, and more with the end of their clandestine relationship with state institutions and host societies (Benezer & Zetter, 2015). Such endpoints may be a period of integration in the host society, or a growing sense of belonging and consequent identity formation (Benezer & Zetter, 2015). Those who remain in clandestine situations even after entering their intended destination country may not perceive themselves to have “arrived” anywhere in any meaningful sense (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). Further migration to yet another country may, for these migrants, be a very real possibility (Kaytaz, 2016; Papadopoulou-Kourkoula, 2008). Geographic mobility within a host country, whether due to the migrants’ survival needs or enforced by host country authorities, may likewise prevent migrants from experiencing an end to their journeys, and keep the possibility of further migration open (Benezer & Zetter, 2015).

5.1.2 Encountering child protection services along the journey

As they travel, UAMs’ paths intersect with bureaucratic systems in the countries they find themselves in. They may be arrested by local law enforcement (Kotef, 2010), held in

immigration detention (UNICEF, 2017b), apply for asylum (Cabot, 2014), or be given deportation notices (Rozakou, 2017). Even the assistance that migrants may receive in refugee camps through major NGOs like UNHCR comes through bureaucratic systems (Agier, 2011; Barbara Harrell-Bond, 1986). These bureaucracies contribute to the formation of new meanings and identities, which then shape subsequent actions or decisions that migrants take. However, no single bureaucratic system necessarily brings about an end to migrants' journeys, including the asylum system. Mobility scholars have illustrated that migrants continue move through a constellation of bureaucracies over the course of their journeys, even when some of those systems hand down seemingly definite orders such as deportation notices (Cabot, 2014; Collyer, 2007; Schwarz, 2018).

Accommodation facilities for UAMs in Greece are likewise provided through a bureaucratic system that has the potential to shape youths' journeys, and, given their developmental status as adolescents, their futures as young adults. It includes government affiliated organizations such as the Greek National Center for Social Solidarity (EKKA), major NGOs like the International Rescue Committee and the IOM, refugee camp administrations, as well as local NGOs that operate UAM shelters and provide youth with services.

Accommodation facilities in for UAMs, like most types of assistance for migrants in Greece, have been criticized for being haphazard and producing variable, erratic outcomes (Cabot, 2012, 2014; Fili & Xythali, 2017; Rozakou, 2017). The discretionary power of low-ranking bureaucrats, combined with contingencies of the unpredictable settings in which they work and the rigid day-to-day procedures of bureaucracy, works to produce arbitrary outcomes (Gupta, 2012), as well as an indifference to arbitrariness. The tasks that bureaucratic representatives who directly interact with beneficiaries carry out are complex and cannot be scripted (Lipsky, 1980).

The gives bureaucratic representatives discretion over the benefits that individuals receive. The beneficiaries they attend to are typically captive clients who cannot go elsewhere for services, and the resources available to meet their needs are chronically insufficient. This incongruity between the demands of clients and available resources often leads bureaucratic representatives to ration their efforts, whether consciously or subconsciously, by cherry picking clients to provide services to, acting on their biases, or even putting clients under psychological pressure through disrespectful behavior. The decisions and actions of bureaucratic representatives with whom clients regularly interact create the policy that clients experience, sometimes in unexpected ways (Lipsky, 1980). These common features of bureaucracy inhibit bureaucratic actors' ability to respond compassionately and effectively to clients' suffering, even as they work for programs designed to provide care (Gupta, 2012).

Once in NGO-provided accommodation facilities, UAMs learn how they fit into local realities and are perceived by the majority culture, much in the same way immigrant youth in the US learn where they fit in through their experience in public schools (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Shelters and other children's spaces, like public schools, allow youth to interact and build relationships in legally sanctioned spheres, despite—or sometimes because of—their insecure legal status. These spaces may allow UAMs pick up new forms of social capital (Kaytaz, 2016; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008), or facilitate integration processes that allow youth to experience an end to their journeys. However, these children's spaces may also have the opposite effect. Immigrants' interactions with bureaucracies have also been shown to dampen their efforts to integrate as well as to facilitate them, depending on the quality of interactions (Belabas & Gerrits, 2017).

Prior to the passage of the EU-Turkey Deal and the tightening of borders to the north of Greece in March of 2016 (Weber, 2017), most UAMs only stayed in Greek shelters for brief periods before moving on to another country (Fili & Xythali, 2017). Only a minority stayed in Greece to apply for asylum (Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012). However, since 2016, irregular migration out of Greece has become exceedingly difficult, and funding for youth shelters and other child protection programs has become targeted towards asylum seekers (Fili & Xythali, 2017). As a result, more UAMs have been compelled to stay in Greece, apply for asylum, and remain engaged with child protection systems for long periods of time. This paper explores how UAMs' prolonged experience with Greece's child protection system contributes to the trajectory of UAMs' journeys. Particular attention is paid to how UAMs' interactions with bureaucratic child protection programs facilitate integration, possibly bringing about an "end" to the youths' journeys, or push them to migrate further.

5.2 Methods

This paper analyzes interview transcripts of 26 male migrant youth who had been placed in some kind of accommodation facility for UAMs for any period of time since they had been in Greece. This included youth who had been placed in dedicated minors' sections in island reception centers or mainland camps, shelters on islands or on the mainland, or a combination of these. All participants entered Greece between 2015 and 2017 as UAMs, and were 18-21 years old at the time they were interviewed in 2018 or 2019. They were nationals of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, or Iran. All interviews were conducted in Athens or in camps outside the city. Interviews were conducted in Urdu or Farsi/Dari. Interviews in Urdu were conducted by researcher DM, and interviews in Farsi/Dari were conducted by DM with the assistance of a Dari/Farsi-to-English or Dari/Farsi-to-Urdu interpreter. To promote participants' comfort in

disclosing their experiences with various accommodation facilities and NGOs in Greece, it was made clear to participants that neither DM or the interpreter were affiliated with any local organizations. To further increase participants' comfort with disclosure, all interviews were carried out in locations that participants suggested as convenient, typically in cafes or parks. All interviews were digitally recorded, translated, and transcribed. Translation was done by an Urdu, Farsi, and Dari speaker who was not involved in data collection. When the words said by the participant differed from those relayed by the interpreter, both sets of responses were transcribed.

Interviews typically lasted from an hour, or an hour and a half if they were conducted with the assistance of an interpreter. The interviews elicited participants' experiences as unaccompanied migrants starting approximately with their departure from home up to the time of the interview, thus transcending the age group defined as UAMs. The interview was thus able to capture youths' experiences when they first entered accommodation facilities for UAMs in Greece, as well as their experience aging out of services for UAMs and entering adulthood. Interviews began with the question, "How did you happen to come to Greece?", which allowed youth to begin the narrative of their journey at whichever point they believed was appropriate. To establish a sequence of events for the experiences described by participants, an open-ended life history calendar, in the form of an annotated timeline, was constructed during the interview. When possible, site visits were conducted to the neighborhoods and accommodation facilities described by participants to contextualize the interview.

Interviews were analyzed using open, inductive coding. Participants' experiences while in accommodation facilities for UAMs in Greece were examined in the context of their experiences prior to entering Greece and after aging out of UAM accommodations. Particular attention was paid to how participants' interactions with institutions, including but not limited to

accommodation facilities, formed their perceptions regarding Greece. The implication of these perceptions was examined in relation to participants goals for their futures as young adults. Emerging findings were discussed with key informants from Pakistani and Afghan migrant communities who had either been UAMs themselves or had significant experience working with UAMs.

A glossary of key terms participants used to describe their environment was developed based on interview transcripts (see Table 1). When possible, the meanings of key terms were explored using conversations within the interviews themselves. When this could not be done for some reason, they were discussed in depth with key informants from the Pakistani and Afghan migrant communities.

5.3 Results

At the time they arrived in Greece, most interviewed youth did not expect to stay in the country long term. The increased restrictions on immigrants' movements that accompanied the EU-Turkey deal in March 2016 caught most UAMs by surprise. The plans of youth who arrived via the islands were dramatically derailed when they were received by European rescue workers on Greek shores and then transported to nearby reception centers, where their mobility was restricted. Dedicated areas for UAMs in reception centers were typically fenced off from the rest of the facility and guarded by police. From reception centers, UAMs were transferred to shelters—repurposed houses or hotel buildings managed by local NGOs—on the same island. When they received permission to travel to the mainland, they were transferred to mainland shelters, and sometimes transferred between several shelters, until they turned 18 and were given some kind of adult accommodation. Youth were unprepared to navigate the different bureaucratic NGOs they encountered when they arrived in Greece, but as they moved through

the different accommodation facilities for UAMs, their interactions with individual staff members had a powerful impact on whether or not they decided to stay in Greece, or move onwards to other countries as they originally intended.

5.3.1 Making sense of bureaucracy

Upon entering Greece, most interviewed youth drew on their experiences with institutions in their home countries to make sense of the multitude of organizations around them. Afghans often described the patchwork of bureaucracies they encountered using the Persian word, *organ*. In Afghanistan, *organ* is typically used to describe government agencies, or divisions within a government agency. In Greece, the word was broadly applied to NGOs, entire camps, shelters, and government agencies. Often, this ubiquitous use of the word led youth to conflate the various bureaucratic entities they encountered with the government. This is illustrated in the following words from Javed (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived via land border at age 16):

J: I like the people of Greece, but I don't like their law at all...They don't treat people equally. There are some people who get houses, or space in a camp, but there are also lots of boys who sleep in the parks. I know boys my age who got houses, they got everything. Why didn't I get anything? There are many, many instances in which they treat us unequally.

Without a point of reference to understand the disconnected bureaucracies that shaped the lives of UAMs, Javed perceived disparities in the services that youth received as an intentional outcome of Greek law. It was also common for youth to describe the protected UAMs' section of the reception center on Lesbos island as a "jail", as it was surrounded by a tall metal fence, topped with barbed wire, with a locked gate monitored by armed police. This is described in detail by Hassan (Bangladeshi, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17):

H: When I arrived Moria (reception center) the first time...they sent me to a separate place (for minors). It was like a jail. Because there were police in uniform and a locked gate. It was just like a jail, you know how there are rooms inside a jail? And the food was just like a jail. In the morning, we got a piece of bread, and for lunch, potatoes.

Youth's perceptions of the same circumstances also differed in accordance to their individual experiences. While Hassan described the UAMs' section in the reception center as a jail, using the English word, Mohammad (Bangladeshi, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17), described the same UAMs' section as a gang operation (see Table 7). Mohammad had been away from his home in Bangladesh for seven months before he entered Greek territory in the summer of 2016. During those seven months, he had been trafficked in India, homeless in Pakistan, and kidnapped for ransom in Turkey. In light of his traumatic experiences prior to entering Greece, he described his experience in the UAMs' section as pleasant. However, the only framework he could draw on to understand a diverse group of adults working together was a gang, which lead him to the conclusion that the humanitarian staff he interacted with were "a nice gang".

Table 7. Case study 2: "A nice gang"

Mohammad (Bangladeshi, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17)

[The smuggler] said he was sending me to Italy. Instead of Italy, he sent me to Greece! I didn't know that Greece was a country back then. I thought, maybe it was a city in Turkey...[The rescue worker] asked, "Where are you from?" I remember my uncle [in Iran] saying, if anyone says those words to me, I should say, "I am from Bangladesh". I wasn't sure what the words meant at the time, I only recognized them... Then she asked, "How old are you?" I told him, I don't understand. I actually did understand, a little bit, but I was too scared to answer.

Then, [the rescue worker] called someone. In an hour, a Bangladeshi showed up. He asked me, "Are you Bengali?" I didn't want to talk to him, because I thought I would get attacked again.

The [rescue worker] wasn't from Greece. She had said, "I am from Canada." I knew then that, just like I came from somewhere else, she came from somewhere else. One was from Canada, another was from Spain, another said he was from France. They had come together to form a gang...with one phone call, they could even recruit a Bangladeshi. [I thought], they must be a very big gang. Now they will ask for my mother's number and demand money.

But they didn't ask for money. They gave me whatever I needed. I said, "I want food. I'm very hungry, and for two or three days, I've only been drinking water." Within a minute, I had food to eat. I thought, what are these tricks? I figured I would let them do whatever they want to me, and if they demanded ransom, I would just tell them to kill me or put me back on that boat.

Then, they sent me into a camp. There were Pakistanis and Bangladeshis there, 16, or 15-year-old boys. I asked them, "Has anyone attacked you here? Has anyone demanded money from you?" They said, no. They said [the care givers] take them to the beach, take them to school, let them play football. I thought, maybe someone beats the boys at night and then orders them to tell whoever asks that they are happy...Nighttime came, and at 9 in the evening, a translator knocked on our door and said, come and eat something. I wondered, wow, what is this? I followed him. I ate. He was joking with me. He put on a movie for us...Eventually, I started to trust them...They were a nice gang.

Although they lacked experience with the many bureaucratic systems they were embedded in, such as the asylum service, camp administrations, and various NGOs, youth were actively seeking information that would help them navigate their new environment. However, most youth did not speak English or Greek when they arrived, and thus could only communicate with the interpreters employed by various organizations. The information that youth received from interpreters was often of limited quality, as interpreters were not trained for the kinds of unscripted conversations they often had with UAMs. Furthermore, the information youth received from interpreters was limited by the questions that they asked. These limitations are illustrated in the following excerpt from an interview with Rahim (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 16):

R: They kept us in the arrivals section [of Moria reception center on Lesbos island]...The interpreter asked me if I wanted to be listed as a minor. I asked him, "What are the benefits of being listed as a minor?" He gave me a little bit of information and I agreed to be listed as a minor...When I got to the minors' section, I asked the other boys how long I would have to stay there and what the procedures here were. The boys told me we would be interviewed, and after the interview, if we got asylum, we would be free to go anywhere in Greece. If we were denied asylum, we would be deported back to Afghanistan. The process was worse for the minors [than for the adults], because we weren't free to walk out of the camp unless we were granted asylum. I contacted my [smuggling] agent and told him I was locked behind a fence. I told him to do something to get me out of there.

Rahim asked an interpreter about what benefits he was entitled to as a minor (which, according to other interpreters who worked in Moria reception at the time, likely involved better food and bedding), but he didn't know to ask what registering as a minor would entail for his ability to travel freely, nor was this information provided to him. When he was given a more complete picture of what living in the minors' section entailed, he contacted his smuggler in hopes of escaping the same facility he had agreed to stay in.

When the information that youth received from staff who supported them did not resonate with what they actually experienced, they became distrustful of bureaucratic actors. This often

happened when youth asked staff what was going to happen to them. Given the shifting policies regarding aid to UAMs, the sheer number of independent NGOs involved and negotiations between them, and the scarcity of youth shelters, it was not possible for staff to accurately answer questions about youths' futures. However, from youths' perspectives, staff were perceived to be lying, as the following excerpt from Fayaz (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 16) demonstrates:

F: The lie was like this—I wanted to go from the camp (Moria reception center) straight to Athens. So the lawyer told me to live in [the youth shelter in nearby Mytilini] town for three months, and after three months, we will send you to Athens. Those three months turned into one year and five months.

This phenomenon also occurred in the context of scripted conversations that didn't take into account youths' lived experiences, as illustrated below:

F: They talked a lot about our rights, like when you apply for asylum, your rights are the same as a Greek citizen's rights, they are equal. After this, we will get a passport, and with a passport, we can travel to other countries. They lie a lot... I could see the Greeks, they went to school in the village, played football. And we just sat there, eating three meals a day. That was it. We lived like prisoners.

When lawyers in Moria reception center visited to inform Fayaz of his rights, he noted the difference between what lawyers told him and what he saw, and once again perceived them to be lying.

5.3.2 Interactions with bureaucratic actors

As youth described their experience moving through various accommodation facilities for UAMs in Greece—from reception centers to island shelters and mainland shelters, as well education systems and the asylum service—some highlighted decidedly positive, supportive interactions with NGO staff with whom they had built relationships. Others recalled their experiences with NGO staff as consistently negative, or indifferent, and said that they did not have meaningful relationships with the Greeks and other Europeans around them. When asked about their plans

for the future, youth who described feeling supported by NGO staff often described plans that involved staying in Greece. Those who had decidedly negative experiences often expressed a desire to leave the country and try their luck elsewhere in Europe, and some had already made plans to do so.

5.3.2.1 Supportive experiences

Youth perceived that NGO staff were supportive when their actions aligned with what youth understood was best for their futures. This was most commonly seen in the context of language education and the acquisition of other new skills. Mohammad (Bangladeshi, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 17), describes such interactions in the excerpt below:

M: I told my mother...my *In-Charge*⁹ is a very good person. When it's time to go to (language) school, she wakes me up and tells me to get ready...In the morning, she says, "Good morning, how are you feeling? Come and eat something." She does everything you did. In fact, she does more than you did.

In telling his mother about his *In-Charge*, Mohammad drew on examples of how she encouraged him to pursue an activity that would be useful for his future—namely, attending language school—and enabled him to do so by making sure his basic needs were met, for example, by making sure he ate breakfast before school. Staff perceived as supportive also included those who helped youth search for jobs. Ashraf (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Samos island at age 16) lived in a shelter that regularly woke him up in the morning to attend Greek lessons. By the time he was interviewed, Ashraf spoke Greek, was friends with Greek students his own age, and had been working as a mechanic for a Greek car shop that his social worker had connected him to. He said he had a good a relationship with the social workers and continued to visit them about once a month even after he was moved to adult housing.

⁹ In-Charge: The English phrase "In-Charge" is used by Urdu speakers to refer to responsible staff in accommodation facilities. It is not used for interpreters employed by the facilities.

Ashraf's case demonstrates that, in addition to building skills, supportive staff help youth build new networks in Greek society. He may not have been able to secure a job as a mechanic had it not been for the connection facilitated by his social worker. This is also seen in the excerpt from Tariq (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived directly at Greek mainland at age 17) in Table 8. Without connections facilitated by NGO X, Tariq would likely not be taking part in the Science Festival or international exchange programs. Tariq's case also demonstrates that staff may have to invest significant effort in order for youth to see value in unfamiliar activities that could help them build new skills and networks. It was only after staff at NGO X called him every day, despite his initial avoidance, that Tariq had enough exposure to educational activities to appreciate them. Tariq remained aware that, had it not been for the support and encouragement he received from staff at NGO X, he too, may have been working in exploitative conditions that migrant farm laborers endure.

Table 8. Case Study 3: "I started to change my mind about school"

Tariq (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived directly at Greek mainland at age 17)

At first, I thought I didn't want to go to school or do anything productive. Then... little by little I started to change my mind about school... I started going to NGO X... The staff there, two or three of them are like my family... They were the ones who used to pushed me, they said, "Finish your education, and then you can do whatever you want. Otherwise, you won't be able to do anything."

When I was living in the shelter – NGO X used to have a branch there, and I used to go there once a week, just for classes... In the beginning, they used to call me, and I would make some kind of excuse to tell them that I couldn't come. Sometimes, I would be out meeting a friend... Sometimes I just didn't feel like it. I would come up with some kind of lie about why I couldn't come.

I might've gone to work in the fields like the other [migrants]... to this day, I've never been to those fields. I've never even gone out of Athens, except for one time when I traveled for a project. I went to Thessaloniki.

[Through NGO X's] class on journalism, I found out about the first project I got involved in... The facilitator there sent information about a project where they send volunteers to other countries, and volunteers from other countries come [to Greece]. After that, I found projects on my own on Facebook, and I would discuss them with the social worker at NGO X, and she gave me guidance on how to get involved. Group exchanges, work projects, that included people from other countries also. I liked meeting other people, learning about them, and their culture.

Now, I know about more projects here than she does, because I am more involved.

Right now, I'm volunteering for the Science Festival. People come together to do various experiments in robotics, mechanics, biology. It's mostly Greek people.

When I first arrived [in Greece], I wanted to travel forward, I wanted to go to my uncle in Spain... When I started going to NGO X, I didn't want to leave anymore.

Now...I want to travel around Europe...not the illegal way, that chapter is over...I want to travel to work on projects in other countries...The people I got to know, they now work for various NGOs in different [European] countries, and I want to go visit them.

Youth who had supportive experiences with NGO staff described future plans that involved staying in Greece. As seen in Table 8, Tariq's future plans involved continuing to work with the international exchange programs, and perhaps visiting the friends he made in other European countries. He abandoned his plans of travelling illegally to his uncle in Spain, and made clear that he did not want to travel illegally again. Likewise, Ashraf (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Samos island at age 16), who initially wanted to go to Norway, where he thought he could access better social services, put off plans to leave Greece, at least until he finished his training as a mechanic.

A: When I came from Iran, I didn't want to stay [in Greece], here I wanted to go forward¹⁰ [in Europe] but I couldn't. Now I am going to complete my studies before I go anywhere.

5.3.2.2 *Unsupportive experiences*

Youth who felt that staff responsible for them were indifferent to or were impeding their efforts to build better futures typically had intentions to leave Greece, even if they had already been granted asylum. This was commonly seen the context of inadequate educational or personal growth opportunities. Kareem (Afghan, 18, arrived on Lesbos island at age 16) describes his frustration with the poor educational facilities on Lesbos island, where he lived first in Moria reception center, and then in a shelter in the town of Mytilini.

K: The problem was that there were boys living there for a year and a half, some for even two years, and there was no education for us there. When I arrived in Greece, I was a minor, so I wanted to continue my studies. When I got here, there were no such possibilities. There were two schools where we could study English two days a week, but the rest of the time, we were told to make drawings and such. There were two teachers

¹⁰ Go/move forward: Both Urdu and Dari/Farsi speakers refer to moving to the next milestone in their journey, which typically involves westward movement, as moving forward. As a corollary, the word for "behind" refers to their home countries.

there, but they were not serious. The education system didn't actually work, it couldn't teach us to read or write. So, for this reason, I want to keep *moving forward*. Youths' tendency to judge whether or not they were cared for based the quality of educational opportunities they were provided with is also illustrated in Table 9, where Fayaz recalls that his requests to be enrolled in Greek language classes were fruitless.

Another common situation during which staff were perceived to be indifferent or unsupportive included situations where staff did not respond effectively to challenges that youth faced in their shelters. These included poor living conditions, inadequate food, or violence in the shelters, as described by Adil (Pakistani, 19-years-old, arrived on Lesbos at age 17) below.

A: Eleven Pakistanis attacked me, the ones from my shelter...I was in the hospital for 24 hours...The police said to write a report against the boys...But the staff from the shelter said, "You will get deported, such and such will happen, if you write a report against them." They threatened me and made me live in the same house with the same boys! I thought, I would *make a try*¹¹. I made many tries. We make tries by getting into the trailer illegally. Then, the trailer goes inside the ship, [which goes from Lesbos to Athens]. I had that problem going on [with violence in the shelter], so I used to make tries and hope that I could go forward. But they always caught me and brought me back.

The excerpt from Adil's interview highlights how, when they felt unsupported by NGO staff, the solutions that youth sought on their own take place in illegal spheres. If Adil had succeeded in *making a try* to Athens without official permission to leave Lesbos island, he would have become undocumented, once again in a clandestine relationship with state authorities. Table 9 illustrates that, when he felt that NGO staff did not care for him, Fayaz resorted to self-harm and substance abuse to manage his distress. Furthermore, when Fayaz discovered that he was not allowed to travel outside the country, he used bureaucratic systems in unintended ways by requesting new identification papers from Afghanistan that falsely elevated his age.

Table 9. Case Study 4: "If they cared, we wouldn't have started drinking"
Fayaz (Afghan, 18-years-old, arrived on Lesbos island at age 14)

¹¹ Make a try/game: To make a try or to make a game refers to an attempted illegal border crossing. This can involve international borders as well as prohibited movement within a country, such as movement between the Greek islands and mainland. The English word "try" is used by Urdu speakers, whereas "game" is used by both Urdu and Dari/Farsi speakers.

If it was up to me, I would have liked to study, to learn the language. But for some reason, they don't want us to learn. I used to tell my lawyer to send me to a school for Greek language. They said, fine, we have a time scheduled for you, we will send you there [but they didn't]...If I had been able to learn Greek then, I would be speaking fluently now. For 4 months, I lived in the [minor's] section [in Moria reception center], then for 1 year and 5 months we were in [Mytilini] town, and then for 6 or 7 months I lived in the city of Athens, but I still don't know Greek. They just wasted my time.

These scars [of self-harm] on my arms, they are all from Moria...Even after doing this, no one cares about us. If they cared, we wouldn't have started drinking or using drugs. The guys outside [in the adult camp] would put beer in a bottle of mineral water, close it and toss it over the fence. And then we took it.

When I arrived, I was actually 14... I spent two years here, so I'm 16. I had a Tazkeera (Afghan ID card) made in Afghanistan and sent here that said I was 18...because I didn't want to live here anymore...I presented it [to a lawyer] and they changed my age here to 18...Because they told us that while we are under 18, we cannot get passports and we are not allowed to travel [outside the country]. If I stayed [as a minor] for two more years, I would have gone crazy.

[At the shelter in Athens], we were useless, with nothing to do. There were no real activities for us. It took four months for me to get registered for school and football, but by then, my age was raised to 18 [and I was moved to a camp far from the city]. Some boys as young as 14 used drugs, hashish, in that same shelter. On the street below the shelter, they sell drugs and things. You can see them from up in the rooms and go downstairs and buy them...I used drugs too...But now, I have a passport, so I want to start a new life, and I stopped...I'll go to Germany or France, one of these. I'm sick of this country. I have a passport, so it won't be expensive.

It was common for youth who felt that the NGO staff they interacted with were overall unsupportive and indifferent to have plans to leave Greece, even after they received asylum. After being granted asylum, individuals in Greece were able to request passports from the embassies of their home countries and travel legally to other Schengen countries for up to three months a year. Exiting Greece by plane was significantly cheaper than traveling with smuggler, as the latter cost upwards of 4,000 Euros, and it was also indisputably safer. However, when youth left Greece to “move forward” and reside other European countries indefinitely, as Fayaz alludes to in Table 9, they once again became deportable, irregular migrants when they stayed outside of Greece for longer than 3 months.

5.4 Discussion

The concept of various independent bureaucratic organizations working together was foreign to many UAMs. Youth interpreted the organizations they saw as a single, unified government, a jail, or even a gang. Throughout their time in the care of such organizations, there was no

concerted effort to orient UAMs to their new institutional environment. When youth attempted to acquire new information on their own, the information they received was only partial, limited by the questions they could think to ask and training of the NGO staff who answered them. Staff often did not have training have difficult conversations about to answer about UAMs' future. When youth asked basic questions, such as how long they would have to stay in a given place, staff could not give straightforward answers, given the uncertain nature of immigration and assistance policies. However, when they gave answers that proved to be untrue, UAMs perceived them to be lying. Furthermore, official measures to provide UAMs with information were often scripted and remained unchanged, even when they contradicted what youth experienced. For example, when a lawyer told Fayaz that his rights would be the same as a Greek child's if he applied for asylum, but Fayaz could see the difference between his own quality of life and that of Greek children, he decided the lawyers' words were not credible. Such interactions damaged UAMs' trust in the institutions responsible for them.

The experiences of UAMs as they move through different accommodation facilities was overall arbitrary (Gupta, 2012), influenced largely by the attitudes of the individual staff members who they regularly interacted with (Lipsky, 1980). When youth saw that NGO staff were invested in preparing them for their futures, either through helping them gain new skills or develop new networks, they perceived their experience their experience with those staff as supportive.

Sometimes, staff had to invest time and effort convincing UAMs to participate certain activities that they had not previously considered, but eventually came to value. By participating in social and educational activities that NGO staff encouraged, youth were able to move out of the clandestine networks (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016) and irregular economies that they had previously been embedded in. Tariq credited NGO staffs' efforts to encourage him to go to

school as the reason that he was not, like many migrants, working as informal agricultural labor. It was common for youth who felt like NGO staff were helping them build better futures to have plans involving economic or social participation in Greece. The integration these youth experienced, and the new identities they formed as students, trade workers, or volunteers, became a potential endpoints for their journeys (Benezer & Zetter, 2015). To resume clandestine travel, for these youth, would come at a significant social cost.

Youth who perceived NGO staff to be unsupportive pointed to staff's lack of interest in activities that could better prepare them to be independent adults, such as educational programs. These youth typically did not have future plans that involved staying in Greece. They were willing to go to another European country where they would once again be irregular and in a clandestine relationship with state institutions (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). Youths' readiness to give up the legal rights they had in Greece as asylees may be because the indifference or hostility they felt from NGO staff did not necessarily feel so different from the way authorities treated them when they were undocumented along their journey. In other words, despite the fact that youth were legally recognized as asylum seekers or asylees in Greece and given a certain set of rights, they may not have perceived the NGO staffs' attitudes to be meaningfully different from the hostile or neglectful state institutions they experienced during their clandestine journeys.

Consequently, they may not have felt that their journeys had ended, and thus they had little to lose by once again becoming irregular in an effort to *move forward* in Europe to find a more meaningful life. For example, when Adil felt that the staff at his shelter were forcing him to stay in an unsafe situation, he was willing to illegally stow away on a ship headed to the mainland, where his legal status would be irregular again.

Notably, despite being unprepared to make sense of the bureaucratic systems that greeted them in Greece, by the time youth were interviewed, many were using those very systems to get out of Greece. Like Fayaz, many youth viewed applying for a passport as the logical next step after getting asylum so that they could exit Greece with a plane ticket, which was much safer and more affordable than hiring the services of a smuggler. Fayaz made particularly creative use of the immigration system in Greece, falsely elevating his age to be able to exit the country, and the limitations on minors' mobility, sooner than his chronological age would allow. These examples suggest that youth are willing to engage with the bureaucratic systems around them, though they may conclude that those systems do not work in their best interests. These examples also highlight that the paths presented by bureaucratic systems are not the only options that youth consider available to them. Alternative options outside formal systems, in informal or legally grey economies, are omnipresent for youth. However, when youth are relying on these legally grey economies, they are in an unregulated environment where they may be susceptible to exploitative circumstances (Ticktin, 2005).

5.4.1 Programmatic recommendations

Organizations that care for UAMs should have an organized effort to orient youth to their new institutional environments. Such efforts should take into consideration the diverse cultural and social backgrounds that youth come from, including their lack of experience with bureaucratic institutions. While orienting youth to a landscape of such diverse institutional actors and shifting migration and humanitarian aid policies may be a complex and difficult task, it has important ethical implications. Youths' participation in programs designed for them is recommended in humanitarian practice (O'Kane, 2013a, 2013b). However, if youth do not understand the institutions around them, they cannot meaningfully participate in the programs organized by

those institutions. Youths' limited understanding of and ability to engage with the programs designed for them may be part of the reason that their participation is so often treated as optional (O'Kane, 2013b).

Facilities that provide accommodation for UAMs should also give them the tools to be independent, self-sufficient adults. This may include language classes, educational pathways, vocational training, as well as opportunities for social participation. Strategies such as life coaching may be necessary to navigate and see value in such opportunities, as they may be more familiar with alternative pathways available to them in informal or clandestine economies.

Organizations facilitating activities and positive experiences for UAMs should be aware that UAMs may be considering the opportunities they provide alongside those in irregular economies.

Coaching UAMs to develop the skills and networks necessary to participate in mainstream economies and society may seem beyond the scope of many humanitarian assistance programs, which often focus on beneficiaries' basic needs. However, coaching UAMs to help them integrate has important implications from a protection and security standpoint. If UAMs are not able to build independent adult lives in mainstream society, then they will seek avenues for a better life in irregular economies, where they may be exposed to exploitation even as young adults (Brun, 2016). From a security perspective, if youth are not able integrate into their host societies and end their journeys (Benezer & Zetter, 2015), they may travel onwards to neighboring countries, once again becoming irregular migrants in clandestine relationships with state institutions (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016), relying on illegal or informal economies to survive. This is especially important in Europe, where the Dublin Accords require individuals to reside in the country where they first applied for asylum. If youth travel out of Greece after

applying for asylum and overstay in other European countries, their status will be irregular and they will be relegated to illegal or informal economies. Coaching UAMs to integrate in their countries of first asylum may prevent them from being active in illegal economies of other European countries as young adults.

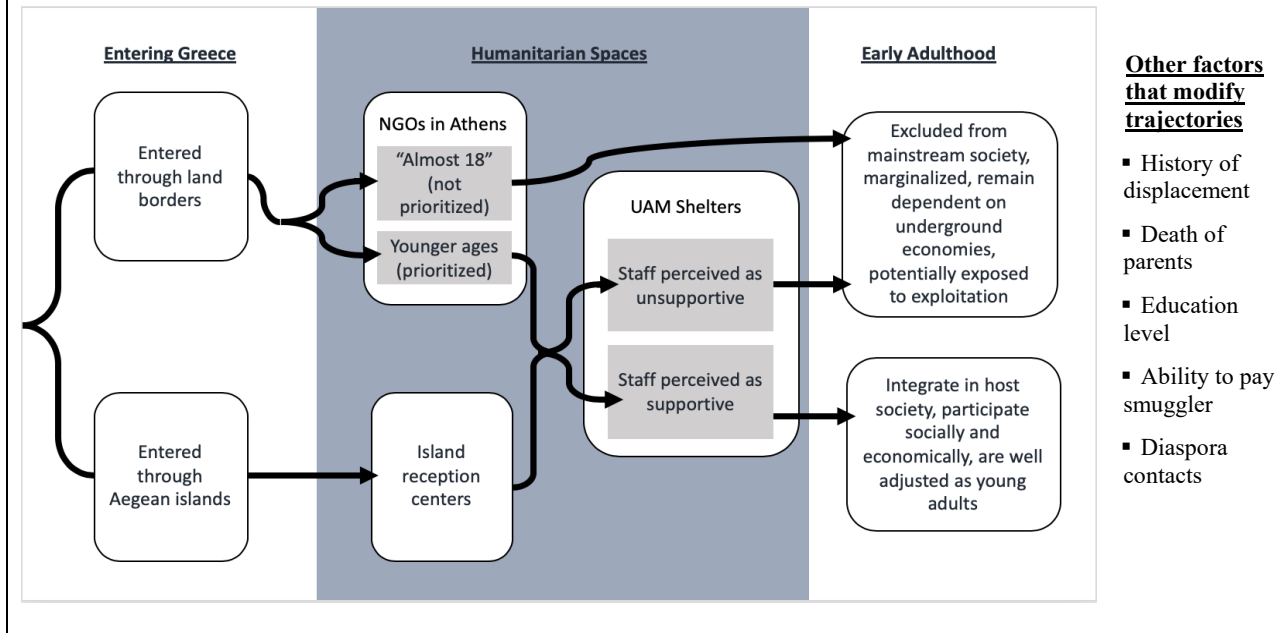
Chapter 6. Conclusions

6.1 Summary of results

At the time of this writing, migration from Asia to Greece continues, though at lower rates than in 2015 and 2016. Rising numbers of unaccompanied minors (UAMs) continue to enter the country (IRC, 2019), having endured abuse, exploitation, and other traumatizing circumstances along their clandestine journeys (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016; UNICEF, 2017b). Once they enter Greece, UAMs are eligible for protection, which includes access to accommodation facilities. However, given the scarcity of accommodation facilities for UAMs in Greece, the majority of minors who request housing are waitlisted (EKKA, 2018).

This study found that placement in NGO-provided accommodation facilities played a key role in helping UAMs move away from marginalized, underground economies where they were more likely to encounter exploitation, and integrate into Greek society. However, accommodation facilities were only able to have to this positive impact for a particular group of UAMs, based on their route of entry into Greece, the age at which youth requested accommodations, and their perception of NGO staff's supportiveness. The general patterns of accommodation facilities' impact on UAMs' trajectories are illustrated in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. The role of accommodation facilities in UAMs’ trajectories



UAMs who entered Greece via the islands were referred to and placed in accommodation facilities almost as soon as they entered the country, while those who entered through the country’s land borders typically were not. Among UAMs not who were not immediately referred to accommodation facilities—typically, those who had entered through the land border—those who were younger were prioritized for placement. Older UAMs often aged out of eligibility before they could be placed in a shelter, in which case they often remained excluded from mainstream society and dependent on potentially exploitative underground economies into their early adulthood. Many youth who did not get placed in accommodation facilities remained homeless or unstably housed in parks or squats within half a mile of NGOs that provided youth with shelters.

Among UAMs who were placed in accommodation facilities, integration into Greek society typically occurred only if they felt that the individual NGO staff members they interacted with

were supportive. Staff were perceived as supportive if UAMs believed they were invested in their futures as young adults. When staff appeared invested in UAMs' acquisition of skills and participation in Greek society, youth often changed their intentions to migrate elsewhere and pursued social, skill-building, and economic activities in Greece even as young adults. When staff were perceived as indifferent, youth often became disengaged with Greek society and pursued plans to migrate elsewhere in Europe, even abdicating their rights as asylees to once again become irregular migrants in another country. Consequently, accommodation facilities' ability limit youths' exposure to exploitative conditions in underground economies was impacted by staff's investment in UAMs' adulthood.

The general trends illustrated in Figure 11 and described in the paragraphs above are not absolute, and were altered by advantages or disadvantages that youth experienced throughout their lives. For example, Bilal, from Pakistan, who entered Greece through the land route and requested shelter at the age of 17, was, in fact, able to be placed in an accommodation facility for UAMs. As described in Chapters 3 and 4, this was due to several advantages that enabled him to recruit the assistance of NGO staff, such as fluency in English, educational background, comfort communicating over email, and financial support from family. For most UAMs, however, factors such as the route through which they entered Greece and the age at which they requested accommodation limited whether or not they were placed in a shelters, and those who were placed in shelters typically only had successful integration experiences if they felt that staff were invested in their futures.

6.2 Strengths and limitations

A key strength of this study was its methodology, which coupled a trajectory-based approach with semi-structured life history calendar. This methodology enabled an examination of migrant

youths' experiences as they moved through stages of life, stages of migration, changing living situations, various countries and legal statuses. Furthermore, the recruitment of former unaccompanied minors, including those who had never been placed in accommodation for UAMs, allowed for examination of how access to NGO-provided accommodations or lack thereof lead to differing experiences in early adulthood.

Limitations of the study included reliance on retrospective data. Migrant youth may have selectively recalled events that were particularly traumatizing during their interviews. In addition, their interpretation of past events may have been influenced by their feelings regarding their circumstances at the time of the interview. To strengthen content validity, recruitment was continued until saturation of major themes and patterns identified in the data was reached (Brod, Tesler, & Christensen, 2009).

Limitations also included a slight overrepresentation of youth who had been placed in accommodation facilities relative to those who had not. Although efforts were made to recruit approximately equal numbers of those who were placed in accommodation facilities and those who were not, youth who were placed in accommodation facilities had denser peer networks. Snowball-based sampling strategies bias recruitment towards seeds who have more social ties (Magnani et al., 2005). Ethnographic mapping and purposeful recruitment of homeless or unstably housed seeds was used to counteract overrepresentation of youth in accommodation facilities, though the limited social ties of homeless youth as well as their limited access to phones posed a challenge to these efforts. In addition, no Greek officials or members of the general public were interviewed regarding their interactions with migrant youth. As a result, the study was not able to triangulate migrant youth's understanding of their experiences with that of

Greeks outside the humanitarian sector, who may be able to shed light on additional barriers to and opportunities for integration.

The goal of this qualitative study was to explore and establish patterns concerning UAMs' transition into adulthood in Greece, for which the sample size of 44 youth was sufficient.

However, the sample size was not sufficient to examine the prevalence of different patterns of engagement with accommodation facilities for UAMs. Future studies with larger sample sizes could quantify the prevalence of these patterns and understand the magnitude of UAMs' needs.

Furthermore, additional research is needed to identify similar patterns for UAMs of Arab and African descent in Greece, as well as for female UAMs. Due to resource limitations, these groups could not be included in the present study.

6.3 Recommendations for future practice

This study highlights several aspects in which the protection system for UAMs in Greece must be strengthened. Some of these are relatively straightforward but restricted by available funding and resources, such as the building of additional shelters to reduce homelessness and hiring additional staff to prevent UAMs from feeling neglected.

With additional shelter spaces and personnel, efforts should be made to address the disparities between UAMs that enter Greece from the land routes and those who enter from the islands.

While NGOs responsible for referring UAMs for housing were often unable to follow up with or support youth who entered from the land routes and found themselves homeless in Athens, smaller groups that engaged in community-based street outreach in parks and neighborhoods frequented by migrants were able to reach them. These organizations provided meals, first aid, and hygiene services, but not housing. The use of similar community-based outreach approaches by larger NGOs could make accommodation and other kinds of assistance readily available to

UAMs who are not processed in reception centers immediately upon arrival. Such models would meet UAMs where they are, instead of placing the burden on already marginalized youth to advocate for themselves despite language barriers, unsafe environments, and mental distress.

If sufficient resources are made available, avenues to access humanitarian support should be created for youth who turned 18 before they could be placed in a shelter. One way to do this may be to register UAMs who are almost 18 for adult accommodations. Placing these youth in adult accommodations alongside UAMs who aged out of children's shelters could connect them with supportive peer networks. Without having to pay rent, these youth would also be able to invest time and energy attending languages classes and learning skills that necessary to integrate in Greek society. Helping "almost 18"-year-old UAMs enter the humanitarian system can help address the needs of youth who endured prolonged journeys on their way to Greece and were exposed to exploitative conditions without opportunities to build peer networks and develop skills that would aid their transition into adulthood.

The results of this study also stress two major conceptual changes in child protection efforts that can improve the quality of services delivered and have long-lasting positive impacts on UAMs' lives. The first of these is an acknowledgement of the full breadth of UAMs' experiences, including the experiences they have had and decisions they make regarding underground economies. It is through the underground smuggling economy that UAMs arrive in Europe, and they often remain embedded in these economies even after they have been living in Greece for months or years. It is also in these underground economies that youth are most likely to experience abuse and exploitation. However, most child protection staff are not familiar with these aspects of UAMs' lives, nor are they comfortable discussing this reality with the youth they

provide care for. As a result, their ability to advise youth against making high risk decisions and prevent exploitation is limited.

In order to address this limitation of child protection services, training materials should be made available to help child protection staff become well versed in the kinds of ways migrant youth have been and may become involved in underground economies. This can be done through open access training modules on platforms like Disaster Ready. These materials should raise awareness among staff regarding the ways that humanitarian organizations occupy the same space as and often compete with black market establishments, such as *musafir khanas*. For example, if shelters for UAMs are not available or do not make UAMs feel sufficiently safe and supported, they may turn to *musafir khanas* to meet their needs for shelter. As unregulated establishments that provide services for a fee, *musafir khanas* can both expose UAMs to unsafe circumstances and also drive them into debt, compelling them to find work in underground economies. If shelters cannot help UAMs build supportive peer networks in humanitarian spaces, UAMs may become embedded with black market networks who share their ethnolinguistic backgrounds.

Greater awareness of how migrant youth may interact with these underground economies can help child protection staff take a harm reduction approach to their work. Much like how harm-reduction counseling strategies are used to reduce the harms incurred through drug use and high-risk sexual activities (Collins et al., 2015; Des Jarlais, Friedman, & Ward, 1993; van Wormer & McKinney, 2003), if counselors on child protection teams were comfortable talking to UAMs about their involvement in the underground network, they would be better positioned to intervene prevent minors from making high-risk decisions. This might include, for example, traveling to another country to live undocumented despite having asylum in Greece, stowing

away on cargo containers with limited oxygen, working in exploitative agricultural settings, among others. Adopting harm reduction approach may also prepare UAMs to avoid high-risk situations even into early adulthood, thereby having protective effects that outlast the limited time that UAMs are in the care of child protection programs.

If child protection staff are well versed in the experiences of UAMs, they will also be better positioned to tailor guidance and education so that it seems more relevant and applicable to UAMs. This strategy has been used to engage at-risk youth in educational settings (Guerra, 2012; Yamauchi, 2003). When the information that UAMs are given is disconnected from the reality that they experience, they may believe that they are being lied to, and their ability to understand and navigate their bureaucratically and socially complex environments is not improved. If child protection staff have a sound understanding of UAMs' experiences and are able to take those experiences as a starting point—in other words, meeting UAMs where they are—they may be better able to empower UAMs to navigate their environments. They may simultaneously be able to forge relationships with UAMs that are perceived as positive and supportive. As Chapter 5 demonstrated, when UAMs perceive child protection staff to be supportive, they are more likely to invest time and energy participating in Greek society as well as the formal economy instead of relying on potentially exploitative underground markets.

The second major conceptual change recommended on the basis of this research is future-oriented programming in child protection programs. While child protection programs may be focused on protecting youth while they are minors, UAMs themselves are preoccupied with their futures, including adulthood, when child protection programs will no longer be responsible for them. If the priorities of child protection staff and UAMs are misaligned, UAMs will perceive staff as unsupportive and be more likely to turn to underground markets to meet their needs,

where they are more likely to encounter abuse and exploitation. Furthermore, the kinds of adult lives UAMs may have imagined living in their home countries are no longer achievable due to their circumstances in Greece. If child protection staff do not help UAMs imagine and plan for adulthood in their host countries, they are likely to turn to the strategy of “moving forward” that is entrenched in smuggling networks in their efforts to secure sustainable futures. “Moving forward”, or traveling to a different country, typically irregularly, may expose youth to unsafe circumstances. Helping UAMs plan for futures in their host countries may therefore prevent abuse and exploitation.

Future-oriented programming can also take into account the liminal legality (Menjívar, 2006) of UAMs’ lives and the precariousness of their futures (Gonzales, 2011). Many UAMs will not get asylum, and can get deported, whereas others might lose access to housing or have their rights curtailed due to changing policies (Kokkinidis, 2019). Future-oriented programming can help UAMs think through multiple different futures, as well as develop contingency plans by rationally thinking through their options rather than instinctively “moving forward” when faced with adversity. As a result, UAMs will be better prepared for adulthood, regardless of where their adulthoods happen to be.

Major organizations like UNHCR and UNICEF, as well as the European Union, are well positioned to facilitate these conceptual changes. Child protection programs for UAMs in Greece are currently implemented by local Greek NGOs that receive funds from these major organizations (European Commission, 2018) and must regularly reapply for funding. Funding applications and calls for proposals can encourage local NGOs to educate staff regarding UAMs’ experience or adopt future-oriented programming, which could have long-term positive impacts on youths’ lives.

Chapter 7. Appendices

7.1 In-depth Interview Guide

Introduction for Study Participant

- Thank you for agreeing to give an interview for this study.
- Throughout this interview, we will ask you to mark important events in your life on this line in the order that they happened. Marking down major events will help me ask questions about things that happened in your life.

Questions:

101. Can you tell me how you happened to come to Greece?
 - a. What year did you leave [home country]? *[mark on life history calendar]*
 - b. How old were you when you left? *[mark on life history calendar]*
102. Can you tell me about what happened along your journey?
 - a. How long did you stay in [transit country/particular living circumstance]? *[mark on life history calendar]*
 - b. What were your thoughts/feelings regarding [events/circumstances described]?
 - c. Did anyone ever harass or harm you along the journey?
 - d. Who paid for your journey?
 - e. Did you have a cell phone when you traveled?
 - f. Did anything happen along the journey that stands out?
 - g. Then what happened? [ask as many times as needed until interviewee describes arrival in Greece]
103. When did you arrive in Greece? *[mark on life history calendar]*
 - a. How old were you when you arrived in Greece? *[mark on life history calendar]*
 - b. Where did you live when you arrived in Greece? *[mark on life history calendar]*
 - c. Did you live with adults or only boys your age?
 - d. Did anyone ever try to harass or harm you?

- e. How long did you stay in [particular living circumstance]? [*mark on life history calendar*]
 - f. What were your thoughts/feelings regarding [events/circumstances described]?
 - g. Then what happened? [ask as many times as needed until interviewee's narrative reaches the present]
104. Did you receive help from any NGOs in Greece?
- a. What NGOs?
 - b. What kind of help and for how long? [*mark on life history calendar*]
 - c. What are your thoughts regarding this aid?
105. Do you currently receive help from NGOs?
- a. What NGOs?
 - b. What kind of help and for how long? [*mark on life history calendar*]
 - c. What are your thoughts regarding this aid?
106. Have you ever tried to find work?
- a. Where? When? What happened?
 - b. Who connected you to this work?
 - c. Had you done this kind of work before? If so, when?
 - d. Did anyone ever try to harass or harm you?
107. What do you do to make sure you have enough to eat, a place to shower, and other basic needs?
- a. How did you find these resources?
 - b. Is there anything else you do to get extra cash?
108. Do you talk to your family back home?
- a. How often?
 - b. What do you tell them about?

109. Where do you currently live?
- a. How long have you lived there?
 - b. Who lives with you?
110. Do you have and European friends?
- a. Describe who they are.
 - b. How did you get to know them?
111. Do you speak English or Greek?
- a. Where and when did you learn [language]?
112. Do you have asylum/white card?
- a. What does the white card mean?
 - b. When did you apply for asylum? [gauge details of where interviewee is in application process; *mark on life history calendar*]
 - c. Who helped you apply for asylum?
113. What are your plans for the future?

7.2 Life History Calendar for follow-up interview guide

Living Arrangements				Age	Needs and Motivations			
Where did you live?	What kind of house?	Who were you living with?	Who supports you (social and economic)?		Important needs	Challenges/difficulties	Major Decisions	Goals
				0-11 mo.				
				1				
				2				
				3				
				4				
				5				
				6				
				7				
				8				
				9				
				10				
				11				
				12				
				13				
				14				
				15				

Living Arrangements				Age	Needs and Motivations			
Where did you live?	What kind of house?	Who were you living with?	Who supports you (social and economic)?		Important needs	Challenges/difficulties	Major Decisions	Goals
				16				
				17				
				18				
				19				
				20				
				21				

Probe for details regarding financial and educational background.

7.3 Key Informant Interview Guide

Introduction for study participant

- Thank you for agreeing to give an interview for this study.
- First, I would to ask a few questions about your experiences working in child protection.

Questions

1. Can you tell me about your current work in child protection? *Probe for:*
 - a. What their role within that organization is
 - b. What the key informants' day-to-day responsibilities with respect to child protection are
 - c. What are interactions with unaccompanied minors like?
 - d. What are interactions with other NGOs like?
2. Can you tell me about how you came to be involved in child protection? *Probe for:*
 - a. How did the key informant get started working in child protection?
 - b. What previous work experiences may have prepared the key informant for their current work?
 - c. What other child protection programs did they work for in the past, if any?
 - d. What other humanitarian assistance programs did they work for in the past, if any?
3. What are the typical ages and nationalities of the unaccompanied minors you work with?
4. What are some of the challenges these unaccompanied minors face while living in child protection?
5. What are some of the long-term challenges these unaccompanied minors might face in over the course of their lives?
6. Many unaccompanied minors are older teenagers who will soon turn 18. What are some challenges that these young people might face after turning 18? *Probe for:*
 - a. Concerns or challenges that older unaccompanied minors have when they're about to turn 18.
 - b. Concerns or challenges that older unaccompanied minors have after they turn 18.
7. How does the organization you work for respond to the needs of unaccompanied minors as they transition into adulthood?

- a. What do staff in your organization do to help prepare asylum seekers for living independently once they are 18?
8. What kind of contact do former unaccompanied minors have with the child protection program they lived in after they turn 18?
9. What is your perspective on the role that humanitarian child protection programs can play with respect to unaccompanied minors' transition into adulthood?

Chapter 8. References

- Agamben, G. (2005). *The State of Exception*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Agier, M. (2011). *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government*. Cambridge UK: Polity.
- Ahmad, A. N. (2016). *Masculinity, Sexuality and Illegal Migration : Human Smuggling from Pakistan to Europe*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- AIDA (Producer). (2018). Fast-Track Border Procedure (Eastern Aegean Islands). Retrieved from <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/asylum-procedure/procedures/fast-track-border-procedure-eastern-aegean>
- AIDA. (2019). Freedom of Movement: Greece. Retrieved from <https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/reception-conditions/access-and-forms-reception-conditions/freedom-movement>
- AIDA, & ECRE. (2017). *The concept of vulnerability in European asylum procedures*. Retrieved from http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/shadow-reports/aida_vulnerability_in_asylum_procedures.pdf
- Allsopp, J., & Chase, E. (2019). Best interests, durable solutions and belonging: policy discourses shaping the futures of unaccompanied migrant and refugee minors coming of age in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(2), 293-311. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1404265
- Anagnostopoulos, D. C., Giannakopoulos, G., & Christodoulou, N. G. (2017). The synergy of the refugee crisis and the financial crisis in Greece: Impact on mental health. *Int J Soc Psychiatry*, 63(4), 352-358. doi:10.1177/0020764017700444
- Anagnostopoulos, D. C., Triantafyllou, K., Xylouris, G., Bakatsellos, J., & Giannakopoulos, G. (2016). Migration mental health issues in Europe: the case of Greece. *Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry*, 25(1), 119-122. doi:10.1007/s00787-015-0806-1
- Antonopoulos, G. A., & Winterdyk, J. (2006). The Smuggling of Migrants in Greece: An Examination of its Social Organization. *European Journal of Criminology*, 3(4), 439-461. doi:10.1177/1477370806067912
- Barbara Harrell-Bond. (1986). *Imposing Aid: Emergency Aid to Refugees*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- BBC. (2016). How do you verify the age of child asylum seekers? Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-37687916>
- Belabas, W., & Gerrits, L. (2017). Constraints and Facilitators for Successful Integration: How Bureaucratic Contacts Affects Migrants' Pathways. *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 5(7), 54-65. doi:10.11114/ijsss.v5i7.2496
- Benezer, G., & Zetter, R. (2015). Searching for Directions: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in Researching Refugee Journeys. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28.
- Bhabha, J. (2009). Arendt's Children: Do Today's Migrant Children Have a Right to Have Rights? *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31(2), 410-451.
- Bloch, A., Sigona, N., & Zetter, R. (2012). Migration routes and strategies of young undocumented migrants in England: a qualitative perspective. In A. Bloch & M. Chimienti (Eds.), *Irregular Migrants: Policy, Politics, Motives, and Everyday Lives*. London and New York: Taylor and Francis Group.

- Brod, M., Tesler, L. E., & Christensen, T. L. (2009). Qualitative research and content validity: developing best practices based on science and experience. *Quality of Life Research*, 18(9), 1263. doi:10.1007/s11136-009-9540-9
- Brun, D. (2016). *Men and boys in displacement: Assistance and protection challenges for unaccompanied boys and men in refugee contexts*. Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/CARE-Promundo_Men-and-boys-in-displacement_2017.pdf
- Cabot, H. (2012). The Governance of Things: Documenting Limbo in the Greek Asylum Procedure. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 35(1), 11-29. doi:10.1111/j.1555-2934.2012.01177.x
- Cabot, H. (2014). *On the Doorstep of Europe Asylum and Citizenship in Greece*. Philadelphia :: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc.
- Cameriere, R., Santoro, V., Roca, R., Lozito, P., Introna, F., Cingolani, M., . . . Ferrante, L. (2014). Assessment of legal adult age of 18 by measurement of open apices of the third molars: Study on the Albanian sample. *Forensic Sci Int*, 245, 205.e201-205. doi:10.1016/j.forsciint.2014.10.013
- Campana, P. (2017). The Market for Human Smuggling into Europe: A Macro Perspective. *Policing: A Journal of Policy & Practice*, 11(4), 448-456. doi:10.1093/police/paw058
- CARE. (2017). Concerns for hundreds of unaccompanied children sleeping rough in Greece this winter. *Care International Press Release*. Retrieved from <https://www.care-international.org/news/press-releases/concerns-for-hundreds-of-unaccompanied-children-sleeping-rough-in-greece-this-winter>
- Castles, S. (2006). Global Perspectives on Forced Migration. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15(1), 7-28. doi:10.1177/011719680601500102
- Chacón, J. M. (2015). PRODUCING LIMINAL LEGALITY. *Denver University Law Review*, 92(4), 709-767.
- Chrysoloras, N. (2004). Why Orthodoxy? Religion and Nationalism in Greek Political Culture. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 4(1), 40-61. doi:doi:10.1111/j.1754-9469.2004.tb00057.x
- Chynoweth, S. K., Freccero, J., & Touquet, H. (2017). Sexual violence against men and boys in conflict and forced displacement: implications for the health sector. *Reprod Health Matters*, 25(51), 90-94. doi:10.1080/09688080.2017.1401895
- Collett, E. (2016). The Paradox of the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/paradox-eu-turkey-refugee-deal>
- Collett, E., & Le Coz, C. (2018). *After the Storm: Learning from the EU response to the migration crisis*. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/after-storm-eu-response-migration-crisis>
- Collins, S. E., Duncan, M. H., Smart, B. F., Saxon, A. J., Malone, D. K., Jackson, T. R., & Ries, R. K. (2015). Extended-Release Naltrexone and Harm Reduction Counseling for Chronically Homeless People With Alcohol Dependence. *Substance Abuse*, 36(1), 21-33. doi:10.1080/08897077.2014.904838
- Collyer, M. (2007). In-Between Places: Trans-Saharan Transit Migrants in Morocco and the Fragmented Journey to Europe. *Antipode*, 39(4), 668-690. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2007.00546.x
- Collyer, M., & de Haas, H. (2012). Developing dynamic categorisations of transit migration. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(4), 468-481. doi:10.1002/psp.635

- Coutin, S. B. (2000). Denationalization, inclusion, and exclusion: Negotiating the boundaries of belonging. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 7(2).
- CPWG. (2012a). Child Protection Systems in Emergencies: A review of current thinking and experience Retrieved from <http://cpwg.net/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2012/09/CP-Systems-in-Emergencies-ENG.pdf>
- CPWG. (2012b). Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Minimum-standards-for-child-protection-in-humanitarian-action.pdf>
- Crawley, H., & Skleparis, D. (2018). Refugees, migrants, neither, both: categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's 'migration crisis'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(1), 48-64. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1348224
- De Genova, N. P. (2002a). MIGRANT "ILLEGALITY" AND DEPORTABILITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31(1), 419-447. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085432
- De Genova, N. P. (2002b). Migrant "Illegality" and Deportability in Everyday Life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31(1), 419-447. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085432
- De Sanctis, V., Soliman, A. T., Soliman, N. A., Elalaily, R., Di Maio, S., Bedair, E. M., . . . Millimaggi, G. (2016). Pros and cons for the medical age assessments in unaccompanied minors: a mini-review. *Acta Biomed*, 87(2), 121-131.
- Delaney, C. H. (1995). Rites of passage in adolescence. *Adolescence*, 30(120), 891.
- DeLargy, P. (2016). Europe's humanitarian response to refugee and migrant flows: volunteerism thrives as the international system falls short. *ODI Humanitarian Practice Network*. Retrieved from <https://odihpn.org/magazine/europes-humanitarian-response-to-refugee-and-migrant-flows/>
- Demazure, G., Gaultier, S., & Pinsault, N. (2017). Dealing with difference: a scoping review of psychotherapeutic interventions with unaccompanied refugee minors. *Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry*. doi:10.1007/s00787-017-1083-y
- Des Jarlais, D. C., Friedman, S. R., & Ward, T. P. (1993). Harm reduction: a public health response to the AIDS epidemic among injecting drug users. *Annu Rev Public Health*, 14, 413-450. doi:10.1146/annurev.pu.14.050193.002213
- Digidiki, V. (2016). A Harsh New Reality: Transactional Sex Among Refugee Minors As a Means of Survival in Greece. *Harvard FXB Center for Health and Human Rights*.
- Digidiki, V., & Bhabha, J. (2017). Emergency Within an Emergency: The Growing Epidemic of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse of Migrant Children in Greece. *Harvard FXB Center for Health and Human Rights*.
- Dimitriadi, A. (2013). Migration from Afghanistan to third countries and Greece. *Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/index.cfm?action=media.download&uuid=FC2FEB61-A69C-758E-4BBB990D8936BF04>
- Dunham, R. M., Kidwell, J. S., & Wilson, S. M. (1986). Rites of Passage at Adolescence: A Ritual Process Paradigm. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 1(2), 139-153. doi:10.1177/074355488612001
- ECRE. (2016). *The implementation of the hotspots in Italy and Greece: A study*. Retrieved from <https://www.ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/HOTSPOTS-Report-5.12.2016..pdf>

- ECRE. (2019). Reception and identification procedure: Greece. Retrieved from <https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/asylum-procedure/access-procedure-and-registration/reception-and>
- EKKA. (2018). *Situation Update: Unaccompanied Children (UAC) in Greece* Retrieved from <https://www.unicef.org/eca/sites/unicef.org.eca/files/2018-12/Unaccompanied%20children%20in%20Greece%20%2030%20nov%202018.pdf>
- El-Awad, U., Fathi, A., Petermann, F., & Reinelt, T. (2017). Promoting Mental Health in Unaccompanied Refugee Minors: Recommendations for Primary Support Programs. *Brain Sci*, 7(11). doi:10.3390/brainsci7110146
- Elder, G. (1985). Perspectives on the life course. In G. Elder (Ed.), *Life Course Dynamics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Elder, G. (1998). The Life Course as Developmental Theory. *Child Dev*, 69(1), 1-12. doi:10.2307/1132065
- Ellinas, A. A. (2013). The Rise of Golden Dawn: The New Face of the Far Right in Greece. *South European Society and Politics*, 18(4), 543-565. doi:10.1080/13608746.2013.782838
- Engel, D., & Munger, F. (2003). *Rights of Inclusion: Law and identity in the life stories of Americans with disabilities*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- European Commission. (2018). *The EU announces €180 million in emergency support to support refugees in Greece*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/echo/news/eu-announces-180-million-emergency-support-support-refugees-greece_en
- Fassin, D. (2010). Inequality of Lives, Hierarchies of Humanity. In I. Feldman & M. Ticktin (Eds.), *In the Name of Humanity: The Government of Threat and Care*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Feldman, I. (2018). Care and Suspicion: Corruption as Definition in Humanitarian Relations. *Current Anthropology*, 59(S18), S160-S170. doi:10.1086/695695
- Ferrara, P., Corsello, G., Sbordone, A., Nigri, L., Caporale, O., Ehrich, J., & Pettoello-Mantovani, M. (2016). The Invisible Children: Uncertain Future of Unaccompanied Minor Migrants in Europe. *The Journal of Pediatrics*, 169, 332-333.e331. doi:10.1016/j.jpeds.2015.10.060
- Fili, A., & Xythali, V. (2017). The continuum of neglect: Unaccompanied minors in Greece. *Social Work and Society International Online Journal*, 15(2).
- Flegar, V. (2016). Vulnerability and the principle of non-refoulement in the European Court of Human Rights: Towards an increased scope of protection for person fleeing from extreme poverty? *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice*, 8(2), 148-169.
- Freccero, J., Biswas, D., Whiting, A., Alrabe, K., & Seelinger, K. T. (2017). Sexual exploitation of unaccompanied migrant and refugee boys in Greece: Approaches to prevention. *PLoS Med*, 14(11), e1002438. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1002438
- Galos, E., Bartolini, L., Cook, H., & Grant, N. (2017). *Migrant Vulnerability to Human Trafficking and Exploitation: Evidence from the Central and Eastern Mediterranean Migration Routes*. Retrieved from https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migrant_vulnerability_to_human_trafficking_and_exploitation.pdf
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

- Gonzales, R. G. (2011). Learning to Be Illegal: Undocumented Youth and Shifting Legal Contexts in the Transition to Adulthood. *American Sociological Review*, 76(4), 602-619. doi:10.1177/0003122411411901
- Guerra, S. F. (2012). Using Urban Fiction to Engage At-Risk and Incarcerated Youths in Literacy Instruction. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 55(5), 385-394. doi:10.1002/JAAL.00047
- Gupta, A. (2012). *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Hjern, A., Brendler-Lindqvist, M., & Norredam, M. (2012). Age assessment of young asylum seekers. *Acta Paediatr*, 101(1), 4-7. doi:10.1111/j.1651-2227.2011.02476.x
- HRW. (2011). The EU's dirty hands: Frontex involvement in ill-treatment of migrant detainees in Greece. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/09/21/eus-dirty-hands/frontex-involvement-ill-treatment-migrant-detainees-greece>
- ICRC. (2004). Interagency guiding principles on separated and unaccompanied children [Press release]. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/protection/IAG_UASCs.pdf
- IFRC. (2017). *Revised Emergency Plan of Action Greece: Population Movement*. Retrieved from adore.ifrc.org/Download.aspx?FileId=157931
- IOM. (2017). Analysis: Flow Monitoring Survey. . *The Human Trafficking and Other Exploitative Practices Prevalence Indication Survey*. Retrieved from http://migration.iom.int/docs/Analysis_Flow_Monitoring_and_Human_Trafficking_Surveys_in_the_Mediterranean_and_Beyond_26_April_2017.pdf
- IOM. (2019). Who is a migrant? Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/who-is-a-migrant>
- IRC. (2019). *Child Protection & EU Funding for migrant populations in Greece: A reality check and they way forward*. Paper presented at the Children Need Answers.
- Jacobs, S. F. (2017). Collective narrative practice with unaccompanied refugee minors: "The Tree of Life" as a response to hardship. *Clin Child Psychol Psychiatry*, 1359104517744246. doi:10.1177/1359104517744246
- Jakobsen, M., Meyer DeMott, M. A., & Heir, T. (2017). Validity of screening for psychiatric disorders in unaccompanied minor asylum seekers: Use of computer-based assessment. *Transcult Psychiatry*, 54(5-6), 611-625. doi:10.1177/1363461517722868
- Jakobsen, M., Meyer DeMott, M. A., Wentzel-Larsen, T., & Heir, T. (2017). The impact of the asylum process on mental health: a longitudinal study of unaccompanied refugee minors in Norway. *BMJ Open*, 7(6), e015157. doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2016-015157
- Karyotis, G., & Patrikios, S. (2010). Religion, securitization and anti-immigration attitudes: The case of Greece. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(1), 43-57. doi:10.1177/0022343309350021
- Kasimis, C. (2005). Migrants in the Rural Economies of Greece and Southern Europe. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migrants-rural-economies-greece-and-southern-europe>
- Kasimis, C., & Kassimi, C. (2004). Greece: A History of Migration. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/greece-history-migration>
- Kaytaz, E. S. (2016). Afghan Journeys to Turkey: Narratives of Immobility, Travel and Transformation. *Geopolitics*, 21(2), 284-302. doi:10.1080/14650045.2016.1151874
- Keles, S., Idsoe, T., Friberg, O., Sirin, S., & Oppedal, B. (2017). The Longitudinal Relation between Daily Hassles and Depressive Symptoms among Unaccompanied Refugees in Norway. *J Abnorm Child Psychol*, 45(7), 1413-1427. doi:10.1007/s10802-016-0251-8

- Kim, S. M. (2018). Trump warns against admitting unaccompanied migrant children: “They’re not innocent”. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-warns-against-admitting-unaccompanied-migrant-children-theyre-not-innocent/2018/05/23/e4b24a68-5ec2-11e8-8c93-8cf33c21da8d_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.4b1cc93f41e2
- Kirtsoglou, E. (2013). The Dark Ages of the Golden Dawn : anthropological analysis and responsibility in the twilight zone of the Greek crisis. *Suomen antropologi : journal of the Finnish anthropological society.*, 38(1), 104-108.
- Kokkinidis, T. (2019). *Greece Tightens Health Care Provisions for Migrants, Asylum Seekers*. Retrieved from Greece: <https://greece.greekreporter.com/2019/10/04/greece-tightens-health-care-provisions-for-migrants-asylum-seekers/>
- Kotef, H. (2010). Objects of Security: Gendered Violence and Securitized Humanitarianism in Occupied Gaza. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 30(2), 179-191. doi:10.1215/1089201x-2010-003
- Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street Level Bureaucracy Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Luna, F. (2009). Elucidating the Concept of Vulnerability: Layers Not Labels. *International Journal of Feminist Approaches to Bioethics*, 2(1), 121-139.
- Magnani, R., Sabin, K., Saidel, T., & Heckathorn, D. (2005). Review of sampling hard-to-reach and hidden populations for HIV surveillance. *Aids*, 19 Suppl 2, S67-72.
- Mainwaring, Ć., & Brigden, N. (2016). Beyond the Border: Clandestine Migration Journeys. *Geopolitics*, 21(2), 243-262. doi:10.1080/14650045.2016.1165575
- Malkki, L. (1996). Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 11(3), 377-404.
- Malmqvist, E., Furberg, E., & Sandman, L. (2017). Ethical aspects of medical age assessment in the asylum process: a Swedish perspective. *Int J Legal Med*. doi:10.1007/s00414-017-1730-3
- Markstrom, C. A., & Iborra, A. (2003). Adolescent Identity Formation and Rites of Passage: The Navajo Kinaaldá Ceremony for Girls. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 13(4), 399-425. doi:10.1046/j.1532-7795.2003.01304001.x
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431-466. doi:10.2307/2938462
- McDade, T. W., & Harris, K. M. (2018). The Biosocial Approach to Human Development, Behavior, and Health Across the Life Course. *The Russell Sage Foundation journal of the social sciences : RSF*, 4(4), 2-26. doi:10.7758/RSF.2018.4.4.01
- Menjívar, C. (2006). Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrants' Lives in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(4), 999-1037. doi:10.1086/499509
- Meyer DeMott, M. A., Jakobsen, M., Wentzel-Larsen, T., & Heir, T. (2017). A controlled early group intervention study for unaccompanied minors: Can Expressive Arts alleviate symptoms of trauma and enhance life satisfaction? *Scand J Psychol*, 58(6), 510-518. doi:10.1111/sjop.12395
- Moffitt, T. E. (1993). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: a developmental taxonomy. *Psychol Rev*, 100(4), 674-701.
- Monsutti, A. (2007). Migration as a Rite of Passage: Young Afghans Building Masculinity and Adulthood in Iran. *Iranian Studies*, 40(2), 167-185. doi:10.1080/00210860701276183

- MSF. (2015). Greece: MSF teams help create a transit camp for refugees arriving to Idomeni. Retrieved from <http://www.msf.org/en/article/greece-msf-teams-help-create-transit-camp-refugees-arriving-idomeni>
- Nelson, I. A. (2010). From Quantitative to Qualitative: Adapting the Life History Calendar Method. *Field Methods*, 22(4), 413-428. doi:10.1177/1525822X10379793
- Norredam, M., Nellums, L., Nielsen, R. S., Byberg, S., & Petersen, J. H. (2018). Incidence of psychiatric disorders among accompanied and unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Denmark: a nation-wide register-based cohort study. *Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry*, 27(4), 439-446. doi:10.1007/s00787-018-1122-3
- O’Kane, C. (2013a). Guidelines for Children’s Participation in Humanitarian Programming. Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Children_Participation_Humanitarian_Guidelines.pdf
- O’Kane, C. (2013b). *Review of Children’s Participation in Humanitarian Programming*. Save the Children. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/adolescence/cypguide/files/Children_Participation_Humanitarian_Review.pdf
- OHCHR. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>
- Oxfam. (2017). Greece intends to move 5,000 refugees to mainland but thousands still trapped on islands Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/greece/greece-intends-move-5000-refugees-mainland-thousands-still-trapped-islands-oxfam>
- Pante, M. B. L. P. (2014). Female Researchers in a Masculine Space: Managing Discomforts and Negotiating Positionalities. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 62, 65-88.
- Papadopoulou, A. (2004). Smuggling into Europe: Transit Migrants in Greece. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 17(2), 167-184. doi:10.1093/jrs/17.2.167
- Papadopoulou-Kourkoula. (2008). *Transit migration: The missing link between emigration and settlement*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Peroni, L., & Timmer, A. (2013). Vulnerable groups: The promise of an emerging concept in European Human Rights Convention law. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 11(4), 1056-1085. doi:10.1093/icon/mot042
- Petrou, M., & Kandylis, G. (2016). Violence and Extreme-right Activism: The Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn in a Greek Rural Community. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(6), 589-604. doi:10.1080/07256868.2016.1235022
- Pieterse, J. N. (2000). Globalization and human integration: we are all migrants. *Futures*, 32(5), 385-398. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-3287\(99\)00082-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-3287(99)00082-8)
- Rodriguez, G. (2018). The coloniality of migration and the “refugee crisis”: On the asylum-migration nexus, the transatlantic white European settler colonialism-migration and racial capitalism. *Refuge: Canada’s Journal on Refugees*, 34(1).
- Romano, E., & De Luca, R. V. (2001). Male sexual abuse: A review of effects, abuse characteristics, and links with later psychological functioning. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 6(1), 55-78. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789\(99\)00011-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789(99)00011-7)
- Rozakou, K. (2017). Nonrecording the “European refugee crisis” in Greece. *2017(77)*, 36. doi:10.3167/fcl.2017.770104

- Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (1997). A life course theory of cumulative disadvantage and the stability of delinquency *Developmental theories of crime and delinquency*. (pp. 133-161). Piscataway, NJ, US: Transaction Publishers.
- Sanders, R. A. (2013). Adolescent Psychosocial, Social, and Cognitive Development. *Pediatrics in Review*, 34(8), 354. doi:10.1542/pir.34-8-354
- Sarkadi, A., Adahl, K., Stenvall, E., Ssegonja, R., Batti, H., Gavra, P., . . . Salari, R. (2017). Teaching Recovery Techniques: evaluation of a group intervention for unaccompanied refugee minors with symptoms of PTSD in Sweden. *Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry*. doi:10.1007/s00787-017-1093-9
- SAVE. (2017). ABSENCE OF GREEK GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR ISLANDS' UNACCOMPANIED CHILDREN PRESENTS RISKS, A GROUP OF NGOS WARNS. *Save the Children*. Retrieved from <https://www.savethechildren.net/article/absence-greek-government-plans-islands-unaccompanied-children-presents-risks-group-ngos>
- Schapendonk, J. (2010). Staying put in moving sands: The stepwise migration process of sub-Saharan African migrants heading north. In P. Nugent & U. Engel (Eds.), *Re-shaping Africa* (pp. 113-138). Leiden: Brill.
- Schapendonk, J. (2012). Migrants' Im/Mobilities on Their Way to the EU: Lost in Transit? *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 103(5), 577-583. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9663.2012.00735.x
- Schwarz, I. (2018). *Migrants moving through mobility regimes: The trajectory approach as a tool to reveal migratory processes* (0016-7185). Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.03.007>
- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing Like a State : How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Squires, N., & Holehouse, M. (2016). Macedonia closes its border 'completely' to migrants. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/macedonia/12188826/Macedonia-closes-its-border-completely-to-migrants.html>
- Strickland, P. (2018). Refugees increasingly entering Greece via land routes [Press release]. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/180413132840764.html>
- Suarez-Orozco, C., Suarez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a New Land: Immigrant Students in American Society*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Ticktin, M. (2005). POLICING AND HUMANITARIANISM IN FRANCE: IMMIGRATION AND THE TURN TO LAW AS STATE OF EXCEPTION. *Interventions*, 7(3), 346-368. doi:10.1080/13698010500268148
- Ticktin, M. (2011). *Casualties of care: Immigration and the politics of humanitarianism in France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Triandafyllidou, A., & Gropas, R. (2009). Constructing Difference: The Mosque Debates in Greece. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(6), 957-975. doi:10.1080/13691830902957734
- Triandafyllidou, A., & Maroukis, T. (2012). *Migrant Smuggling: Irregular migration from Asia and Africa to Europe*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- UNHCR. (2011). Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Retrieved from <https://cms.emergency.unhcr.org/documents/11982/55726/Convention+relating+to+the+Status+of+Refugees+%28signed+28+July+1951%2C+entered+into+force+22+April+19>

- [54%29+189+UNTS+150+and+Protocol+relating+to+the+Status+of+Refugees+%28signed+31+January+1967%2C+entered+into+force+4+October+1967%29+606+UNTS+267/0bf3248a-cfa8-4a60-864d-65cdfce1d47](https://www.unhcr.org/refugees/54%29+189+UNTS+150+and+Protocol+relating+to+the+Status+of+Refugees+%28signed+31+January+1967%2C+entered+into+force+4+October+1967%29+606+UNTS+267/0bf3248a-cfa8-4a60-864d-65cdfce1d47)
- UNHCR. (2015). 2015: The Year of Europe's Refugee Crisis. Retrieved from <http://tracks.unhcr.org/2015/12/2015-the-year-of-europes-refugee-crisis/>
- UNHCR. (2017a). Desperate Journeys: Refugees and Migrants Entering and Crossing Europe via the Mediterranean and Western Balkan Routes. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/58b449f54.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2017b). Greece: Factsheet. Retrieved from <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/54221>
- UNHCR. (2018a). Greece: Fact Sheet November 2018. Retrieved from <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/67410>
- UNHCR. (2018b). UNHCR Greece Factsheet September 2018.
- UNHCR, UNICEF, & IOM. (2017). *Refugee and migrant children in Europe: Accompanied, unaccompanied, and separated*. Retrieved from http://migration.iom.int/docs/Infographic_on_Children_Q3_2017_.pdf
- UNICEF. (2016). *Uprooted: The growing crisis for refugee and migrant children*. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/publications/index_92710.html
- UNICEF. (2017a). *A Child is a Child: Protecting Children on the Move from Violence, Abuse, and Exploitation*. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/publications/index_95956.html
- UNICEF. (2017b). *Harrowing Journeys: Children and Youth on the Move Across the Mediterranean Sea, at Risk of Trafficking and Exploitation*. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/publications/index_100621.html
- van der Klaauw, J. (2010). Refugee Rights in Times of Mixed Migration: Evolving Status and Protection Issues. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28(4), 59-86. doi:10.1093/rsq/hdq003
- Van Hear, N., Brubaker, R., & Bessa, T. (2009). Managing mobility for human development: the growing salience of mixed migration. *UNDP Human Development Research Paper*.
- van Wormer, K., & McKinney, R. (2003). What Schools Can Do to Help Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Youth: A Harm Reduction Approach. *Adolescence*, 38(151), 409-420.
- Vigil, J. D. (1996). Street Baptism: Chicano Gang Initiation. *Human Organization*, 55(2), 149-153.
- Weber, B. (2017). *The EU-Turkey Refugee Deal and the Not Quite Closed Balkan Route*. Retrieved from <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/sarajevo/13436.pdf>
- WHO. (2014). *Adolescence: Psychological and Social Changes*. Retrieved from <http://apps.who.int/adolescent/second-decade/section2/page5/adolescence-psychological-and-social-changes.html>
- Yamauchi, L. A. (2003). Making School Relevant for At-Risk Students: The Wai'anae High School Hawaiian Studies Program. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR)*, 8(4), 379-390. doi:10.1207/S15327671ESPR0804_1
- Zambeta, E. (2000). Religion and national identity in Greek education. *Intercultural Education*, 11(2), 145-156. doi:10.1080/713665239
- Zetter, R. (2015). *Protection in Crisis: Forced Migration and Protection in a Global Era*. Migration Policy Institute.
- Zimmerman, C., Kiss, L., & Hossain, M. (2011). Migration and Health: A Framework for 21st Century Policy-Making. *PLoS Med*, 8(5), e1001034. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1001034

Chapter 9. Curriculum Vitae

CURRICULUM VITAE:

Divya Mishra, PhD, MD-Candidate
divya.mishra@jhu.edu
divya.mishra.med@dartmouth.edu
1-302-383-2265

EDUCATION

Doctor of Medicine (MD) Candidate, Year Three Student Degree expected May 2022
Geisel School of Medicine
Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), International Health, Social & Behavioral Interventions Defended Oct. 2019
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, Baltimore, MD
Dissertation: *Becoming Men: South Asian Unaccompanied Minors' Transition to Adulthood in Greece*

Bachelor of Arts (BA), Summa cum Laude with distinction in Anthropology May 2013
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
Cultural Anthropology Major, Medical Anthropology and Global Health Concentration
South Asian Studies Minor
Thesis: *Everyday Life in Kashmir: The Maintenance of Normalcy Amidst Political Violence*

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Student Investigator May 2018-Oct. 2019
Department of International Health, Johns Hopkins School of Public Health
Qualitative study of unaccompanied refugee minors' transition to adulthood in Greece

- Developed qualitative research protocol and arranged for IRB approval
- Recruited and conducted in-depth interviews with migrant youth who arrived in Greece as unaccompanied minors
- Adapted life-history calendar methodology to understand displacement and transition to adulthood
- Interviewed key informants and conducted site visits to locations and institutions relevant to migrant youth in Greece

Graduate Research Assistant May 2017-Oct. 2019
Johns Hopkins Center for Humanitarian Health
Systematic review of HIV prevalence in conflict-affected populations

- Developed and carried out systematic review protocol
- Analyzed quantitative and qualitative results
- Drafted article for publication

Curated Humanitarian Health Digest in partnership with Lancet

- Developed and carried out systematic review protocol
- Reviewed published articles pertaining to the effects of armed-conflict, displacement, and natural disaster on public health each quarter

Graduate Research Assistant Oct. 2016-May 2017
Department of International Health, Johns Hopkins School of Public Health
A Diabetes Networking Tool to Enhance Self-Management Through Networks

- Community outreach in low-income Baltimore neighborhoods

- Recruitment of participants for focus groups and semi-structured interviews
- Development of focus group and interview guides

Qualitative Research Consultant

May 2015-Nov. 2015

Faculty of Community and Family Medicine, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka

Effects of wartime experiences on Sri Lankan Tamils' self-management of type II diabetes

- Developed qualitative research protocol and interview guides
- Carried out relevant literature reviews
- Trained Sri Lankan medical students on qualitative data collection
- Used interview data to develop context-sensitive survey tool to study war exposures and diabetes self-care activities

Research Assistant

Dec. 2014-May 2016

Global Institute of Health and Human Rights at SUNY Albany

- Conducted and presented literature reviews on social determinants of HIV risk
- Evaluating mixed-methods approaches and qualitative and quantitative research methodologies
- Drafted methodology section for National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA) proposal
- Communicated preliminary data needs to partnering NGOs in Kabul and Herat Province, Afghanistan

Research Assistant

Oct. 2013-May 2014

Children's Hospital of Pennsylvania (CHOP)

Patient navigation program for Bhutanese refugees in Philadelphia, PA

- Trained youth volunteers to help non-English speaking members of the Bhutanese community schedule medical appointments, apply for health insurance, and travel to appointments
- Evaluated and refined efficacy of the community self-help program with CHOP pediatrics team on a weekly basis

Student Investigator

May 2012-May 2013

Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania

Ethnographic study of Kashmiris relationship with Indian state institutions in the aftermath of separatist insurgency

- Designed ethnographic protocol and arranged for IRB approval
- Five months of ethnographic fieldwork in rural and urban Kashmir, India
- Interviewed victims of conflict, ex-insurgents, and their families
- Interviewed medical and social welfare professionals who cared for conflict victims, and Central Government Secretaries involved with governance and security in Kashmir
- Observed NGOs and state-sponsored projects that assisted victims of conflict, including Handicap International and the Department of Social Welfare
- Analyzed reports generated by government offices and NGOs

Student Investigator

June 2011-May 2012

Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania

Studied resettlement experiences of Bhutanese refugees in Baltimore, MD, and Philadelphia, PA

- Designed qualitative research protocol and arranged for IRB approval
- Conducted focus group discussions with families of Bhutanese refugees in Philadelphia, with assistance of a Nepali-to Hindi interpreter
- Analyzed challenges faced by refugees in navigating health system in Philadelphia
- Analyzed differences in perspectives on cultural adjustment between generations

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant

March 2017-Dec. 2018

Johns Hopkins School of Public Health

Course: *Food Security and Nutrition in Humanitarian Emergencies*

- Evaluated student performance on three assignments
- Provided guidance and feedback on assignments

Course: *Health and Behavior Change at the Individual, Household, and Community Levels*

- Evaluated student performance on two papers and final projects
- Provided guidance and feedback on course material and assignments
- Led weekly discussion groups for a section of 25 students

Course: *International Political Science for Public Health Practitioners*

- Evaluated student performance on a final paper
- Gave guidance and feedback on assignments and presentations
- Taught class on “Environmental Security and Displacement”

Course: *Introduction to Humanitarian Emergencies*

- Planned three hands-on exercises for students
- Developed weekly quizzes based on lecture material
- Evaluated student performance on final assignment

Course: *Global Disease Control Programs and Policies*

- Coordinated series of weekly guest speakers
- Evaluated student performance on final paper

Guest Lecturer

June 2015-July 2015

Faculty of Psychiatry, University of Jaffna Medical School, Sri Lanka
Medical Anthropology

- Developed 10 hours of lecture material focused on the culture of medical institutions, clinician biases, and socioeconomic inequalities in health
- Led interactive/role playing sessions with medical students to introduce ethnographic techniques

ADDITIONAL EXPERIENCE

Public Health Consultant

July 2017-Aug. 2017

Boat Refugee Foundation, Samos, Greece
Scabies treatment for refugee camp

- Developed treatment protocol based on Medicines Sans Frontiers guidelines
- Developed and implemented scabies education campaign in multiple languages
- Developed screening tool identify likely scabies cases
- Trained medical and paramedical volunteers in community outreach techniques to identify cases, educate household members scabies disease and treatment, and carry out treatment protocol

Urdu Interpreter and Community Liaison

July 2016-Aug. 2017

Moria Refugee Camp, Lesbos, Greece

- Legal and medical interpretation
- Gathering collateral for family re-unification cases for unaccompanied minors
- Arranging meetings and facilitating meetings between refugee communities, camp police, UNHCR, and camp administration

Community Health Volunteer

Feb. 2016-May 2016

Geisel School of Medicine

- Developed culturally tailored diabetes education for elderly Bhutanese refugees in Manchester, NH
- Worked with Bhutanese adult daycare program to adapt recommended lifestyle changes to traditional diets and family environments

Reproductive Health Intern

June 2011-Aug. 2011

International Rescue Committee, Baltimore, MD

- Coordinated appointments for prenatal care and material assistance
- Carried out prenatal and postnatal assessments

- Assisted clients in applying for health insurance and WIC program

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Languages: English (Native), Hindi (Advanced), Urdu (Advanced), Farsi (Beginner)

Computer Skills: STATA, R, Mplus, Atlas.ti, NVivo

Professional Service: Founder of Global Health Interest Group at Geisel School of Medicine

AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS

Seeds of Peace GATHER Fellowship	2019
Johns Hopkins Center for Qualitative Studies in Health and Medicine Dissertation Award	2019
Johns Hopkins Center for Global Health Pulitzer Reporting Fellowship	2018
Dartmouth Global Health Day Poster Competition Award	2015
Burnap-Lyons Global Health Grant, Geisel School of Medicine, Dartmouth College	2015
Pano Rodis Fellowship in Compassionate Care, Geisel School of Medicine, Dartmouth College	2014-15
Global Health Scholar, Geisel School of Medicine, Dartmouth College	2014-16
Department of Anthropology Senior Thesis Award, University of Pennsylvania	2013
Foreign Language and Area Studies Grant for Hindi	2012-13
University Scholars Program, University of Pennsylvania	2011-13
Foreign Language and Area Studies Grant for Hindi	2011-12
Dean's List, University of Pennsylvania	2010-13
Center for Undergraduate Research and Fellowships Alumni Grant, University of Pennsylvania	2011
Department of Anthropology Summer Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania	2011

PUBLICATIONS

1. **Mishra, D.** (2019) 'In Greece, Unaccompanied Minor Refugees Fall through Service Gaps.' *Hopkins Bloomberg Public Health Magazine*, Spring 2019.
2. **Mishra, D.** (2018) 'A Need to Understand Implications of Immigration Detention.' *Humanitarian Health Digest*, Commentary.

PUBLICATIONS UNDER REVIEW

1. **Mishra, D., O'Laughlin, K., Spiegel, P.** (2019) 'A Systematic Review Evaluating HIV Prevalence Among Conflict-Affected Populations, 2005-2018.' *AIDS*. Under Review.
2. **Mishra, D., Spiegel, P., Digidiki, V., Winch, P.** (2019) 'Neither Minor, but not yet Adults: Interpretations of Vulnerability and Cumulative Disadvantage for Unaccompanied Adolescent Migrants in Greece.' *PLOS Medicine*. Under Review.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

1. **Mishra, D., Kakar, A.** "Reflexivity in Non-Profit and Peacebuilding Work". Presented for Seeds of Peace GATHER Fellowship. October 2019.
2. **Mishra, D.** "Putting Patients First in Disaster Settings". Presented for Christiana Care Health System's Global Health Curriculum. May 2019.
3. **Mishra, D.** "Factors Leading to the Sexual Exploitation of Male Refugee Minors in Greece". Presented at the *Students for Reproductive Health in Crisis Panel*, hosted by Johns Hopkins Center for Humanitarian Health. April 2019.
4. **Mishra, D.** "Becoming Men: Experiences of Unaccompanied Minors Entering Europe". Presented as part of CiSoTRA Project's workshops for professionals working with young adult migrants in Slovenia, Greece, Germany, Italy, and Turkey. March 2019.
5. **Mishra, D.** "Effects of Conflict-Related Daily Stressors on the Self-Management of Type II Diabetes in Northern Sri Lanka". Presented at Global Health Day Poster Competition, Dartmouth College. 2015.
6. **Mishra, D.** "Compensating Disability in Post-Conflict Kashmir". Presented at Physicians for Human Rights National Student Conference, Brown University. 2014.

7. **Mishra, D.** “Everyday Life in Kashmir: The Maintenance of Normalcy Amidst Political Violence”. Presented at Anthrofest, University of Pennsylvania. 2013.
8. **Mishra, D.** “Notions of Homeland and Citizenship Among Bhutanese Refugees”. Presented at Intercollegiate Asian American Undergraduate Research Symposium, Philadelphia, PA. 2012.
9. **Mishra, D.** “State Protection and the Right to Healthcare Among Bhutanese Refugees”. Presented at Undergraduate Research Symposium, University of Pennsylvania. 2012.
10. **Mishra, D.** “Generational Differences in Bhutanese Refugees’ Experiences of Resettlement in South Philadelphia”. Presented at Undergraduate Research Symposium, University of Pennsylvania. 2011.