UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

With a desire to help
- A case study about Lesvos

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This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Abstract

In 2015 an unexpected flow of refugees and migrants headed into southern Europe. This was the start of one of the biggest humanitarian crisis in recent history affecting Europe. Over two and a half years later, the crisis is still ongoing. Most refugees and migrants have arrived in Italy and Greece, which have put an enormous pressure on these countries. Some arrival spots are more popular than others and have created so-called 'hot spots.' One of them is the Greek island of Lesvos. This research has explored how different actors have met and engaged in this humanitarian crisis on Lesvos. This is a qualitative research conducted as a case study. The focus is on one refugee camp in particular, a site called Kara Tepe. Kara Tepe is a camp for vulnerable refugees and is run by the local authorities. In addition, I have also looked into some of the different citizen initiatives that have been created all over Lesvos as a response to the crisis. This thesis focuses on how the official versus the informal initiatives and the professional versus the unskilled volunteers are working side by side. It explores the cooperation between the different actors and how the situation has evolved during the year of 2017. When this research ended, there were still no signs suggesting that the crisis would come to an end, rather the opposite. Numbers are rising and the different actors on Lesvos are afraid the island and the refugees and migrants that are stuck here will experience yet another catastrophic winter. As discussed in this thesis, it might be time to realize that the situation is going from a temporary to a more permanent one, thus considering more sustainable and permanent solutions. In addition, the commitment and involvement of the unskilled and private citizen initiatives has proven to become an important, and not least increasing part of aid work, thus they need to be recognized and included as actors.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CIs - Citizen Initiatives for Global Solidarity

CWC - Communicating with Communities

DHO - Disaster and Humanitarian Operations

EU - European Union

GDP - Gross domestic product

HSA - Humanitarian Support Agency

IDPs - Internally displaced persons

IMF - International Monetary Fund

IRC - International Rescue Committee

MFS - Doctors Without Borders

MONGO - My own NGO

NBK - No Border Kitchen

NFI - Non-food items

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

PDIs - Private development initiatives

SRA - The Social Research Association

UN - United Nations

UNHCR - United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees

WASH - Water, sanitation and hygiene

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Chapter 1

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Introduction

The ongoing refugee crisis in Europe is a global crisis that became a reality and reached its peak in 2015. A photograph of Aylan Kurdi, a Syrian toddler who had drowned and was washed up on a shore in Turkey on September 2, 2015, became a symbol of the refugee crisis. A photograph of an innocent dead child became a reality check and the world woke up and realized what was going on. The picture was shared more than 20 million times on social media (Howden, 2017). In March 2016, the European Union (EU) and Turkey made an agreement which included that the EU could send back refugees and migrants to Turkey. After the new agreement the situation calmed down a bit, the number of arrivals decreased with 90 per cent and the media stopped to cover every incident related to the flow of refugees and migrants (Pells, 2016). It was easy to believe that whole situation would soon be over. However, that was not the reality. The crisis continued just with a little less media coverage. A combination of the new agreement and that several European countries had now closed their borders resulted in fewer arrivals. At the same time, these decisions also made it harder for the refugees and migrants that had already arrived to continue their journey (Kingsley, 2016). In the beginning of 2017, the crisis was yet again in the media's attention. This time due to a cold wave from Siberia that swept across Central and Eastern Europe and created record low temperatures (Euronews, 2017, 01.09). Refugee camps across Europe was not prepared for the unexpected cold. The situation created chaos and unbearable conditions for refugees and migrants that were, and still are, stuck in refugee camps and detention centers all over Europe.

Throughout the crisis, there has been a great interest from various actors wanting to contribute. Actors ranging from international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to citizen initiatives founded as a response to the crisis, with an intention to help a particular area or a particular group of people. My research will focus on one of the so called 'hot spots' in the crisis, the Greek island of Lesvos. Lesvos is only a narrow strait away from Turkey, making the island one of the gateways to Europe. In 2016, 91,506 refugees and migrants arrived at Lesvos (see appendix I). This was just a fraction of the number that arrived the year before when around 800,000 entered Greece and approximately half of them travelled through Lesvos (Clayton et al., 2015). The island is still experiencing arrivals, but the numbers this year have been

significantly lower. From January to mid November 2017, 10, 210 refugees and migrants have arrived. The total number currently staying in official accommodation on the island is estimated to be around 8300 (see appendix I). Lesvos started out as a transfer point as a first step to enter Europe, but after the agreement between the EU and Turkey, refugees and migrants are now stuck without the ability to continue their journey after registering at their arrival point in Europe. The number of arrivals is no longer the biggest challenge, but the fact that they are stuck in camps and detention centers. How this part of the crisis has been handled on Lesvos and by whom will be the overall theme for this thesis.

As already mentioned, the refugee crisis is one of the biggest crisis in recent history affecting Europe. It is an ongoing situation on a topic that needs more research. My research is a case study on a refugee camp called Kara Tepe. Kara Tepe is a camp for vulnerable people and it is run by the Municipality of Lesvos. This is not 'the standard way' to run a refugee camp which makes this site a bit different, however at the same time even more interesting. As a case study this research will provide insight into how a particular refugee camp is run and how the interaction between various actors wanting to help has evolved. The results of one case study is not necessarily meant to be representative so it can be applied generally to other similar cases (Bryman, 2016, p. 62). However, as I will return to in my chapter on methodology, an in depth understanding of a certain case is a contribution to a knowledge creation. In addition, I will also explore some of the other actors and initiatives on Lesvos that are not run by the local authorities. Across the island several informal citizen initiatives have been formed as a result of the crisis. I will look into the official versus the informal initiatives and the professional versus the unskilled volunteers working side by side.

1.2 Research objectives and research questions

The main objective of this research is to explore how different actors meet and engage in this humanitarian crisis. As mentioned above, my starting point was Kara Tepe, including voluntary initiatives in and around the site. By using actors inside Kara Tepe this research will contribute with an in-depth exploration on a topic that needs more research. In addition, I have also explored some of the initiatives elsewhere on Lesvos. Thus, my research questions will be twofold and are the following;

- *How is the refugee camp of Kara Tepe run and by whom? Who has the overall responsibility for the daily operations of the camp?*

- *How is the cooperation between the local authorities, the site management and the actors present in Kara Tepe?*

- *Which citizen initiatives have been formed on Lesvos and how do they operate?*

- *What do the citizen initiatives do and offer compared to the Municipality and the already established NGOs?*

1.3 Background

1.3.1 General background information

During the summer months of 2015 the whole world became aware of what was happening in the Mediterranean; a steadily increasing flow of refugees and migrants was heading into Europe. 'The refugee crisis' as it ended up being called, dominated both the political agenda in Europe, and the media around the world in the following months. 2015 became the peak of the crisis and according to numbers from the UNHCR 1,000,573 people reached Europe by sea this year. Of this number 3,735 went missing and are believed to have drowned. Greece and Italy received the majority of the people arriving. The route from Turkey to Greece was the most popular one and about 80 per cent of the refugees and migrants that crossed the Aegean Sea used this route. At the same time the number of people crossing from North Africa into Italy dropped slightly from 2014 when 170,000 crossed the sea, to 150,000 in 2015 (Clayton et al., 2015).

On March 18, 2016 the EU and Turkey created the co-called EU-Turkey Statement, which became a turning point in the refugee crisis. In short, the Statement is an agreement between them with a mission to end migration and human smuggling from Turkey to the EU. It involves sending back irregular migrants, arriving to the Greek Islands after March 20, 2016, to Turkey. Turkey is considered to be a safe country so anyone that does not have the right to international protection will be returned there. The agreement also states that for every Syrian that is returned to Turkey from the Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled within the EU (European Commission, 2016, 03.19).

1.3.2 Overview of migration

In the beginning of 2017 the UNHCR calculated that approximately 65.3 million people are displaced or have been forced away from their homes worldwide, a number that increases with 34,000 each day (UNHCR, 2017a). These numbers include forced migration, internal migration, economic migrants or people simply running away from a place with no opportunities in search of a better life. The number of people entering Europe has increased the last couple of years and there is a mixed reason behind this (UNHCR, 2017b).

Disturbances, acts of terror and civil war can create situations where people are forced to leave their home. Some people end up being internally displaced in their home country and others are risking their lives to leave their country. As the number of displaced people increases each day, there is no question that this growing number of people can create unfavorable situations along the way. Currently, 53 per cent of the refugees worldwide come from three countries; Somalia, Afghanistan and Syria (UNHCR, 2017a). Today 39 per cent of the world's displaced people are being hosted in the Middle East and North Africa, 29 per cent in Africa, 14 per cent in Asia and the Pacific, 12 per cent in North and South America and only 6 per cent in Europe (UNHCR, 2017a). Of the 1 million refugees and migrants that entered Europe in 2015, most of them arrived through Greece. In addition to Syrians, people from countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Eritrea, Nigeria and Congo have accounted for most of the arrivals to Greece (Fieldwork, 2017).

1.3.3 The Arab spring

The disturbances in the Middle East have been named the Arab spring. The Arab spring is a mixture of violent and non-violent demonstrations, riots and protests in the Middle East and North Africa as a part of a revolution in the area (The Guardian, 2017, 01.02). Crossing the Mediterranean Sea to enter Europe from either North-Africa or the Middle East is not a new phenomenon, but 2015 hit a new peak when a little over 1 million people crossed the sea. Part of the reason for the growing number is the ongoing disturbances in the Middle East, with one country in particular. The civil war in Syria has been categorized as one of the largest humanitarian crisis in our time. The war broke out in 2011 after what initially was supposed to be peaceful protests, but now six years later it is still ongoing (Hurell et al., 2016). As of March 2017, around 5 million of Syria's population had fled the country and another 6.3 million are still internally displaced (CNN, 2017, 05.26). Syria is not the only country in the region experiencing disturbances. As a region the Middle East account for 5 per cent of the world's

population, but at the same time they experience half of the terrorist attacks in the world (The Guardian, 2017, 01.02).

1.3.4 Austerity politics and the Greek economy

Greece has been in a difficult financial situation for decades. The country has been straining under an economic pressure for years, due to the country's large debt. When Greece became a member of the EU in the 1980s, they had a seemingly strong economy and their future prospects were promising. As an EU member they gained access to an 'unlimited' loan market with much lower rents than before. As a result, both the population and the government were granted more and bigger loans than they had the ability to repay. Indications have been made that the country's economic challenges have roots in, and became a problem around the Olympic Games in Athens in 2004 (Barstad and Solberg, 2015).

In 2008, a crash in the stock market on Wall Street created a global economic crisis. As many other countries, Greece was hit hard. A year later, in 2009, the Greek government admitted that they had lied about the country's financial situation. Their debt was much higher that they had reported. As a result, Greece was banned from international loan markets and credit rating agencies gave a downward adjustment for the country. Greece was on the verge of economic collapse and the government had to act. In 2010 they got their first loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The costs of public expenditure had to be cut in order to pay the loan. As a result, the Greek economy shrunk by almost a quarter and unemployment rates increased to 25 per cent within a few years (Barstad and Solberg, 2015). This was the beginning of a comprehensive austerity policy, meaning difficult economic conditions created by government measures in order to reduce public expenditure (Oxford dictionaries, 2017a).

There are several countries in Europe with financial problems, but Greece in particular has been a big worry for the EU. There has been a great deal of uncertainty regarding Greece's ability to fulfil its austerity pledges. After the first loan from the IMF, Greece was supposed to sell some assets to repay some of its debt. That did not happen. Nevertheless, they received a new loan two years later, with new loan terms. They have made cuts in several sectors which has resulted in among other things that the average wage level has decreased together with a higher unemployment level, especially among young Greeks. Different actions have been made and the goal has been to cut the debt from 160% of GDP to a little over 120% of GDP by 2020 (BBC, 2012, 05.12). I will not have the opportunity to go deeper into the economic situation,

but I felt it was necessary to mention that the country already had major challenges before the refugee crisis. The ongoing refugee crisis has put an even bigger pressure on the economy.

Chapter 2

2.0 Description of study area

2.1 Location

Lesvos is the third largest island in Greece, located in the northeastern Aegean Sea. The island is also sometimes referred to as Mytilene, the name of the capital. Lesvos has a close proximity to the Turkish mainland separated only by a narrow strait, ranging from 6-10 km wide. Its location has made the island an easy first step for refugees and migrants to enter the EU (Niarchos, 2015a).
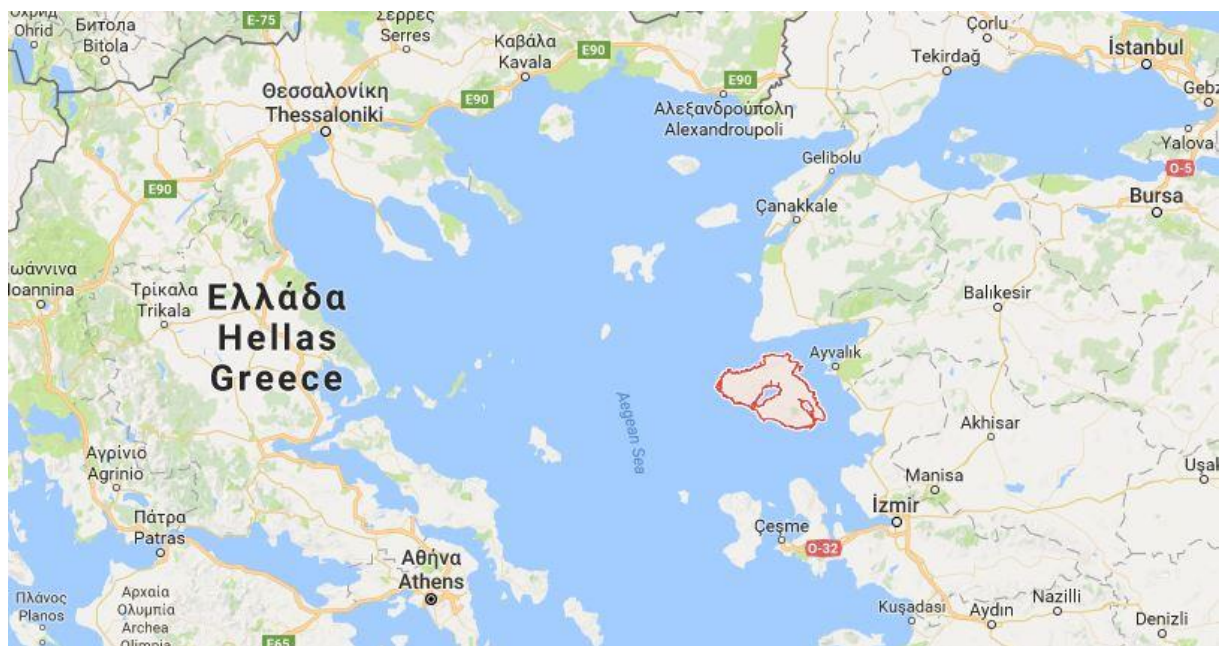
Figure 1: Map of the Aegean Sea, showing the location of Lesvos (Source: Google maps).

2.2 History

Due to its location to the Turkish mainland, Lesvos has had influences from both Greece and from the coastal region of Asia Minor, in Turkey (Cogotti and Georgiadou, 2011). The area that currently constitutes Greece, has been under several governances. Before the Greek Revolution broke out in March 1821, Greece had been occupied by the Ottoman Empire for four centuries.

Greece declared its independence in January 1822 and in 1829, the Greco-Turkish arrangement was signed, and Greece was now officially an independent state. Some of the islands closest to Turkey, including Lesvos, was still under Turkish rule. During the period of the Ottoman Empire a large proportion of Greeks had settled in Asia Minor and Turks had settled on the Greek islands (Greeka, 2017, 05.31).

Between 1919-1922 the Greco-Turkish war was fought between Greece and Turkey. At the end of this war in 1922, the Turkish army entered the area now called Izmir in Turkey, burned the city to the ground and forced ethnic Greeks and Armenians to flee. They desperately fled by sea in small overcrowded boats, many of them headed north to the island of Lesvos. A scenario which has been described as a catastrophe and changed the island in several ways (Niarchos, 2015b). Lesvos had now experienced its first 'refugee crisis.' To honor the newly arrived refugees, a statue of a mother with her children called 'Asia Minor Mother' was set up in Mytilini. The statue represents a mother rescuing herself and her family, and that they found shelter in a new country (Cogotti and Georgiadou, 2011). Now, there is a new and ongoing flow of refugees and migrants arriving at the island, but with an even greater extent. There are mixed feelings about the ongoing situation among the local population. The different attitudes will be discussed when I present my empirical findings. In 2015, before the crisis peaked, the current population of the island was around 86,000 (Plucinska, 2015).

2.3 The refugee crisis on Lesvos

Prior to the current crisis, the northern part of Lesvos had received a few boats from time to time, but in 2015 when the numbers increased dramatically it created a new situation for the island and its residents. Locals living close to the arrival spots started offering food, water and blankets to those who arrived at the island. When the number of arrivals skyrocketed, locals could no longer handle the situation alone. The crisis was now a fact and Lesvos soon got attention in the media. The Greek government also started to face problems as the number of arrivals increased drastically, nor did they have the capacity to handle the number of arrivals. As the situation evolved it required an enormous effort involving the population on the island as well as volunteers from abroad (Tsangarides, 2015). Together, local citizen initiatives, international NGOs and the local authorities have tried to combine their efforts to meet the needs in the best possible way.

In the beginning, most refugees and migrants only stayed a few days on Lesvos. After the EU-Turkey agreement the island became a place of detention, and thus the situation changed. The camps and shelters did not have the capacity to house the amount of people on the island, and the overall conditions were not good enough to meet basic humanitarian needs. At the beginning of 2017, there were 49 different nationalities on Lesvos. The island, and especially the refugee camp of Moria, has been described as a prison with inhumane conditions. After becoming one of the 'hot spots' in the crisis, Lesvos is by some no longer referred to as an idyllic Greek island, but as 'a refugee island' or 'prison island' (Kadhammar, 2017). Which has made a mark on the island's largest source of income, the tourism industry.

2.4 Refugee camps and shelters on Lesvos

Figure 2: Outside Moria refugee camp (Source: Author).

2.4.1 Moria refugee camp

All arrivals to Lesvos are now sent to Moria refugee camp. The site of Moria is both a camp and a reception center. All new arrivals to the island must register here and cannot leave the site before the registration process is complete. Both the island itself and Moria have been described as 'hot spots' in the crisis. The camp of Moria has become a much discussed topic in the media, both nationally and internationally. The camp is run by the Greek government, by the Ministry of Migration Policy, hence it is not a local run site. Due to the fact that Moria is

not run by local authorities, it is hard to get access or enter the site. Moria has been criticized for horrible living conditions including lack of both sanitary facilities and adequate housing opportunities (Pope-Weidemann, 2015).

In March 2016, after the EU-Turkey agreement tension rose between the Greek government, the UNHCR and some NGOs such as Doctors Without Borders (MFS). MFS suspended some of their activities in Greece (Moria on Lesvos and Idomeni on the mainland). MSF Head of Mission in Greece stated that it was an extremely difficult decision, but they would no longer work inside Moria as they considered the system to be unfair and inhumane. The statement continued with; *"We will not allow our assistance to be instrumentalized for a mass expulsion operation and we refuse to be part of a system that has no regard for the humanitarian or protection needs of asylum seekers and migrants"* (The Press Project, 2016).

In January 2017, when subzero temperatures and snow created chaos in the camp, both refugees and volunteers started blaming the Greek government for not taking responsibility. The UNHCR have claimed that the Greek government have ignored three proposals given by the United Nations (UN) to Greece's Migration Ministry on three different occasions, regarding how they can deal with the overcrowded reception centers across the country, including Moria (Kolasa-Sikiaridi, 2017).

In April 2017, over 90 per cent of the residents in the camp were male, and most of the residents had proper housing. A slow but steady improvement from the beginning of the year. The camp has had different problems including alcohol abuse, rumors of prostitution and housing problems during the winter cold. It is not considered as a safe place for women or youths. All new arrivals get a 'bracelet' with a number on which they have to wear. While waiting for their asylum application to get processed people cannot leave the island, and people that are waiting to get registered are not allowed to leave the camp (Fieldwork, 2017).

2.4.2 Kara Tepe refugee site

Kara Tepe is a camp or accommodation site for identified 'vulnerable' cases such as families, women, children or people with disabilities. It is owned and initiated by the Municipality of Lesvos. Kara Tepe is an open camp in a sense that the residents can go in and out as they please (Pazianou, 2016). Those who are offered to stay in Kara Tepe, must meet certain criteria of

vulnerability defined by UNHCR standards. A previous statement from the site manager about the site;

> *"For us these people are not the poor, persecuted, down-and-out refugees. We consider them guest travelers. These people want to continue on their journey. What they have in mind is to be registered quickly, stay for a day at most until they settle their tickets, rest for a while and be on their way"* (Kougiannou, 2015).

This statement from was from before the EU-Turkey agreement. At this point, the flow of refugees and migrants moved quickly through the island on their way further up in Europe. Now, the situation has changed, and most refugees and migrants have been staying for months, some up to a year or more. Two years after this statement, the site manager still consider the refugees and migrants to be guest travelers. An attitude that may indicate a desired reality, not the actual reality.

Kara Tepe has different actors working in, or in cooperation with the site, including Movement on the Ground, Save the Children, UNHCR, IRC and other smaller actors. A total of 15 NGOs was present in the first half of 2017 (Pazianou, 2016). In will write more about how the site is run and the cooperation between the different actors, and the present situation in chapter five where I present my research findings.

2.4.3 Other alternative camps and shelters
In addition to the bigger sites of Moria and Kara Tepe, there are also other minor alternative camps and shelters on Lesvos. They are intended for more vulnerable cases including unaccompanied minors.

Pikpa or Lesvos Solidarity as it is now called, is a small refugee camp for vulnerable people. This camp is run solely by voluntary initiatives. The organization running this camp is non-profit organization called Lesvos Solidarity, and the camp is described as an 'open solidarity refugee camp' (Lesvos Solidarity, 2017a). According to the organization itself, they are a self-organized and autonomous space built on the principle of solidarity. The camp started in 2012 and 'is now a growing and evolving camp in response to the dynamic nature of the refugee situation in the island of Lesvos.' In the same way as Kara Tepe, Pikpa hosts some of the more vulnerable refugees such as people with disabilities, sick, pregnant or families of victims of

shipwrecks. Their work depends on donations and volunteers. They believe that 'no human is illegal and that borders should be open.' Currently, Pikpa is the only camp on Lesvos that is open. Their dream is that all reception centers should be run this way;

> *"Our main objective is to stand in active solidarity with the refugees and fight against the barbaric European immigration policies. We raise awareness and do advocacy work around human rights violations and any acts of humiliation, violence and attacks against refugees. We work with local people to involve them in our work in order to promote community and sustainable action"* (Lesvos Solidarity, 2017b).

There are also separate shelters for unaccompanied minors. They are located spread around in Mytilini, usually on 'secret' addresses to protect those who live there. One of my roommates during my fieldwork, had an internship through her studies at one of these shelters. This shelter was run by a Greek organization. My roommate told how the unaccompanied boys struggled and that self-harm was a common way of dealing with their situation. In addition, some of the boys were planning to escape and leave to the mainland by themselves. By now, they had realized that their original plan to meet up with relatives or friends of the family in a certain country, would not work out as planned and therefore they had to make new plans on their own.

Chapter 3

3.0 Theoretical framework and literature review

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the basic theoretical framework for my thesis. Existing literature is an important element in any research in order to give an overview of what is already know about a certain topic. Global development and planning is a broad field including global development issues and the importance of planning, management and leadership to achieve a sustainable development. This chapter will therefore present how my research is connected to the field of social planning and global powers of change.

I will start by introducing a few definitions and clarifications of concepts that was relevant before I started my data collection. Then I will present some existing literature on motivation behind volunteering and aid work, citizen initiatives and emergency response in a humanitarian crisis. However, while conducting this research it became clear that the refugee crisis is a relatively complex situation with little already existing or relevant literature. The affected places in Europe experienced an acute situation. A situation no one had predicted and with no emergency solutions or backup plan on how to deal with a crisis of its kind. As I will come back to in my next chapter on methodology, this fieldwork and my analysis are based on inductive theory, where the selection and focus have naturally progressed along with the research process. Research objectives involved in this research may help to form and create and new literature on the refugee crisis.

3.2 Definitions and clarification of concepts

3.2.1 Development and development management

First, I want to start with a brief introduction on development and sustainable development because this is a fundamental part of any research concerning the field of global development and planning. Development as a concept is usually traced back to the period after the Second World War. In his inaugural speech, Harry Truman described the 'Third World' as backwards and primitive with a hope that one day this would be solved, if they started to follow the same path as the 'civilized Western World' (McNeill, 2006, p. 275). Rist (1997, p. 3-4) on the other hand, writes that the concept of development was originally thought to concern the whole world, including industrial cores and not only aimed at 'the South' or parts of the world that could be seen as 'underdeveloped.' Thus, it should be seen as a 'global' phenomenon. Although countries can be classified as being at different stages of development, most of them are concerned with their own development.

It may also be important to point out the different approaches to development management. Thomas (1999) writes about the difference between management *for* development, and management *of* development. If we define development in terms of a progress, he uses this definition of development management: *"the management of deliberate efforts at progress on the part of one of a number of agencies, the management of intervention in the process of social change in the context of conflicts of goals, values and interests (Thomas 1996: 106)"* (Thomas,

1999, p. 9). As a result of the refugee crisis, the political situation in Europe has become tense and there is obvious conflict of interests in regard to further managing the refugee crisis.

From an anthropological perspective, development has predominantly focused on the analysis of institutions, discourses and not on the people or culture. Critical development literature from the early 1990s such as Escobar (1995) and Ferguson (1990) revealed "*the structural fissures, teleological presumptions, and neocolonial underpinnings of development as it existed at the time and that continue today.*" These critics of development focused mostly on the broad structural and political issues, but they also included devastating accounts of aid projects, their failures and impact on the local population. According to Fechter & Hindman (2011) the role of ethnography in development has questioned the '*monolithic notions of dominance, resistance, hegemonic relations*' that is claimed characterized earlier analysis of the world of aid (Mosse 2004, 645; cf. Crewe and Harrison 1998 in Fechter & Hindman, 2011, p. 11).

3.2.2 Sustainable development

Ever since the World Commission on Environment and Development, also known as the Brundtland Commission, introduced their report 'Our Common Future' it has been a mission to achieve a sustainable development worldwide. The report states that "*humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (Our common future, 1987). Sustainable development has become and will remain a key part of research concerning development. The report has become a key concept in politics concerning environment worldwide, and is the most widely used source when writing or debating the subject of sustainability.

3.2.3 Key concepts
Persons of concern

Persons of concern is an important and widely used term in relations to refugees and migrants. The UNHCR uses persons of concern as an umbrella term and divide persons they consider to be of concern into different groups. This includes refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returned refugees, returned IDPs, stateless persons and others of concern (UNHCR, 2017c). This thesis has and will mostly use the term refugee as the ongoing situation is called 'the refugee crisis,' although some international media refer to the situation as 'the migrant crisis.'

Refugees and asylum seekers

Refugees is not a new phenomenon or term. The UNHCR defines a refugee as;

> *"individuals recognised under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees; its 1967 Protocol; the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; those recognised in accordance with the UNHCR Statute; individuals granted complementary forms of protection; or those enjoying temporary protection. Since 2007, the refugee population also includes people in a refugee-like situation"* (UNHCR, 2017c).

Another important term in this thesis will be asylum seekers which concerns individuals who are seeking international protection, but has not yet received status as a refugee ("*irrespective of when they may have been lodged"*) (UNHCR, 2017c). The term is also defined as *"the protection granted by a state to someone who has left their home country as a political refugee"* (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017b).

Migration

The term migrants is a more general term, it includes *"any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country"* (UNESCO, 2017), but can also be persons who are travelling or moving *"from one place to another in search of work or better living conditions"* (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017c). This definition indicates that migration is voluntary. However, the term can have a few different meanings and it is often combined with a describing word such as economic migrant, migrant worker, forced migration etc. The UNHCR has therefore proposed to use these definitions;

> *"(a) Persons who are outside the territory of the State of which their are nationals or citizens, are not subject to its legal protection and are in the territory of another State; (b) Persons who do not enjoy the general legal recognition of rights which is inherent in the granting by the host State of the status of refugee, naturalized person or of similar status; (c) Persons who do not enjoy either general legal protection of their fundamental rights by virtue of diplomatic agreements, visas or other agreements"* (UNESCO, 2017).

Migration affects both those who migrate and the lives of those who live in the communities they migrate to. Traditional boundaries between language, culture, ethnic groups etc. are all factors affected by migration. *"Migration is not a single act of crossing a border, but rather a lifelong process that affects all aspects of the lives of those involved"* (UNESCO, 2017).

Protracted refugee situation

A flow of refugees and migrants can create new and or different challenges at a given location. How the situation is handled is often fundamental to how the situation evolves. Today many of the world's refugees are in, what we call, protracted situations. The UNHCR defines a protracted refugee situation as;

> *"one in which refugees find themselves in a long- standing and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years of exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance"* (UNHCR, 2004).

The UNHCR (2004) identifies a situation where a population over 25,000 who lives in exile for more than five years, to be a protracted refugee situation. It is a complex situation that includes some contradictions. It often occurs as a result of political action or the lack of action in the country of origin or in the country of asylum, creating a state of limbo for the refugees involved. The EU-Turkey agreement and the fact that several European countries closed their borders have contributed to create protracted situations several places in Europe. The situation, as it is today, has not reached five years on Lesvos, but it is still ongoing with no signs of change so far. According to the UNHCR (2004) it is important to remember that people become refugees when they escape threats concerning their fundamental rights or security in their home country. On the other hand, when a large number of refugees are entitled to asylum in times of a crisis, their new lives are often confined to camps. A situation far from ideal;

> *"If it is true that camps save lives in the emergency phase, it is also true that, as the years go by, they progressively waste these same lives. A refugee may be able to receive assistance, but is prevented from enjoying those rights – for example, to freedom of*

movement, employment, and in some cases, education – that would enable him or her
to become a productive member of a society" (UNHCR, 2004).

Basic human needs

Another important factor is basic human needs. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is perhaps the most common way to illustrate what is considered human needs;
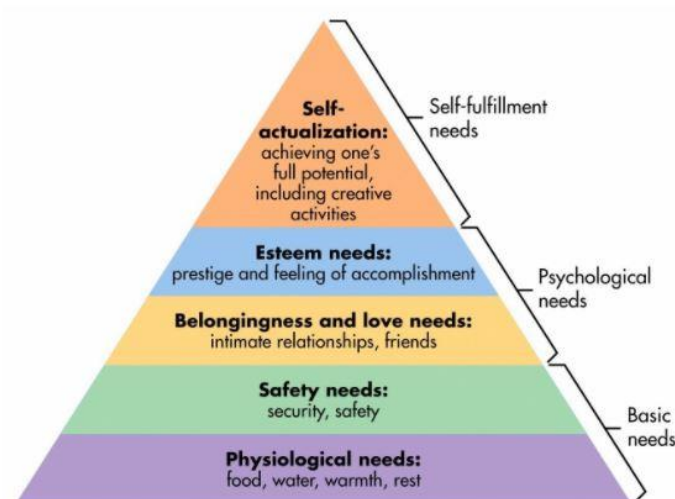
Figure 3: Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Source: McLeod, 2017).

The basic needs are for physical survival and are also what motivates how we behave as human beings. When the first step in the pyramid is fulfilled this motivates us to fulfill the next, hence the pyramid. Every person is built with a desire to grow and move up the hierarchy towards the self-fulfillments needs (McLeod, 2017). 'The West' or the wealthy North often use terms such as war, genocide, mass killings, mass rape, torture, famine, tsunamis, earthquake, floods to identify 'humanitarian needs' according to Malkki (2015, p. 6). She continues by asking;

> *"What is specifically humanitarian about these situations – situations that have come*
> *to form distinct, mobile, and unevenly globalized social imaginaries and fields of*
> *action? The qualifier humanitarian makes the need of those to be helped appear*
> *simultaneously somehow elementary (basic) and monumental (superhuman) in scale:*
> *'basic human need' (water, food, medicine, shelter, sanitation) have to be supplied by*
> *'the international community' to alleviate the 'basic human suffering' of the anonymous*
> *masses of 'humanity.'"*

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Vulnerability

Vulnerability is another relevant term for this research as the site of Kara Tepe is a camp for vulnerable cases. Vulnerability in relations to development and in a human rights context is usually used to describe people who should receive extra care or attention. Factors for determining vulnerability can vary. Refugees and migrants are in general among the most vulnerable people in the world, however they are also divided into different stages of vulnerability. Common vulnerability domains include unaccompanied children, pregnant women, people with disabilities, elderly or stateless persons (UNHCR and IDC, 2016).

3.3 Motivation behind volunteering and aid work
3.3.1 Skills and volunteering

People who work in a humanitarian, crisis such as the refugee crisis, are both paid professionals and unpaid volunteers. According to Malkki (2015, p. 133) *"helping is not necessarily or only a calling, paid work, or a professional practice - and giving is often not just a singular act."* She continues by saying that both helping and giving are popular forms of associational life which often take the form of voluntarism. Fechter and Hindman (2011) say that paid professionals in different organizations and volunteers participating in government-sponsored aid programs (such as Peace Corps or Korean International Cooperation Agency) in many cases often do the same work. In the same way entities such as Voluntary Service Overseas run commercial operations and offer 'voluntourism' to Westerns who want to contribute overseas, but seek a middleman to facilitate their contribution. As Fechter and Hindman (2011, p. 9) write;

> *"The fact that some volunteers spend more time in a single country than a 'professional' aid worker on assignment and that some international interns may have to pay for their own maintenance while 'volunteers' may receive an allowance makes it difficult to differentiate between the two labels based merely on length of stay, kinds of tasks, or compensation."*

The demand for a specific skill from a contemporary aid worker can also diverge from stereotypical expectations. Nursing and agricultural engineering are often associated with development, and are still in demand, but many agencies are also looking for a new set of skills.

Specializations in finance, management and fundraising are examples of this (Fechter and Hindman, 2011, p. 9).

3.3.2 Motivation

In regard to motivation and volunteering Chtouris and Miller (2017, p. 70-71) reached a conclusion based on their research that most new volunteers are going through a period in their life when they are looking for something to give them a new meaning in terms of 'work' and 'profession.' Most volunteers that get involved in volunteering or charity work does not have a complete plan, the interest usually emerge through a general framework of a social crisis. In addition, a lack of clear structure in their professional or educational life is another contributing factor. It usually means that they are in a phase in their life where they are unemployed or perhaps reached an educational milestone; that their studies have just ended, or will start soon. For people that find themselves in a position like this, volunteering is used as a bridge in an alternating period of a work - education - unemployment situation. Another interesting observation is following the experiences volunteers acquire in the field. They come up with a reorientation and reinterpretation of their practice and may change their intended life plans. Chtouris and Miller (2017, p. 70-71) also write that

> *"Most of them state that volunteering and their involvement in solidarity activities now form 'part of my life.' Life (and not the living needs they face in the settlements and which they do not wish to accept for the refugees) is a main motive for selecting their social and professional activities."*

Malkki (2015, p. 11) states another contributing factor behind motivation for many international aid workers, namely self-escape. In her study from Finland, she concludes that a personal desire to get a break from a safe and predictable routine was one of the contributing factors for getting involved in an international mission. On the other hand, this does not imply that people who answered this does not have a sense of ethical obligation. Our traditional view behind doing humanitarian work and the actual motivation may differentiate. According to Malkki (2015, p.10);

> *"Humanitarianism if often associated with selflessness and self-sacrifice, but less often with other things that came, in my work, to seem more important: self-secape, self-loss, dehumanization, self-humanization, self-transformation, the care of the self, the relation*

of self to others, and the relation of self to the world (maailma). For selflessness, the simplest initial task was to make a mental list of all the famous humanitarians whom history has dubbed 'selfless servants to humanity' and who, some of them, still get fed to elementary school children ..."

Malkki (2015, p. 23) cites one of her informants that said, *"in my case, international work and missions for the Red Cross have been the most significant events of my life, ones that have guided my later choices in...my life and career."* According to Chtouris and Miller (2017, p. 70) most of the volunteers they talked to during their research in Greece last year also said that it was impossible to remain indifferent to images they had seen in the media of refugees, or of what they had seen during their first visit. A central motive for the majority was to ensure human conditions and meet the children's needs when undertaking various activities. In addition, many of the volunteers described a sense of moral completeness they lacked before and that this experience provided a new dimension to their life. Another contributing factor was the positive acknowledgement they received from friends and family. Here too, the motivation is based on the relation of self to others.

3.4 Demand for action

Networks and frameworks of volunteering have been developed to help refugees and migrants along their way in Europe during this ongoing crisis. According to Chtouris and Miller (2017) the ongoing crisis is twofold;

> *"On the one hand, a large number of refugees (over 13,000 in Eidomeni and 5,000 in Piraeus) were obligated to stay in unsuitable tents and railway hangars, which were lacking in hygiene and accommodating infrastructures, after the borders were closed in Hungary, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia, and Austria. While, on the other, many volunteers, either independent or NGO members, undertook the task of supporting them in terms of food, water, and health while also addressing their human and psychological support needs"* (Chtouris and Miller, 2017, p. 62).

The ongoing crisis in Europe, with Greece in particular, created a great and sudden focus of the needs related to how to address the crisis both at a regional and a local level (Chtouris and Miller, 2017, p. 61). 'Refugees issues,' or more specifically economic migration, has been of

European interest since 2010, but it was not possible to predict that it would become such a critical issue in 2015 and 2016. As Chtouris and Miller (2017, p. 64) writes, the refugee crisis can in some respects represent a greater threat than the budgetary crisis and austerity measures for some European countries and the settlements of public debt for already economically weak nations.

3.5 Private initiatives

3.5.1 Growing importance of private initiatives

Recent studies have shown that private initiatives and 'Facebook groups' have proven to assist help and attention to a situation faster than traditional charity organizations and NGOs (Rolfsnes, 2016). Traditional aid often focusses on the 'needy' recipients 'over there,' distant from where we live (Malkki, 2015, p.7-8). The ongoing refugee crisis has cut the distance and brought the area and people in need closer to 'us' as the crisis is now happening in Europe. When situations such as the refugee crisis or similar acute situations occur, and at the same time receive lots of media attention, it is not uncommon for independent people to start their own initiative. The Huffington Post calls these people 'the hidden heroes.' NGO workers, human rights activists and volunteers have all played an instrumental part in providing refugees and migrants with food, medical and legal support. As mentioned earlier, Greece is struggling with austerity pledges, has a high unemployment rate and is dependent on financial support from creditors. This means that the government has become reliant on volunteers and contributions from NGOs in order to deal with the refugee crisis (Gaglias, 2016).

3.5.2 Private Development Initiatives and Citizen Initiatives

Across Europe, spontaneous citizen initiatives and initiatives lead by civil society have been created as a result of the refugee crisis. What the different initiatives do, range from handing out water, food, collecting clothes or money and sending it to refugees and migrants living in camps, or standing guard at the shore keeping an eye out for new boats arriving. Kinsbergen and Schulpen (2013) did a study on Private Development Initiatives (PDIs) in the Netherlands, and writes that alternative actors are a phenomenon that has become more visible in recent years. They define PDIs as (1) a group of people who (2) give support in a direct way (3) to one or more developing countries (Kinsbergen and Schulpen, 2013, p. 51). What characterizes a PDI is that it does not receive funds from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they are small scale and are voluntary based (Kinsbergen and Schulpen, 2013, p. 52). Kinsbergen and Schulpen (2013) are not the only ones doing research on this subject. Pollet et al., (2014) have done a

similar research on Citizen Initiatives for Global Solidarity (also referred to as CIs) in Belgium and in The Netherlands and they assume the same initiatives also exist in other countries in the North (Pollet et al., 2014, p. 7-8). It might also be worth mentioning that a huge proportion of the volunteers and aid workers active on Lesvos, are from northern Europe and especially from The Netherlands.

Schulpen and Huyse (2017) writes that CIs for global solidarity, private (development) initiatives, MONGO (My own NGO) or personalized aid all have the same characteristics and challenges, just under different names. They are all small-scale development organizations established in the global North (or by someone from the global North), aimed at improving living standards in the global South. Most of the theory written on aid and development in the past has focused on the global North helping the global South. As we now see, with situations such as the refugee crisis, this is not necessarily the case anymore, but the basic principles behind the existing theory are the same. Kinsbergen and Schulpen (2010) adds that most groups or people involved in small-scale development organizations are not always professional or have training in development aid when they start up. Even if they can acquire training later on, this is one of the main factors that distinguish them from traditional actors in bilateral, multilateral and civilateral channels (Kinsbergen and Schulpen, 2010 cited in Schulpen and Huyse, 2017). Another interesting factor is that most people creating a CI does not have the ambition to become 'a real NGO' with paid and specialized staff, and that a good number of CIs are critical to traditional donors. Many of them believe that people-to-people aid is much more effective and efficient (Schulpen and Huyse, 2017). Research done on CIs is a relatively new and growing field, especially in Norway. In accordance with Haaland and Walleviks (2017) research on citizens as actors in the development field, I will therefore use the term citizen initiatives to address the initiatives described above in this research. Citizen initiatives are not yet recognized as important actors in Norway, nor yet included in statistics. Haaland and Walleviks (2017) research describes what they have themed 'accidental aid workers' and how they end up in the field of development. Who these people are can be divided into different groups with different motivations. First, there are people without a desire to work within aid, but end up starting an initiative based on a hunch or an emotion they get, usually after meeting a particular person during a holiday. Second, are those who can be classified as aid-entrepreneurs. These are people who have previously worked within development, but now they are starting their own initiative. And then there are cases where the accidental aid worker ends up being aid-entrepreneurs. Third, there is the group of young solidarity workers, who usually

get involved in aid work during their 'gap year' while travelling. Small citizen initiatives usually get attention in local newspapers or on social media and often they use these channels to collect funding. According to their research creating an initiative without any previous experiences from aid work, or working in an unknown cross-cultural context can however cause conflicts.

Based on what I have presented above, the field of development has, almost out of the blue, been broadened with a new wide diversity of actors bringing in new money, other ways of working, often with new ways of thinking and with a different vocabulary. For decades development work in the global South was regarded as privilege reserved to governments from the global North, intergovernmental organizations (such as the World Bank and the UN) or international NGOs. From the 2000s there has been a change, and other actors have now been given the chance to contribute as well, not just the usual privileged actors (Schulpen and Huyse, 2017). Schulpen and Huyse (2017) claim that it is no longer acceptable to view citizens as mainly or only a passive part within development cooperation. We should recognize that citizens are 'development workers' not only recipients, donors or supporters. The focus has been on the usual suspects in international cooperation way too long, and the process of broadening up has been extremely slow. They add that we should not homogenize CIs, they are driven by different ideas and motivation. Pollet et al., (2014, p. 11) writes that *"apart from the traditional providers of aid there are numerous non-traditional providers of development finance."* From 2000 to 2009 the non-traditional component within development assistance grew from 8.1 per cent to 30.7 per cent. They estimate the numbers to be even bigger as much new and non-traditional providers have not been included in these numbers.

3.6 Protracted situations and understanding aid
3.6.1 Protracted displacement
Frydenlund (2015) uses the term protracted displacement in her research on long-term refugees and displacement in Rwanda. She focusses on the length and duration for displacement, and also introduces the term durable displacement to refer to the transition from a temporary to a permanent situation;

> *"I move beyond identifying actors and focus on the processes as experienced by refugees themselves, who are paradoxically relegated to a distinctly marginal status*

within the global system that structures their displacement, while being active agents of both change and the reproduction of a distinctly "outsiderwithin" status. By exploring the systems and processes of a protracted existence, I uncover evidence that these situations are more than lengthy; they are in fact becoming durable forms of displacement" (Frydenlund, 2015, p. 2).

Protracted refugee situations have been growing in scale, numbers and duration, due to the growing number of people that have been displaced or forced away from their homes worldwide. When refugees, IDPs or stateless persons lose a physical place, or home, as well as political place where they can perform as citizens, the act of forced migration emphasizes the contemporary relevance of territory, space and sense of belonging (Agamben, 1998; Betts, 2009a; Mbembe, 2000 cited in Frydenlund, 2015, p. 3-4). Frydenlund (2015, p. 38) continues by saying that;

"Spatial and institutional components of displacement emerge as two broad themes in the literature on forced migration. In a complex global system that involves conflict, social and political divides, and geographic displacement, these two aspects work on one another to produce durable forms of displacement. Camp-based refugees inhabit a spatially distinct location separated from the host community by artificial borders imposed by the host state governments and INGOs. Additionally, refugees are institutionally isolated through the 'refugee' label" (Frydenlund, 2015, p. 38).

The label of being a refugee is unfortunately often associated with something negative. Not only for the ones that are refugees, but the host communities that receives refugees are often the ones with strongest negative opinions. When a massive flow of forced migration crosses international borders, it creates a need for an international response. The receiving states often experience a tremendous pressure on resources and security. This calls for cooperation on a global scale in order to meet the needs of refugees, both for immediate response and for long-term stays (Frydenlund, 2015, p. 42). According to Frydenlund (2015, p. 37-38) it is also important to understand that existing theories have failed to explain expansions of durable cases because refugee situations are often only viewed as temporary. They also lack the inability to look across levels of analysis for systematic causes of expanded time spent in exile. She continues by explaining that;

"...macro-level theories explain problems with international collective action and equitable burden-sharing of humanitarian responsibilities; meso theories provide insight into state sovereignty motivations and post-colonial structures that lengthen refugees' state of limbo; and micro-level theories at the camp and individual levels explain social construction of non-citizen refugee 'others' and disproportionate impacts on vulnerable subgroups as a means for understanding protracted cases" (Frydenlund, 2015, p. 37-38).

In this research I have looked into a situation that has not yet reached the full definition of a protected refugee situation, but which is now in what we might describe as in an intermediate phase, between temporary and possibly permanent.

3.6.2 Failures and understanding Aid

Fechter & Hindman (2011, p. 2) claim that 'aid culture' added to a convention about development, can create new concerns due to the implied existence of an aid community. Injunctions saying that aid work should be focused on the needs of the 'others' can cause problems.

"The everyday problems of doing aid work exist in tension with the persistent demands for benevolence and altruism that dominate aid rhetoric. The failures of development not only occur at the level of theory, history, and hegemony but also emanate from the daily tasks undertaken by development practitioners. Thus, it is necessary to pull to the forefront the complex problems that are a part of the daily lives of those on the frontline" (Fechter & Hindman, 2011, p. 2).

Development goes beyond accusation and blame, and it is important to understand the world of aid workers before generating literature on development. Aid workers are often invisible in both critical anthropology and in applied and professional literature on development. The focus is often on the suffering and the needy ('the recipients') and not on the workers providing what is needed. Fechter and Hindman (2011, p. 3-4) claim that we must see them as human resources and give them as much focus as other commonly debated issues in the industry such as sustainable development and new forms of microfinance. They add;

"A perception of aid work as something other than work, such as tourism or charity, means that it is accorded the same scholarly emphasis on either philosophies or outcomes of development rather than processes, directs attention to metropolitan policy rather than processes, directs attention to metropolitan policy practices or retrospective and statistical analysis (and usually critique) of why projects fail. While one might assume the humanist tendencies shared by development practitioners and social science critics would place humans - including aid workers - in the frame of development analysis, they are often left out of the story."

The island of Lesvos has become a symbol of the crisis. In the beginning of the crisis, the focus was on the recipients, not on how to manage the unexpected and acute situation. As a receiving country, the affected areas have now changed. Aid workers and private citizen initiatives have become part of the community and should be considered and included when managing the crisis and planning on how to further manage the crisis.

3.7 Disaster and humanitarian operations

Finally, I will shortly introduce what disaster and humanitarian operations are. According to Fontainha et al., (2017, p. 371) a "*better stakeholder management can improve the effectiveness and efficiency of disaster and humanitarian operations (DHO). Therefore, stakeholder management is emerging as a relevant research topic.*" Creating a focus on all stakeholders involved in DHO is important. They define a disaster as

"a disruptive event related to a social change that requires interaction among different stakeholders to resolve a wide range of interdisciplinary challenges. A disaster embraces different stages that can be understood as a cycle of mitigation, preparation, response and recovery. Along these stages, different relationships are shaped among the disaster stakeholders to meet the various beneficiaries' needs in the course of performing disaster and humanitarian operations (DHO)" (Fontainha et., al 2017, p. 371).

A disaster is often associated with a sudden and unexpected event and it is therefore important that the involved stakeholders cooperate well together, regardless of what kind of disaster it is. NGOs and other social networks plays an increasingly important role in DHO. Involvement

from the private sector is also increasing, and has been recognized as a fundamental stakeholder. However, the problems seem to occur due to a lack of an effective relationship between the stakeholders. A problem I will address when discussing my research findings in chapter five.

Chapter 4

4.0 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the methodology I have used while conducting this research. The choice of research strategy can be influenced by several different factors. I will start with how my research process began, before giving a brief introduction to how a study is rooted in epistemological and ontological considerations. Furthermore, I will present my choice of research strategy and choice of methods for data collection, before presenting possible challenges and ethical considerations that can occur when conducting field research.

4.2 Preparation and intentions

When I started this research, my intentions were to explore a part of the ongoing refugee crisis and try to get a deeper understanding of the situation. By going down to Lesvos for six weeks I wanted to experience the situation myself and be able to describe the crisis from a particular standpoint. My fieldwork was limited to the Greek island of Lesvos and I mainly focused on the site of Kara Tepe, a locally run refugee camp in the outskirts of the capital Mytilini. However, as I was also concerned with voluntary based citizen initiatives working alongside the local authorities, I also visited other initiatives and places on Lesvos. The current situation on Lesvos is not a 'one of its kind.' There are several places all over the world experiencing similar situations. I chose Lesvos for my research because the island has been one of the 'hot spots' in the crisis. The site of Kara Tepe was chosen because it seemed like an interesting case. From the outside it looks like a well-organized camp in an otherwise chaotic situation, and in addition it stands out from other camps as it is owned and run by the local authorities. The island offers multiple contrasts on how refugees are met and treated, when official and informal initiatives work side by side.

4.3 The research process

My research started in late December 2016/early January 2017 by getting an overview of the current situation on Lesvos. The first step of my research was to search for groups and organizations that were currently active on Lesvos or groups that had been active there when the crisis started. I started to follow or join the different relevant initiatives on Facebook, ranging from well-established NGOs, citizen initiatives or other voluntary or more permanent groups with an aim to provide aid or information about the situation. Facebook have shown to be an extremely effective and vital tool in situations where one need to spread and gather information from a variety of different actors and people. The commitment and dedication from local people and volunteers have been enormous in the time after it became evident that we were actually facing a major crisis. To coordinate and connect aid workers and volunteers have therefore become essential to increase the efficiency and gather those who want to contribute (Rolfsnes, 2016). From a methodological perspective, virtual documents such as websites, blogs, discussion groups and social networking groups can be fertile sources when conducting a research. In a qualitative research fairly heterogeneous sources such as letters, diaries, autobiographies, newspapers, magazines, websites, blogs and photographs are all examples of documents that can be sources of secondary data. In other words, documents that have not been produced at the request of a social researcher. On the contrary, they are simply 'out there' waiting to be assembled and analyzed. However, according to Bryman (2016, p. 546), searching for these sources can be quite time-consuming, and are not necessarily easier to deal with than primary sources of data. The process can often be frustrating and highly protracted.

For my research, it did not take long to realize that the amount of information available was overwhelming. There is not a lack of information for those interested in volunteering on Lesvos. There are a couple of documents that contains *all* the information one need to know before travelling to Lesvos. A public Facebook group named 'The Information Point for Lesvos Volunteers' (Information point for Lesvos Volunteers, 2017) contains useful facts about everything you need to know and is updated on a regular basis. Two documents in particular on this page is worth reading 'Lesvos Volunteers Information' (Lesvos Volunteers Information, 2017) and 'Refugee crisis reality check' (Refugee Crisis Reality Check, 2016). The first document contains information about volunteering in Greece in general, and the second gives a reality check and a 'what to expect before you go perspective' on volunteering in a humanitarian crisis. Both documents have numerous links to a variety of useful information. The is also a website for Greece in general for those interested in volunteering anywhere in in

the country (GreeceVol, 2016). You can spend hours reading up on the situation on these pages. This was also where my research started. Having followed some initiatives online made it easy to connect with them when coming to Lesvos. However, after I arrived in Mytilini I was also introduced to actors and initiatives I was not aware of beforehand. One of them caught my attention and I ended up following this initiative and thus including that too into my data collection. I will come back to these when presenting my findings.

4.4 Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

Before I present my research methods, I will shortly introduce the epistemological and ontological considerations, and why they are relevant when doing social research. Ontology is the theory about the nature of social units. The question of whether social entities can and should be considered as objective entities with an external reality to social actors, or if they can and should be considered as social constructions that are built up from perceptions and actions of social actors, is central in ontology (Bryman, 2016, p. 693). Bryman (2016, p. 693) describes two positions in ontology; objectivism and constructionism. Objectivism is *"an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors."* Constructionism or constructivism as it is also referred to, is an ontological position *that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It is antithetical to objectivism"* (Bryman, 2016, p. 689). The distinction between objectivism and constructionism, can according to Bryman (2016, p. 28), be illustrated by two of the most central and common terms in social science 'organization' and 'culture.' Constructivism challenges the suggestion that all categories such as organization and culture are pre-given. At the same time, confronts social actors as external realities that have no role in influencing (Bryman, 2016, p. 30).

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge and it usually refers to how we make knowledge (Bryman, 2016, p. 690). Bryman (2016, p. 694) describes three main positions in epistemology; positivism, interpretivism and realism. Positivism advocates an epistemological position on how to apply the methods of natural sciences in order to study social reality and beyond. There are some disagreements among different authors regarding what positivism can imply. Bryman (2016, p. 24) writes that this position does not allow the researcher to form subjective opinions and that the purpose is to generate hypotheses that can be tested and thereafter allow explanations of laws to be assessed. In contrast, interpretivism involves perceptions rather than

facts. Interpretivism is built on a view that one needs a strategy that respects the differences between people and objects. It requires that the social scientist grasp the meaning of social action (Bryman, 2016, p. 26). And last, realism acknowledges a reality that is independent of the senses which is available to the researchers' tools and theoretical speculation. It is an epistemological position that implies that categories created by scientists refer to real objects in the natural or social worlds (Bryman, 2016, p. 695).

My research reflects a positioning within interpretivism where I as a researcher actively take part in shaping knowledge, and also a constructionist position in ontology. According to Bryman (2016, p. 27) taking an interpretive stance can mean that the researcher may come up with surprising findings, or at least that the findings can appear surprising from a position outside the particular social context that are studied. Bryman (2016, p. 26) adds that people and institutions must be seen as fundamentally different from the world of natural science. When studying a social world, it requires a different logic of research procedure. In regard to constructionism, it can also be seen as Potter (1996, p. 98) observes; *"The world ... is constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it."* One might say that the there are multiple versions of a reality and how we understand the world is a combination this.

4.5 Research strategy

4.5.1 Qualitative research

Social research methods distinguish between two approaches, qualitative and quantitative research. For this research I have used a qualitative research strategy, which usually means emphasizing words rather than numbers, when collecting and analyzing the data. Essentially, this means that the focus is on depth and not on the quantity. Qualitative research is a broad field and there are different approaches on how to conduct a qualitative research. The main research methods associated with qualitative research are; ethnography/participant observation, qualitative interviewing, focus groups, language-based approaches to the collection of qualitative data and collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents (Bryman, 2016, p. 377-378). According to Bryman (2016, p. 375) there are three main features which is worth noting in a qualitative research. The first;

"an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, whereby the former is generated out of the latter," the second *"an epistemological position described as interpretivist, meaning* that *in contrast to the adoption of a natural scientific model in quantitative research, the stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants"* and the third "*an ontological position described as constructionist, which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in its construction."*

One of the features Bryman (2016) highlights above is an inductive approach. The opposite of an inductive theory is a deductive theory. In short, the distinction between the two lies in whether one is testing a theory (in a quantitative research) or if one is generating a theory out the observations and findings done in the research (qualitative research) (Bryman, 2016, p. 32). However, not all qualitative research is done in order to generate new theory, as I will come back to the next section.

4.6 Research design

4.6.1 Case study

This research is a case study. What characterizes a case study is that it *"entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. As Stake (1995) observes, case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question"* (Bryman, 2016, p. 60). How the different actors have been managed and organized in Kara Tepe will be the case of interest in this research. My aim was to conduct an in-depth examination of this particular case, and according to Bryman the case is an object of interest in its own right (Bryman, 2016, p. 61). There are different approaches to doing a case study. In my research I wanted to provide an examination of one particular case. As Bryman (2016, p. 399) writes;

"A case study is not a sample of one drawn from a known population. Similarly, the people who are interviewed in qualitative research are not meant to be representative to a population, and indeed, in some cases, it may be more or less impossible to enumerate the population in any precise manner. Instead, the findings of a qualitative research are to generalize to theory rather than to populations."

According to Bryman (2016, p. 41) there are three main criteria one should consider when evaluating a research: reliability, replication and validity. However, there are some concerns and disagreements about applying concepts such as external validity and generalizability to case studies. The results of one single case is not meant to be representative so the findings can be applied generally to other cases (Bryman, 2016, p. 62). According to LeCompte and Goetz *"it is not possible to 'freeze' a social setting and the circumstances in the sense in which the term is usually employed"* (Bryman, 2016, p. 383). Guba and Lincoln (1994) proposes an alternative to reliability and validity when doing qualitative research; trustworthiness and authenticity (Bryman, 2016, p. 384). As mentioned above, Bryman (2016) points out the main features within quantitative research, one of them being an inductive view. This view focus on the relationship between theory and research, where the former is generated out of the latter. Meaning that case studies can be a helpful tool in knowledge creation in the relevant field. However, not all case studies aim to generate research into theory. Most case studies do not follow a stereotypic form, due to its uncertain nature. As Stake (1995, p. 8) writes;

"The real business of a case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others. but what it is, what is does. The is emphasis on uniqueness, and that it implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is to understand the case itself."

When I chose Kara Tepe, I wanted to know how this particular camp for vulnerable refugees and migrants operate. Stake (1995, p. 9) observes that the most distinctive characteristics of a qualitative enquiry is its emphasis on interpretation. Qualitative researches do not confine the interpretation to the identification of variables, rather the focus is on placing an interpreter in the field to observe the case one has chosen. Being in the field one has to record objectively what is happening, but at the same time examine its meanings and redirect these observations to refine or substantiate those meanings.

4.6.2 Sampling and sampling procedure
For my case study about Kara Tepe I used a purposive sampling approach. Most sampling in qualitative research entails some sort of purposive sampling. This is a non-probability form of sampling where research participants are not chosen on a random basis. According to Bryman (2016, p. 408) the goal with this approach is to strategically sample people, organizations,

departments etc. that are relevant to the posed research questions. The research questions are a guideline for what categories of people or unit one need to focus on. I had a relatively open research strategy which allowed me to be flexible in how many informants I wanted or needed. I started to follow and read about most of the organizations before I started my research, and others I became aware of during my time on Lesvos. Who and how many I wanted to interview was determined after I arrived and as I started to approach the organizations I thought would be most beneficial for me to talk to.

4.7 Data collection methods

4.7.1 Sources of data

Collecting empirical data is a key point when conducting a case study research. I have used both primary and secondary sources of data. According to Bryman (2016) both participant observation and semi-structured interviewing *"are used so that the researcher can keep an open mind about the shape of what he or she needs to know about, so that concepts and theories can emerge out of the data"* (Bryman, 2016, p. 10). As secondary data I have used text and document analysis.

4.7.2 Primary Research

I have used semi-structured interviews and participant observation as my primary sources. My original plan was to include focus groups as well, but I did not get the opportunity to do so during my fieldwork. The semi-structured interviews have consisted of specific topics I wanted to examine, with room for open-ended questions and follow up questions to the informants. I had the topics I wanted to examine prepared, with only a few questions I knew I wanted to ask. Other than that, I mostly had keywords so I could easily adapt to the respondent, but still be prepared with topics of my interest. A semi-structured interview process is a very flexible way of conducting interviews (Bryman, 2016, p. 66).

I also used participant observation to observe the coordination between the different actors present in Kara Tepe and others who attended arranged coordination meetings. Observing is also an important part of a research, not all information must be obtained through verbal communication. My main targets were aid workers and volunteers working for the actors present on Lesvos, coordination meetings and the site management in Kara Tepe. During my fieldwork I attended different coordination meetings held by the UNHCR. The coordination

meetings are for the different actors that work on Lesvos and thus also an arena for meeting aid workers, volunteers and get information about events and activities. Bryman (2016, p. 423) writes that participant observation and ethnography as terms often are hard to distinguish. The diversity of experiences an ethnographer is confronted with, and the variety of ways in which they deal with them varies greatly;

> *"Every field situation is different and initial luck in meeting good informants, being in the right place at the right time and striking the right note in relationships may be just as important as skill in technique. Indeed, many successful episodes in the field do come about through good luck as much as through sophisticated planning, and many unsuccessful episodes are due as much to bad luck as to bad judgment"* (Sarsby 1984 cited in Bryman, 2016, p. 423).

However, this does not imply that all ethnographic research or participant observation is based on luck. But that it can be an important factor in certain situation is something that I experienced to during my fieldwork. Who one meets and how one chooses to deal with it can determine how the next step in research will be. I come back to this in chapter six.

4.7.3 Secondary research

In addition to primary data, secondary data such as text and document analysis is also important in order to gain an overview of the already existing data and research on the topic. I have used news articles, websites, blogs, discussion groups, social networking groups and articles on disaster and humanitarian crisis, volunteerism and unskilled volunteers for this research. Secondary sources are important in order to get a wider and more extensive overview over the situation, and to help analyze my primary research. I have as already mentioned, also used relevant Facebook pages to gather information about the situation, which turned out to be one of the sources I have benefitted the most from. The initiatives and actors I have followed on social media have been important sources to gather information and as an entrance to the field. Some of the initiatives I have only followed online and not met in real life, others I met during my fieldwork.

4.8 Challenges and limitations in the field

A common challenge when doing fieldwork is to locate the desired informants. After locating the possible informants, it is still a matter of them wanting to contribute to a research, something not everyone is willing to, or have the time to do. To get access to Kara Tepe and do observations on my own in the camp turned out to be a major challenge. The site management is very strict about who can enter and for what purpose. Before starting my fieldwork, I had arranged with the Mayor's Office that they would help me get access to enter Kara Tepe. I was told they could help me enter as many times as I would need. When I received this information, I thought that it would not be a problem to visit Kara Tepe, but entering the site was not easy. Even with a paper from the Mayor's Office the gatekeepers at Kara Tepe was skeptical and a little reluctant to let me in without a proper appointment. After I was allowed in and greeted by the site managements secretary I was met with this question; *'Why do we have the pleasure to have you here?'* A nice gesture, but with an undertone that it was an inconvenience that I was there. I was asked to come back the next day for an informative tour of the site, so I did. The next day I got the impression that they wanted me to leave as soon as the tour was over. I arranged so we could have a small chat, and asked if I could visit again. The answer was yes, but I had to email in advance and it was only possible to visit during business hours and only during the weekdays. They only let me in one more time after that. When conducting a research, it is not uncommon that one has to make some adjustments along the way, and that not everything goes according to the plan. When I realized that I would not be able to enter Kara Tepe as much as I wanted too, I started to focus more on what was going on outside Kara Tepe. I focused on the coordination meetings and some of the citizen initiatives that are more critical to the work the local authorities do.

A big worry before I started my research was whether people would feel restricted speaking to me, and that they might not be able to say what they really felt. I experienced both that some said more than they were comfortable with, and might have regretted what they said in fear of site management hearing it. And that people had a 'manuscript' on what to say when being interviewed. From my own perspective I feel that I did interviews and approached people with an open mind, with a genuine interest in their perceptions and opinions about the current situation. All interviews and meetings I attended was held in English, which is not my first language nor for most informants, or other people I talked to on the island. Language can create barriers and misunderstandings, but for this research I feel that despite the different mother tongues, most interviews took place without any problems.

My fieldwork was also slightly shorter than I had initially planned. I had to leave earlier due to acute illness in my immediate family. It was a difficult decision, but I felt satisfied with the data I had collected up until this point in my research. However, I have been back to Lesvos after the original planned fieldwork, this time in Molyvos. During my visits to Molyvos I have mostly used participant observation and informally talked to the local population. In addition, I have kept following all the actors and citizen initiatives on Facebook or other social media channels.

4.9 Ethical considerations

When doing research in social science, ethical dilemmas may occur during the process. Confidentiality among the informants is one of them. Ensuring confidentiality of those who want or need it, is very important. As mentioned, I had initially planned to use focus groups and gather different groups of people so I could perform group interviews and one-to-one interviews on the residents own experiences living in the camp. It turned out to be difficult to get access to the camp without appoints with the busy site management, and to do observations on my own and therefore I was not able to conduct this part of my planned research. However, after being at the different sites and seeing people on the island, it was easy to see that this could have created an ethical dilemma. Refugees and migrants on the island, are all vulnerable, some more than others. Interviewing vulnerable people is not an easy task. What one considers to be ethical issues can also vary from person to person, so setting a limit on what is ethical or not is hard to determine. Diener and Crandall (1978) divide ethical principles in social research into four areas; "*1. whether there is harm to the participants; 2. whether there is a lack of informed consent; 3. whether there is an invasion of privacy; 4. whether deceptions is involved*" (Diener and Crandall, 1978 cited in Bryman, 2016, p. 125). The Social Research Association (SRA) have an ethical guideline which suggests;

> *"Inquiries involving human subjects should be based as far as practicable on the freely given informed consent of subjects. Even if participation is required by law, it should still be as informed as possible. In voluntary inquiries, subjects should not be under the impression that they are required to participate. They should be aware of their entitlement to refuse at any stage for whatever reason and to withdraw data just supplied. Information that would be likely to affect a subject's willingness to participate*

should not be deliberately withheld, since this would remove from subjects an important means of protecting their own interest" (Bryman, 2016, p. 129).

Homan (1991) points out that informed consent might be 'easier said than done.' It requires an extra effort in order to be able to present all prospective participants with all details and information that might be required for them to make their informed decision about participating (Homan, 1991 cited in Bryman, 2016, p. 129). In this research that means that informing participants in a focus group where neither party have the language used for the session as their mother tongue, it might have been a difficult task to conduct this part of the research with full consent from all participants. All answers I got from the informants I interviewed will be presented as anonymous, expect from information also available on the organizations or initiatives own website or social media page. Although there is a large diversity of actors present on Lesvos, they all work together and know each other well and I do not want the answers they gave to me to cause them any trouble.

Chapter 5

5.0 Case study and empirical findings

5.1 Introduction
The next two chapters will present the empirical findings from my fieldwork on Lesvos. In this chapter I will present my case study about Kara Tepe. I will start by describing the site of Kara Tepe with my observations and my encounters with the management. What is Kara Tepe, who lives there, how is the site run and by whom? Then I will introduce some of the actors and aid workers I have interviewed or talked to regarding their work and responsibilities in Kara Tepe. Furthermore, I will introduce some of the actors' perceptions regarding the cooperation between the different actors that are present in Kara Tepe, and between the site management and the actors. Throughout this chapter I will discuss and analyze my findings in relations to the theoretical framework presented in chapter three.

Chapter six will present the initiatives that does not fall into the category of official initiatives by the government or well-established NGOs, namely the counterparts to my case study.

Organizations and citizen initiatives with a more critical voice. Who are they, and what do the informal organizations and citizen initiatives do, compared to the official initiatives?

5.2 Case study: Kara Tepe
5.2.1 Introduction

I am sitting at the gate to enter Kara Tepe. It is busy, as the other days I have been here. Residents and volunteers are walking in and out of the site, trucks loaded with new houses or gravel pass by, and a few children come to refill water bottles right next to where I am sitting. They smile and say hi while they look curiously at me. I am surprised by how many volunteers and aid workers that actually go in and out of the site. There is a constant flow of people. I also notice a big information board right after the entrance saying: 'no photos,' 'family shelter' and a symbol with a hand receiving money and a line crossing the hand, symbolizing that begging or receiving money is not allowed inside the site.

I am waiting for the site manager, he is a busy man and I am grateful that he has taken the time to see me. He has a lot on his schedule, which is no surprise. When I arrive at the entrance I explain that I have a meeting with the site manager. It is a long and strict process to get pass the gate. First, they check that I actually have an appointment, then they call the manager's office and last, I show my student ID to prove who I am. When this is checked, and everything is in order, I have to sign in by writing my name and time of arrival in a book. Then I am told to sit on a bench next the gatekeepers and wait until further notice. About one hour and twenty minutes after we were scheduled to meet, someone comes to pick me up and leads me to his office. He is still busy, so I have to wait a little while longer outside.

The office overlooks the playground, a very active area in the site, where seemingly happy children run around and play. When I finally enter, I am greeted by a man of authority, in an office decorated with children's drawings. He asks me with a strict voice what I am doing here, so I explain. Then he says *"Ok, I already have it ready for you,"* and he begins to talk. Without saying it, he makes it clear that this meeting is on his terms (Fieldwork, 2017).

5.2.2 Development of Kara Tepe

Kara Tepe became a site for refugees in May 2015, but the transformation to the way the site is today began later that year, in October. The site is built up from scratch, it was nothing resembling a camp here before. The location for the site used to be a 'traffic center' for children,

where they came to learn about traffic. Now, it is a fully functioning accommodation site for vulnerable refugees and asylum seekers. The site management emphasizes that they do not look at Kara Tepe as a camp, but as 'a village.' The site is owned by the local authorities, the Municipality of Lesvos. According to the site management 'the government had to take action to get people out and away from the port' as a reason for why this site was established (Informant, 2017).

Kara Tepe is located about 3 km north of the city center of Mytilini, along one of the main roads. When I walked to and from the site the only other people walking along the road were refugees and migrants, or an occasional volunteer or aid worker. Locals mostly use a car or public transportation on this stretch. Along the road I also saw people trying their luck with fishing rods to catch some extra food, or to make time pass by. When reaching Kara Tepe one is first met by an area consisting of a few temporary coffee shops and snack bars. Here, residents of the site, volunteers and aid-workers hang out, charge their phone, eat or drink coffee. Every time I visited or walked by, it was busy with people and music in the entrance area. This created a pleasant atmosphere, even under these particular circumstances. The site management is, as mentioned, very strict about who can enter the site. The entrance consists of an automatic barricade for cars and a small booth with a person in charge of registration for anyone who wants to enter. If you do not belong to an organization or have an appointment it is not possible to enter the site. Residents, on the other hand, can come and go as they please.

Kara Tepe is built up as a small village. Except for the entrance with the booth and the automatic barricade for the cars, the site only has a simple wire fence surrounding the area. It is located right next to the road, in the outskirts of the city, by the coast overlooking the sea. This 'village' is built up of small container houses. The site is constantly evolving and currently (March 2017) it consists of a playground, small houses for language classes where people can learn English and Greek and sometimes German and French, an Amphitheatre with activities such as yoga, movies etc., a vegetable garden which the residents themselves maintain and a kiosk. The kiosk provides free necessities such as shampoo and diapers, but with a restriction on how much one family can get per week. The site management have had a vision to create a site where the residents do not have to queue for food, clothes or other necessities. A no queuing system is supposed to make their stay more pleasant. Residents can make appointments for getting clothes and food is delivered to their 'house.' All of these items are free. Each family have their own house, a small portable 'container home' with air condition/heating, but no kitchen or bathroom.

There are shared bathrooms and showers but no kitchen inside the site. The container houses are now replacing the former IKEA tents that have been here, and some were still in the process of being replaced when I was there. First impression when entering the site is that it is clean. The container houses give a sense of comfort and a proper protection against the weather. After all, the island experienced record low temperatures and snowfall this winter (Fieldwork, 2017).

5.2.3 The Municipality of Lesvos

Kara Tepe is, as mentioned, owned by the Municipality of Lesvos. The Municipality owns the land where it site is located and have the overall responsibility, but they are not involved in running it. The site management is the one responsible for running the camp, and the site manager, was appointed by the Mayor. The site manager works in close cooperation with the UNHCR (Informant, 2017). According to the Municipality they feel that Kara Tepe is a good model for other camps, and that this model is easy to follow;

> *"We have focus on food distribution, to create a child friendly and safe space for mothers, and have a proper distribution of clothes and other necessities. It is also the first 'green site' in the world. A 'green site' meaning a focusing on only relying on solar panels. Now the site is very close to only relying on their own panels, so it is not an expense for anyone. The site has a focus on innovation and we hope that others will follow this site and what it has achieved"* (Informant, 2017).

The Municipality say that they are optimistic about the future and hope that one day they might not need the camp anymore and that the crisis will come to an end. Their plan when this happens is to create a 'live museum' where the site is. They want to keep the buildings, have things that the refugees created, bring rubber dinghies, life vests and so on, so students and others can come and see how it worked, and learn the story of this site (Informant, 2017).

5.2.4 Site management in Kara Tepe

The head of the site management, is described by most people on the island as a hardworking and dedicated man, who is 'always' in the camp. The site manager himself says that they consider themselves to be ambassadors for Europe, as this is the first meeting with Europe for most of the refugees and migrants that arrive here on Lesvos. He explains it like this;

"We are an open community, a village. In the camp, we have two flags. First the Greek because we are in Greece, on Lesvos. The second flag has four words on it; freedom, democracy, respect, dignity. On these four words, we build Kara Tepe" (Informant, 2017).

He continues by explaining the foundation for the site. It is built on these four words in the second flag; freedom, democracy, respect and dignity. He emphasizes that the management does not want any differences between people based on their nationalities. Until now, they have not experienced any racism on the site. It has been this way from the beginning and their aim is to keep it this way. The management want the residents to 'come and enjoy our hospitality;'

"It is not paradise, but in this place, on this island, people find a port. They find something, have something, a normal life. They have had a difficult time and we try to give a normal life here. We all speak with each other and know each other by our first names. Many of the people arriving do not know anything about the European Union, or have different information and are confused. We try to give support for the next step to continue the trip with our educational programs, with our people's programs and many others offers we have here. We try to make them understand what their new life in Europe is going to be like" (Informant, 2017).

According to the site management, they do not have any plans to expand the site more than it is today, even if the island should receive a new wave of refugees and migrants. They have already expanded, and at the moment they have room for 1000 people and house around 900 (March 2017). They believe that taking in more people than you have room for, will not benefit anyone. If the facilities cannot handle more people, then they cannot house more. As the site manager said; *"If you have room in your house for 10 people, your house 10, not 11. If you take in 11 you lose, you lose the game"* (Informant, 2017). He continues by explaining that they do not like to see people on the streets or in the port, but Kara Tepe cannot be responsible for everything, they are not the government or the EU. He adds;

"I'm not romantic at all, believe me, I'm very realistic. But no matter what happens we try to help them, they deserve and need our help. But we are not gods, we are humans. We plan everything for the next day (from day to day), and of course we need help. We

follow the first order from the Mayor: 'Try to make the best and give to these people good hospitality.' That order is in our ears every, every day" (Informant, 2017).

5.3 Involvement of local authorities versus national government on Lesvos
5.3.1 Local run versus national run sites

I have now presented the site of Kara Tepe, but before I continue I will give a brief description of the difference between Kara Tepe and Moria. Although my case study is about Kara Tepe and not Moria, I feel that it is important to emphasize the difference between the two sites. During my fieldwork, I attended different meetings and working groups where the focus was on both sites. Most of the people or actors I have encountered have compared the sites when describing the situation on the island. The two sites are approximately 5-6 kilometers apart, both located directly on the main road, so they are clearly visible for those walking or driving by. The first impression when passing the two sites is very different. Moria may resemble a high security prison or a concentration camp. It has three or four walls with razor wires on top, military outside and small guard houses inside overlooking the site. I was there on two different occasions, and both times there were heavy armed police or military guarding the site from the outside. This is like nothing I have seen before and the area has an unpleasant feeling. I went here with a friend, we sat down at a temporary coffee shop and had a cup of coffee and chatted with a man my friend had met before in Mytilini. My friend also went back a few days later at in the evening and reported an even more unpleasant feeling then. It is a common belief that drinking will help you forget pain and sorrow, and this is also the case here. My friend said that most people outside the site were drinking alcohol. Since I did not go inside Moria, it is hard to say if it has the same feeling inside as outside, but both media and aid workers have reported that it is not a pleasant place for any human being to stay. When the crisis was at its peak it was described by some as a 'hell hole for non-Syrians' (Pope-Weidemann, 2015). Lately, some of the initiatives I follow on social media have posted videos filmed illegally by residents in Moria, confirming this.

Kara Tepe on the other hand, does not provide the same 'prison' feeling for those passing by, but it is still clear that the site is some sort of a camp. It is only surrounded by a simple fence, but still has an entrance gate and guards that are very strict on who can enter or not. Even if one only sees the two sites from the outside there is a distinct difference between them. When entering Kara Tepe it appears to be a calm, clean and organized site. The conditions inside have

improved dramatically for the past year and when I was there all residents lived in small prefabricated houses.

5.3.2 Initiatives run by the local authorities

As mentioned, Kara Tepe was founded by the Municipality of Lesvos because 'they felt they had to take action and get people out and away from the port.' The site was founded when the number of arrivals was at its peak and created chaos on the island. Refugees and migrants gathered in the port of Mytilini hoping to catch the next ferry to the mainland. It was not an ideal situation for either parties involved. In order to understand how the site is run, it is important to consider that this is not 'a standard way' to run a refugee camp, although I do not think there is an easy answer to what 'standard' entails. In most cases the national government is usually the one responsible for founding and operating a refugee camp, which is the case with Moria. Some of the aid workers I talked to, who have worked in other camps prior to this one, said that Kara Tepe is currently one of the best camps in Greece. When arriving at the site, it is easy to see why. As a first-time visitor, my first impression was good. The site looked clean, organized and indicated an overall feeling that this is a good place for people in distress. Residents staying here are people that have been classified as vulnerable, such as families with young children, women, elderly or people with disabilities. Initially, Kara Tepe was a place for Syrian families, to create a safe place for them, as they were considered to be the most vulnerable group arriving, due to the civil war in their own country. As the number of arrivals increased so did the diversity of ethnic groups, thus the site changed and became a site for vulnerable people in general. As mentioned in chapter two, there were 49 different nationalities on the island in the beginning of 2017. All new arrivals are all sent to register at Moria reception center and must stay there until further notice. Kara Tepe have certain criteria for who can come and stay there. If some of the people who arrive at the reception center meets the criteria Kara Tepe have set, and if Kara Tepe have enough room, then they are moved to Kara Tepe (Informant, 2017).

According to the site management in Kara Tepe, they are trying to create a nice village to make life as 'normal' as possible considering the circumstances for those staying there. A life in a refugee camp is a life in limbo and this site is only for a 'lucky few.' Even if Kara Tepe is described as one of the best camps in Greece at the moment, that does not make the site a desirable place to stay. Most of the residents are waiting for their asylum application to be processed so they can continue their journey. For most people arriving here, Lesvos or even

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Greece in general, is not their desired end destination. Common for refugees and migrants all over Greece (not just in Kara Tepe), is that they are trying the best they can to create something that can resemble a normal life, while they wait for their asylum application (Alderman, 2017). As mentioned, a protracted refugee situation creates a contradiction. Refugee camps save lives, but at the same time the lives they save are 'wasted' while they wait. Most people want to be able to go to school, to work and to contribute to a society.

The residents in Kara Tepe are lucky enough to have a 'proper house' to stay in while they wait. In March 2017 they were still in the process of installing container houses, but all residents had a house at that point. As the site manager said; they do not want to take in more people that they have room for, that does not benefit anyone. When this research was conducted they could show off a seemingly perfect 'village.' All residents were now living in proper houses. This is supported by one of the informants I talked to that said 'Kara Tepe is a camp that looks really good from the outside.' The Municipality of Lesvos, with the site manager in charge, can show off a seemingly well-working site. This has led me to wonder. To what extent can the local authorities have a clear conscience just because the camp they run is considered to be a well working refugee camp, especially since Moria, the national run refugee camp, has had nothing but negative publicity? The site management can show that at least they have done a good job. It might be a bit of an exaggeration, but there might be something to it. After all, when I visited the Mayor's Office they told me that their model was an easy model to follow and that they hope others can use the same model when building a site for refugees.

It may seem like both the Municipality and the site management in Kara Tepe only look at the crisis as temporary, and lack a long-term vision. The residents in Kara Tepe are still being referred to as guest travelers, and Kara Tepe is only a stop along the way. I asked both at the Mayor's Office and the site manager if they had any plans to expand, both answers were negative. The site manager said that they had expanded and would not expand more; 'maximum is maximum.' At the Mayor's Office they explained to me that Kara Tepe was now prepared for the next seasons as they have houses with both heating and air-condition. Moria on the other hand, was not and is still not prepared. Lesvos has room for around 4000 refugees and migrants, and was about to reach that capacity in March 2017. At this time, the Municipality told me that they hope the situation will come to an end soon, as the situation has been hard on the island;

"The island itself needs to reinvent its image. The crisis has hurt the image and what people now think about the island, if you google Lesvos it just images of refugees arriving and beaches with rubber dinghies and life vests. Some companies have a trial season this year with flights, and will see if they should expand" (Informant, 2017).

The Municipality seems to be mostly concerned about the island's image, and the lack of tourists after the crisis began. And the longer the crisis lasts, the more it will hurt the tourism industry and thus also the biggest source of income.

5.4 Actors working in Kara Tepe
5.4.1 Introduction
In order to understand how Kara Tepe is run and organized I chose to contact some of the actors currently working inside the site. There has been a huge interest from different actors all over the world who want to work there. According to the site management, finding relevant organizations for the site happens in two ways. First, if the site management have any specific needs they need to cover, they reach out to relevant NGOs. And second, the most common way is that NGOs or citizen initiatives reach out to the site management and express a desire to work in the site. The management in Kara Tepe claim to know what they need, and that they know the needs of the people. If an organization reach out to them, they check their credibility; if they are a proper organization and what they do. When an organization starts to work at the site, the management control the work the they do, and do follow-ups. If one of the organizations does not act as the site management wishes, they may be asked to leave. According to the site management this has happened (Informant, 2017).

Actors currently working inside Kara Tepe are a mix between citizen initiatives founded as a result of the crisis and well-established organizations. I will now introduce some of the main actors I talked to; the UNHCR, the IRC, the HSA and Save the Children. Then present the data given to me by them about their work and the cooperation inside Kara Tepe.

5.3.2 The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - UNHCR
The UNHCR is a part of the UN system, also referred to as 'the UN family.' Their aim is to protect refugees and provide assistance for resettlement or return to their home country (UN, 2017). The UNHCR was created after the Second World War when millions of Europeans had lost their homes or had been forced to flee. *"Today, over 66 years later, our organization is*

still hard at work, protecting and assisting refugees around the world" (UNHCR, 2017c). They operate around the globe and their work include asylum and migration, advocacy, cash-based intervention, protection, shelter, health, safeguarding individuals and global needs assessments. According to their own website they strive to ensure that everyone get the right to safe refugee in another state and;

> *"During times of displacement, we provide critical emergency assistance in the form of clean water, sanitation and healthcare, as well as shelter, blankets, household goods and sometimes food. We also arrange transport and assistance packages for people who return home, and income-generating projects for those who resettle"* (UNHCR, 2017d).

On Lesvos, the UNHCR is involved and responsible for various tasks. In Kara Tepe they support the site management, help provide housing, solar panels etc. They have been present from the start of the site and helped the Municipality of Lesvos to set up the camp. Due to its size and international recognition, the UNHCR is a vital helping hand in the crisis. On Lesvos they are only responsible for helping, not providing housing. According to one of the informants I talked to from the UNHCR *"the authorities in Greece are the ones responsible for the housing. That's why the situation here is a bit more fragmented than in other refugee camps such as Jordan or other places one hears of"* (Informant, 2017). Thus, one might ask the question of who is really responsible, an important topic which I will come back to later. The UNHCR is also responsible for, and arrange different working groups and coordination meetings for all actors and volunteers on the island, which I will describe in more details later in this chapter.

5.3.3 International Rescue Committee - IRC
The IRC has been present on Lesvos since June/July 2015. Their main focus is on protracted refugee situations. According to the organization itself;

> *"The International Rescue Committee responds to the world's worst humanitarian crises and helps people whose lives and livelihoods are shattered by conflict and disaster to survive, recover, and gain control of their future"* (IRC, 2017a).

Their mission is help people whose lives has been ruined by war and disaster in a cost-effective but high impact solution to help people affected by a disaster (IRC, 2017b).

In Kara Tepe the IRC is responsible for WASH: water, sanitation and hygiene. They are the only actor providing this here. In addition, they also do child protection, women empowerment, psychological support and general protection and provide transport to asylum interviews. When applying for asylum the procedure has several steps, including interviews. On Lesvos all interviews take place in Moria, regardless of where on the island one has been offered shelter (Informant, 2017).

5.3.4 Humanitarian Support Agency - HSA

As opposed to IRC, the HSA started as a citizen initiative and has grown into a more established organization, now with professional aid workers. According the organization itself, they call themselves a grassroot organization born as a result of the refugee crisis. The HSA has been on Lesvos for nearly two years, since the peak of the crisis. The founders, Fred Morlet and David Trouboulot, initially started by working together on the beaches on 'boat rescue duties.' The organization was officially formed in 2016. They have become a more camp based organization since then and are currently operating in Kara Tepe. The HSA explains their role like this;

> "*We are volunteer based, with 3 'permanent' members of staff supporting approximately 15 to 20 volunteers at any time. Our roles and responsibilities here have changed and developed over that time and we have also assisted in food distribution, crowd management and Site Management Services*" (Informant, 2017).

The HSA has a few different responsibilities in Kara Tepe. According to the organization they offer non-food items (NFI) to persons of concern in the camp. They use an appointment based distribution method. Families are given slots throughout the day where they have an hour to choose items they need, they are open for distribution 6 days a week. The aim of this system is to provide a dignified experience with no queuing and time to look for what they need, rather than just receiving in a que, a more undignified experience (Informant, 2017). The HSA also offer education;

> *"We offer four classes per day to adults who wish to learn the English language, we expect to increase the number of classes we provide as our attendance numbers have increased, by splitting classes we can also stream by ability level and offer better learning to our students. We plan to invest heavily in Education as it is something we*

believe is a key to future outcomes for PoC's in terms of both livelihood opportunities and integration possibilities wherever they finally end up" (Informant, 2017).

And last, they have something called 'Chai Tea point' where they provide hot drinks throughout the day. According to the informant, this area has become a center for the community both for those living here and for those working in the camp. Both the residents and the HSA feel this is an important part of their service, especially on cold days (Informant, 2017).

5.3.5 Save the Children

According to the organization's own website, their name tells their story; *"Save the Children saves children's lives. We fight for children's rights and help them fulfil their potential."* Around the world Save the Children provide different areas of expertise including health, education, child protection, child rights governance, advocacy and child poverty. They provide lifesaving supplies and emotional support to children who have been exposed to disasters, improve children's access to food and healthcare, secure quality education for those who need it the most, work with the most vulnerable children including those separated from their families due to war, disasters, poverty or exploitation (Save the Children, 2017a). They have a mission *"to inspire breakthroughs in the way the world treats children and to achieve immediate and lasting change in their lives"* (Save the Children, 2017b).

Save the Children started to work in both camps in Mytilini, but they are now withdrawing out of Moria. Their plan is to remain outside of Moria, in the 'hot spot,' but not inside the camp itself. In Kara Tepe they are quite big, meaning they provide different services. Here they have three main areas they focus on. The first is health and nutrition for mothers and children under 2 years; to create safe spaces for them both in Kara Tepe (and in Moria). The second is child protection; child protection involves protecting children from violence, exploitation, abuse and neglect. They have a case management team for young children and for youths and unaccompanied minors to help determine their age. Some youths are being classified as adults and do not get the help they are entitled to. The third is education; with a main focus to create educational programs in Kara Tepe (Informant, 2017).

5. 4 Cooperation between the actors

5.4.1 The actors' perceptions regarding cooperation inside Kara Tepe

I wanted to know how the different actors cooperate inside Kara Tepe since the site seems to rely on a good cooperation in order to function optimally. A situation can be perceived quite differently from one person to another. Some of data I have retrieved are personal opinions and therefore it does not apply for all parties involved. Some of the answers in this next part will therefore be anonymous, expect from information also available on their own website or social media page.

One of the organizations I met with gave me a detailed and informative introduction on how the cooperation works in practice inside the camp. Again, this is seen from this person's perspective. Kara Tepe functions by getting feedback from different working groups present on the site, such as WASH, shelter, healthcare and so on. The working groups give feedback on what is needed and how it can be improved. The actors present at the site asks and gives offers, and then the site management decides if they are needed or not. Most actors are responsible for their own area of expertise, meaning that the site management have assigned different organizations to do different tasks. The informant explains it like this; "*So when IRC bought a huge amount of clothes they gave them to HSA, who is responsible for clothing and when Caritas received hygiene products they gave then to IRC because they are in charge of that*" (Informant, 2017). This indicates some form of organized cooperation and distribution of roles inside the site.

Kara Tepe has become a popular site where different actors and volunteers want to work. However, when running a site with so many different actors involved it is no surprise that frustration can occur. In Kara Tepe there are some frustration among aid workers and some among the residents inside the site. One of the organizations I talked to, told me that some volunteers help and do useful work, but others are more in the way, inside the camp. It can be counterproductive when there are too many people wanting to do the same thing (Informant, 2017). Aid workers and volunteers that currently works inside the camp agree with the premises given by the site management; the actors cannot do as they please and create own initiatives inside the site without permission from the site management. Those who work here know how the site works, and know the conditions for working there. The site has strict rules and requirements for all actors involved. What about the actors who do not agree with the site

management, or those who feel that focusing all activities on this one site is not the right thing to do, who are they and what do they do? A topic I will discuss in chapter six.

One informant I talked to expressed frustration over the situation in general. He believes that the government is the main problem, but not everyone is aware of that. The situation has remained the same for almost a year with little change. The conditions for working inside the site can be difficult, and everything must be authorized before it can be done. The same informant also points out that there are many working groups, which is good for the cooperation between the actors. Another informant from the same organization expresses some frustration against the site manager;

> *"The camp manager is very involved, which is both good and bad. He runs the camp with a 'Greek military mentality.' He is a very active man and he is 'always' in the camp. He knows everything there is to know about the camp. The minus is that he is very authoritative, and he does not like it if someone does something he does not want to be done. He will get people fired if he wants too. Other than that, everyone else is very cooperative and in my opinion, they seem to be very open"* (Informant, 2017).

Other than the statement above, this informant believes that the general cooperation is very good. An informant from another organization explained that not all volunteer run organizations have experience from work in refugee camps, compared to international NGOs. International NGOs are usually more used to working under these conditions and have more experience, but regardless of their previous expertise they all work together here inside the site. However, a challenge can be to recognize all the new faces as there is a constant flow of new volunteers. According to this informant, the ones that are present in Kara Tepe now are used to and have accepted how the camp is coordinated and how it works (Informant, 2017). One informant explains that this particular organization have a very good and close working relationship with the UNHCR, site management and NGOs present on Lesvos and explains that;

> *"Coordination takes place in several ways. UNHCR are lead for the response and organize general coordination meetings information and updates for which are gained via the working groups (Shelter / WASH / Protection / Education / NFI / Health / Communication with communities). We also attend the relevant groups on a two-weekly basis and this is an opportunity for us to better understand the response as a whole and*

feed our concerns and queries through the coordination process that these groups provide" (Informant, 2017).

The same informant also pointed out that the site manager plays an important role and arrange weekly 'family meetings' to provide important announcements and updates from all actors present in the site (Informant, 2017). In addition, the informant claims that the element of coordination has in some respects proven to be most effective. The actors present are for the most part happy to 'informally' help in any way they can. I also want to include a statement from the HSA. According to their official website, they have this to say about their work in Kara Tepe;

"What makes us unique is that we bridge the gap between traditional NGOs and independent volunteer organizations. Everyone has an important role to play in the response and we believe that collaboration is essential" (HSA, 2017).

A statement indicating that collaboration has not always been essential, and that they believed that something had to be done in order to improve this. The HSA, was as mentioned, founded as a result of the crisis on the island. One of the founders did also publish a development proposal for Kara Tepe in August 2015. Here, he describes how bad the situation was at the moment and wrote recommendations on how to improve the conditions (Morlet, 2015). It is not just the cooperation inside the site that makes work difficult for the different organizations. As one informant say; *"This is a challenging environment to work in and be successful, Greece itself is suffering from external economic issues and political pressures sometimes encroach on our activities here, directly or indirectly."* In addition, the fact that Lesvos is an island can create problems with procurement and delays when trying to get needed stock or equipment shipped (Informant, 2017).

5.4.2 Hierarchy inside Kara Tepe

One of the informants I talked to give me a detailed explanation on how Kara Tepe is built up. The site has a top-down management where the Municipality of Lesvos is on top. The Municipality has appointed the site management to take care of the daily operations. However, the site management does not have a budget or any money to spend, meaning that each actor must budget their own activity. In other words, the site is dependent on the fact that the different actors have enough money and support to manage themselves financially. All actors have to

cover their responsibility inside the site. Some of the international organizations who also work in other countries must therefore consider how much they want to prioritize their activity here in Greece, compared to other countries they operate in. I was told that because the some of the different organizations have different priorities, gaps may occur. If gaps occur, the organizations coordinate together and if they receive a funding they work together to cover these gaps. The informant tells me that if there is a problem, a demand or something that needs to be fixed, usually two organizations go together and find a solution and then they propose that solution to the site management. The organizations that have been present at the site the longest have a general overview of the site and knows the current needs. Newer organizations do not sit on the same information. According to the same informant, a current issue is a need for more child protection, but also to avoid overlapping. A solution on how to handle this can be that one organization work with children over a certain age, and another organization with children under that certain age (Informant, 2017). According to this explanation, it does not sound like a top-down management, but more like a general cooperation and finding solutions together. However, after meeting and hearing other opinions about the site manager, it is still clear that he has the last word when making decisions.

5.4.3 Site management and cooperation with the actors

Most of the information I got during my research was positive in regard to cooperation inside the site, but at the same time there is also some frustration among them as mentioned. When working inside the site one has to abide the rules and regulations given by the management. One informant describes the site manager as hardworking, fair, but strict. That he runs the camp with a 'Greek military mentality.' According to this informant, the site manager can easy get people fired if he is not satisfied. The informant seemed a bit worried after telling me this in fear of the site manager getting to know what had just been said. I find this interesting. After meeting the site manager myself, I feel that the descriptions I have heard or read about him are quite accurate. He is a man of authority and he is the one in charge. However, as a manager or a leader, one should not be so strict that people are afraid of getting fired just because they say what they think. That does not sound like a healthy way for any manager to behave. When I met the site manager I wanted to know how he felt about the cooperation between him and the different actors. When asked if they had a well working cooperation, the answer was;

> *"Of course, they are my partners. We collect our powers. We use our power, maybe I am the captain of this boat, but I need all the support. Of course, we only keep the*

serious NGOs with long term plans. We cannot use 'fake' NGOs, I cannot play that game. We have only 15 NGOs now, they are all strong with a long-term plan. I have a very good cooperation with all of them. We have had some problems before, but we have rules and limits to follow" (Informant, 2017).

I tried to include a follow-up question in regard to the previous problems they had encountered and how they select who can work inside, but the only answer I got was; *"We cannot use 'fake' NGOs, I cannot play that game"* (Informant, 2017). When I asked the site managements secretary if they had asked some organizations to leave, she said yes, but did not want to say why or whom who had to leave. I learned quite early on that the site management would not give me much other than their standard answers, as they are very careful about giving out information and letting 'outsiders' enter the site. It could seem like they have already prepared the information they want to present, and present a 'standard response' for those who ask. Therefore, it was a bit difficult to find out what the site manager meant by 'fake' NGOs. When speaking to him, he had all the information he wanted to give prepared, as if he only wanted to say that and nothing more. I tried to ask a few more questions, but that was not very successful.

One informant told me that there are too many actors present now, which can be counterproductive. Others give a positive feedback and say;

"*the camp itself is in excellent condition and certainly one of the best I have personally experienced in terms of organization and resource. With a further expansion of the site to accommodate another 500 people I hope that this standard will continue to remain high"* (Informant, 2017).

The same informant adds that it is a challenging environment to work in and to be successful in, both due to the financial situation in Greece and political pressure that sometimes intervenes with the work they do here. This could be illustrated with an example: *"when the instruction that Moria camp was to be decongested at short notice came from the Ministry of Migration and it has had an impact on all actors working here who have had to, in some cases double their efforts"* (Informant, 2017). As I mentioned in chapter two, some actors such as MFS chose to end their work in the camp. They would no longer work in a system which opposes their principles.

5.5 Cooperation meetings and working groups
5.5.1 Inter-Agency Consultation Forum
The UNHCR organizes different meetings, one of them a weekly meeting for volunteers and actors currently working on the island. These meetings are requested by the Greek authorities. It is called the Inter-Agency Consultation Forum and is held at the General Secretariat for the Aegean and Island Policy. These meetings are held at the same time every week and if you sign up on a mailing list the UNHCR sends out an invitation before the meeting takes place with the agenda for the upcoming meeting (Fieldwork, 2017). The meetings aim to provide firsthand information so all actors are informed about the current situation and get the latest and correct updates. Thus, optimizing their work. The UNHCR is the ones who have the official numbers regarding how many people that are currently on the island and in which camp or shelter they live in. An aid worker from one of the international NGOs, which I met while waiting for one of these meetings to start, had this to say about the cooperation between the different actors regarding the weekly meetings;

> *"The Inter-Agency Consultation Forum, as you have seen, is more of a social meeting point. People arrive late, they drink coffee and get each other's phone number. There is not enough interactions and people do not ask enough questions. The situation has remained the same the past year, not much change"* (Informant, 2017).

During my fieldwork I attended all the meetings held while I was there. The Inter-Agency Consultation Forum is supposed to start at 9.00 am. Like the punctual Norwegian I am, I showed up at the first meeting I attended at 08.45. I learned quite quickly that nothing starts on time here on Lesvos. All the meetings I attended started 20 minutes past the scheduled time. Even some of the UNHCR's staff were always some of the last ones to arrive. The description above is just as accurate as I experienced it. Despite this, the meetings are also informative. The UNHCR have the official numbers concerning arrivals, departures, deportations, if people are being moved from one site to another on the island or being sent to the mainland or similar.

The meetings usually start with a short introduction round where everyone have to say which organization they are from so everyone knows who is present that day. Then the UNHCR presents what they call 'snapshots' which is an update on movements on the island. After that the topics may vary from one week to the next. Some working groups have bi-weekly meetings, so the groups that have met since the last meeting, present their updates. Common updates

included information about NFI, WASH, shelter, protection, health and 'Communicating with Communities.' There are usually some questions and comments from the people present, and sometimes (more often than not) with an undertone of frustration. For example, on the first two or three meetings I attended, a representative from the same organization kept asking questions about the deaths that had occurred in Moria the previous month, in January 2017. No one wanted to comment or give answers on what happened, if the bodies had been identified or if their next of kin had been notified. A topic obviously important to some of the people present, while the UNHCR tried their best to avoid it.

In one meeting the focus was on information regarding the asylum procedure. This time the Head of the Regional Asylum Office attended and was there to answer questions from the people who attended the meeting. The aim of this was for all actors to get official answers so they could pass that on to refugees and migrants. This meeting may be described as halfway successful, as many of the questions asked allegedly was not included in his area of responsibility and therefore remained unanswered.

5.5.2 Working groups

The UNHCR also arrange different 'working groups.' I was also invited to attend one of the working groups called 'Communicating with communities' (CWC) after accidentally meeting the man in charge of these meetings in Kara Tepe. The meetings consist of a few representatives from different NGOs. They get together and discuss the progress in their work and inform about future plans. Aid workers and volunteers sit around a table, one after the other they introduce themselves and which organization they work from, what they do and what they have done since the last meeting. The CWC working group is an initiative from the UNHCR in order to try to get an overview over what the different NGOs do and how they operate. It is held by a field Officer for the UNHCR (Fieldwork, 2017). In one of the CWC meetings I attended, a newly arrived organization introduced itself by explaining what they were doing, and why they had decided to come to Lesvos. When they said that they were targeting Kara Tepe, and was hoping to get certified and get access as soon as possible so they could start their work, a woman from another organization asked loud with frustration in her voice *"Why won't anyone focus on Moria?"* A concern she was not alone to have.

I was also invited to a so-called CWC 'session' held by the UNHCR. I met one of the Protection Assistants at the CWC meeting and was invited to attend one of the sessions they arrange in Kara Tepe. This invite I got was for this session:

> *"Friday 24/02 at 15:00 a CwC session will be conducted with the French female speakers with topics: Panic Attack/Relaxation Techniques. Psychologist: Kiki (IRC) Outreaching/hosting: Caritas Hellas. Coordination/Identification/Interpretation: UNHCR."*

Right after I received the invite, I sent an email to the site management telling them that I had been invited to attend this session, trying to arrange so I could access the site. The email was sent two days before the session was held, I did not receive an answer. The day of the session I went up to Kara Tepe anyway and tried to explain the situation to the gatekeepers. Unfortunately, no one from site management was at the site that day and would not be back until Monday. The people working at the gate showed no interest in helping me, and they would not let me in, since I was not part of any organization.

5.5.3 How are the weekly meetings and working groups in practice

The Inter-Agency Consultation Forum is created as an attempt to provide information and create a better cooperation between the actors present at the island. When creating a 'platform' where people with more or less the same purpose in mind can meet, exchange information and be updated on what and where things are happening, it is easier to get stuff done. As I wrote in chapter three regarding DHO, both NGOs and other social networks plays an increasingly important part in a humanitarian crisis. The private sector has also been recognized as a fundamental stakeholder. Problems usually occur due to a lack of effective relationship between the different stakeholder, which emphasizes the importance of creating a good working relationship. From attending, to talking to others who attended, it can be questioned if these meetings are as effective as they are intended to be. As mentioned earlier, one of the informants I talked to expressed some frustration that the meetings was not very useful. That most of the people who attend come here to chat, drink coffee and collect phone numbers. I really appreciated being able to attend the weekly meetings and get the information they presented each week. I also got the impression that as an NGO working with refugees and migrants these meetings are very helpful. Although, it might seem like the cooperation between the NGOs,

other actors and government is not optimal. It seems like there is a lot of frustration in general. Most frustration revolves around a few common factors; that the situation has not changed much for over a year, and that this winter the island experienced more difficulties, making the island once again appear under negative headlines in the media. It might seem like no one wants to take the responsibility for improving the situation, and especially not take responsibility for something when actions need to be taken as soon as possible.

After attending the weekly meetings and working groups, I also got the impression that there is some frustration directed at the fact that Kara Tepe gets most of the focus, and Moria does not get enough. The biggest concern is to get persons of concern out of Moria, not improve the situation inside. Even if all persons of concern are being transferred somewhere else, there are still people left in Moria. The ones that are not classified as persons of concern are for the most part single men. In situations like this, they end up being at the bottom of the system. This is a major issue and it should be taken more seriously. Single men had not been on anyone's agenda until 'In the Loop - Refugee feedback review' had a presentation on 'Challenging assumptions: Vulnerabilities of single males in the refugee response' in April. A presentation I attended. This was the first time I saw someone focusing on this topic since I started my research. Both Kara Tepe and Pikpa are sites that focus on vulnerable cases, but as a single male it is hard to meet the criteria they have set. That does not mean that single men are not vulnerable in a crisis like this. Like I said in chapter three, all refugees are classified as vulnerable, but some criteria make them more vulnerable than others.

5.6 Skills and motivation for volunteers and aid workers
5.6.1 Skilled versus unskilled aid workers and volunteers
One informant, who works for an organization with children inside the site, expresses a concern regarding children and if their needs are met and taken seriously. The informant starts with a small example; entertainment. Lately there have been several different cinema options for children, but the informant questions if the kind of movies they show are being properly thought out. Are they appropriate for everyone considering religion, country etc.? According to the same informant they are also concerned with the constant flow of new volunteers that are present inside the site. Refugee camps in general and especially camps for vulnerable people consists of a large proportion of children, a group that is particularly vulnerable. If the children's needs are met and taken seriously can also connected to the large proportion of unskilled volunteers.

The informant expresses a concern about whether unskilled volunteers are given thorough enough training. The informant thinks there are too many actors present inside the site and that not everyone is qualified to do what they do. The informant points at me to explain and uses me as an example;

> *"You speak good English, you come from a rich country, you could have had a desire to come here for a few weeks wanting to teach, but you are not a teacher, you could have been, but that is not a job you are qualified to do. I don't think all organizations do training for the volunteers. This has created some difficult working conditions here in the camp, there are too many volunteers, everyone wants to be here. Right now, there are about 300 children here, and many organizations want to do things for the children: Save the Children, Because we carry, Movement on the Ground, IRC and maybe some more I can't remember at the moment. This raises an important question: what is really child protection? I my opinion short time volunteer is a problem for the children, it creates an unstable environment. They get used to seeing a face every day, then they disappear, then another and the same happens"* (Informant, 2017).

The informant continues by explaining a bit more about the current situation on Lesvos in general. The crisis has helped to create jobs both for locals and foreigners. Lesvos is an 'easy place to be a volunteer.' First of all, Lesvos is in Europe, the camps are close to the city, the food and the culture it is all very familiar for most people interested in volunteering, namely people from other European countries or North America. With a bit of frustration, the informant asks me a rhetorical question regarding the huge interest in volunteering here; *"Why don't more people go to Sudan or other places experiencing a crisis? Because this is in Europe"* (Informant, 2017). After all, Lesvos' biggest source of income prior to the crisis was the tourism industry. This is supported by a statement by a senior Greek official that says that he has

> *"... detected 'a colonial mentality' among some aid workers who received hardship pay while working in the relatively comfortable environment of Greece: 'It was a good job to work in a country with fine restaurants and comfortable beds and be paid like you were in Somalia'"* (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017).

What about the difference in skills, is there a significance difference between skilled and unskilled volunteers and aid workers? As Fechter and Hindman (2011) writes, unpaid

volunteers and professional aid workers often do the same job, and in some cases volunteers spend more time in a certain country than 'professionals.' I want to discuss a little more on the topic in regard to those who work with children. Children staying in Kara Tepe get used to seeing the same faces every day, then they disappear, then new ones appear and the same happens again and again. This creates an uncertainty in their already unstable everyday life. While on my guided tour through the 'village' of the Kara Tepe, all the different parts of the site were explained to me. This was my first time in a refugee camp, so I had nothing to compare it with, other than pictures I have seen in different media. The site looked very clean and organized. The children that were running around the playground looked happy. One of them, a young girl, came up to us as we walked by and asked the site management's secretary, who was the one showing me around, if I was a new girl that was going to start working there, seemingly used to new volunteers entering the site all the time. It was not until the next time I went to the site and sat by the gate, that I started to think about what the little girl had said. She was curious. Was I going to be a new volunteer? A new person to practice English with? A new person to play with them on the playground? The flow of aid workers and volunteers that go in and out of the gate is enormous. Children get used to new faces coming and going, that alone is not the main concern. The aid worker I talked to was right, Lesvos is an easy place to be a volunteer both for skilled aid workers and unskilled volunteers. There are different opinions regarding if a constant flow of unskilled and short-term volunteers does more harm than they do good. A topic that is getting bigger and are starting to receive more focus, especially in situations like this. One of the dilemmas is, as mentioned, the difference between the skills. Inn chapter three I introduced citizen initiatives and other non-traditional components within development assistance that have had a significant growth for the last two decades. Most of these initiatives consist of people without any previous experience within development work. In most cases, skilled aid workers offer a needed area of expertise and unskilled workers or volunteers help with whatever is needed or simply fill the gaps. This does not mean that unskilled volunteers are not appreciated or does not do an important job. It can simply mean that in some cases a skilled aid worker is of higher value, especially in a refugee camp with vulnerable people. Social workers, nurses, doctors or psychiatrists who know what people are going through in a crisis like this and know what they need. Leaving your home country, being on the road and not knowing where you will end up or what will happen, is a huge mental challenge. Not to mention the situation that most refugees and migrants on Lesvos now are in, limbo. Living up to a year or more in a refugee camp, where you cannot work and have limited options on what to do, is also very though. Incidents with alcohol abuse, self-harm and sexual

assaults are growing on the island and it can sometimes therefore be important to have qualified professionals present so the people who need it can get the help they need.

5.6.2 Motivation behind volunteering

'Doing good to feel good?' is another popular question in relations to this topic. I have mentioned a few different reasons behind volunteering, including a study done by Malkki (2015). She writes that some volunteers choose to do volunteer work for themselves, to give their life a new meaning, some sort of a self-escape. A common denominator for most volunteers that get involved in volunteer activities is that they do so to give their live a new meaning. They are often in a phase in their life where they want to break free from a routine, or are between work or study. In addition, some describe that have they gained a moral completeness that they lacked before. Some of these motives revolves around self-accomplishment and getting positive acknowledgements from their acquaintances. As mentioned earlier, we often define human needs with the well-known hierarchy of needs. In this case, it is no longer in regard to the basic needs, but the top of the hierarchy. These needs involve self-actualization and self-esteem. Most individuals are looking for ways to strengthen their self-esteem and feel a sense of purpose and be able to fulfill an inner potential in their lives. This in itself is not a problem, but as one my informants said, some volunteers are more in the way than of help. Another said that sometimes it feels like there are more aid workers or volunteers than refugees inside Kara Tepe. If they only are taking part in a humanitarian crisis based only on fulfilling their own needs, that might be a problem.

5.7 Responsibility and taking action

5.7.1 International staff versus local staff

Like the current situation is, it is important that local and international aid workers and volunteers, both skilled and unskilled work well together. Difference in pay among aid workers doing the same job can create issues. Apparently international UNHCR staff earn three times more than their local counterparts. According to Fotini Rantsiou, a Greek UN staff who took time off from the organization to volunteer, there are tension between local staff and international staff. Local staff were put on the sideline and 'treated like secretaries' when new international staff arrived (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017). When the situation in Greece was classified as a crisis by the UNHCR, the situation changed overnight. The UNHCR expanded from a having an office with a dozen people in Greece, to a team of 600 people across 12 offices. About one-third of the workforce were international staff (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017).

For Metadrasi, an already established Greek organization, the sudden influx of funds was both welcomed and destabilizing. Metadrasi has two main goals, to train interpreters and care for unaccompanied minors. The organization experienced that their experienced staff was targeted by bigger organizations arriving that could offer higher salaries. Lora Pappa, who is the head of Metadrasi, believes that the tide of money transformed refugees into 'commodities' and have encouraged a short-term response and far from sustainable solution. *"They [international organizations] were looking at how to show a presence in Greece. This led to some wasting the chance to spend constructively."* According to Pappa *"sometimes money can do more harm than good"* (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017). This has become a complex subject in the field of development, however also slightly off topic for this research.

According to Howden and Fotiadis (2017) when the UNHCR decided to take part of the crisis in Greece, this put them *"on a collision course with one of the core elements of its mandate: to advocate for the rights of refugees."* The EU is the UNHCR's second biggest funder, and when the organization started to work inside the EU they faced a dilemma over criticizing its donors. According to Rantsiou; *"Instead of advocating for the protection of refugees they remained silent for fear of the political consequences, even if they wanted to criticise policy that violates their principles, they could not"* (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017). This is still a major issue; the biggest actors are reluctant to be critical towards the local and national government.

Using international staff, instead of a local staff is in no way a sustainable solution. However, it is not always a given that the local staff have the desired expertise. In addition, the situation on Lesvos is quite complex. First, the local authorities are still (March 2017) looking at the refugee crisis as a crisis of temporary nature. It has been more than two years, and the island are still experiencing more arrivals than departures. It might be time to consider options that can improve the situation, even if this means that they have to make decisions that can result in more permanent solutions.

5.7.2 Who is really responsible?

The Municipality of Lesvos and the Mayor's Office had agreed to assist me with my research and help me get access to Kara Tepe. I got the impression that this meant that I could visit the site as I pleased, as long as I had a permit or a paper saying that I was allowed to get in. As it

turned out, it was a bit more complicated than that. Even if the Municipality was willing to let me in, (they are after all the ones who own the land where the site is located and has the overall responsibility), is it still up to the site manager if they will do so or not. A management that is appointed by the Municipality. This lead to a question I asked myself several times during my stay; why are they so strict about letting people in? Despite the most obvious fact that the residents staying there are vulnerable refugees, and one would want to give them a safe environment to live in, especially considering the children. Volunteers who works for the organizations inside the site can come and go as they please, with the proviso that they have been granted permission from the site management and have proof that they actually are with an organization. One of my informants had recently had a conversation with one of the guards working at site. The guard told the informant that the staff, like himself, was not allowed to talk to or become friends with the residents staying in Kara Tepe. One might ask if the site management is trying to create an illusion of a 'perfect site' and do not want to risk anyone saying or seeing something negative.

As I mentioned, the UNHCR told me that the situation is a bit more fragmented in Greece compared to other countries experiencing situations involving refugees. Here, the Greek government is the one responsible for housing the refugees and migrants that arrive, the UNHCR is only helping. As mentioned in chapter one, the UNHCR claims that the UN have given the Ministry of Migration Policy three proposals on how to deal with the overcrowded reception centers and refugee camps, but that the proposals have been ignored. In addition to this, there is also the fact the Greek economy has been struggling for years and the country has been on the verge of economic collapse and has been banned for different loan markets. The already ailing Greek economy was in no way able to handle another crisis when the flow of refugees and migrants started in 2015.

What I have learned so far by talking to the three main actors involved in owning and running the site of Kara Tepe; the Municipality of Lesvos, the site management in Kara Tepe and the UNHCR, is that neither one acknowledges who actually has the overall responsibility. When housing became a major issue this winter, who was responsible for providing housing, so the residents could be accommodated as human beings? The Municipality own the site and according to themselves have the overall responsibility, the site management is the one who run and organize the site, but they do not have any money. They depend on the actors inside the site to budget their own activity. The UNHCR, who are responsible for housing when working

in other countries, told me that they are not the ones who provide them here in Greece, they only assist. I have tried to put this information together, but it all seems very unorganized and as if everything goes around in a circle where no one wants to take the responsibility. There are more people with this opinion, according to Sian Rowbotham from Norwegian Church Aid; *"there's no ownership of the crisis – the Greek government has failed to identify the gaps it wants NGOs to fill."* There have also been claims that Greek politicians admit that there is a lack of political will to change the situation. A local government worker had this to say to the Guardian; *"We want to help but it's like turning a gun to your head because if you improve the situation, more refugees will come"* (Banning-Lover, 2017). Both these statements are meant for Greece in general, but they are very appropriate in accordance with my own experiences on Lesvos. Regarding the last statement, this seems to be a common belief among some locals as well. A few different locals told me that they have been speculating in why the conditions in the camps have not been improved. They believe there is a reason behind this and that the government are doing it strategically. Some believe that by keeping the strands low, this will prevent more arrivals. That the refugees and migrants that are here will not tell their family and friends to follow because the situation is far from ideal. These are only speculations from locals on the island, but it does not come as a surprise that both locals and the local authorities do not want more arrivals on the island. As mentioned, migration whether it is voluntary or not, does not only affect the ones who migrate, but the people and the places they migrate to. As Tsoni (2016) writes about Lesvos;

> *"Whatever life on the island once used to be, it has now been indefinitely suspended. This holds true not only for the irregular border-crossers but for the receiving communities as well – both locals and volunteers – as everyone is captured in the legal, socio-spatial and affective limbo of routinized liminality"* (Tsoni, 2016).

I might be time for the local authorities to realize this too. Whatever happens in the near future, whether that the situation stops being classified as a crisis, or they start to make plans that are more long term or permanent, life on the island will not automatically go back to the way it used to be. The site management and the Municipality of Lesvos still refers to the refugees and migrants as guests and Kara Tepe as a 'village' they stop at along the way. They have no intention of this becoming anything remotely close to permanent. Two days after my arrival there was a demonstration downtown that ended in front of the Mayor's Office, the office I had visited the day before. The demonstration was aimed at the government and how the camp of

Moria is run. The demonstrators had signs, one of them said "*Shut down Moria, people are dying.*" The message was clear, the government does not do enough, people are dying and basic human needs for refugees and migrants are not met. This was after a recent series of 5 deaths, and no one wanted to comment on them or taking responsibility for what had happened (Fekete, 2017).

Figure 4: Demonstrations in front of the Mayor's Office in Mytilini (Source: author).

This winter was, as mentioned earlier, a winter with record low temperatures, the coldest in 15 years to be exact. The unexpected cold lead to new headlines in the media which described the terrible situation for thousands of refugees and migrants still stuck in refugee camps. Refugees and migrants that are waiting for their asylum application to get processed, have nowhere else to go. It is even harder to leave for those who are on an island, like Lesvos. A large proportion were still living in tents without proper heating when the temperatures dropped this winter. The combination of an unnecessarily long asylum process and the record low temperatures ending up taking lives. For a period of a few weeks, five deaths occurred in Moria. It goes without saying that it is not possible to live in a small summer tent, without proper clothes or heating

when the snow is falling outside. It was not until the end of January that the situation finally changed. Tents were eventually replaced with container houses and persons of concern were moved to temporary shelters in Mytilini. In addition, a navy vessel named 'Lesvos' was brought in to temporarily house some of the people living in tents. Unfortunately, many of the refugees and migrants who were offered to stay there declined in fear of being shipped back to Turkey (Fieldwork, 2017).

5.7.3 The cost of the refugee crisis

As mentioned, the Greek economy was in no way able to handle the refugee crisis. However, they have received a large sum of money in order to deal with the situation. Where have the Greek government spent this money? A topic that has been much discussed in the media, but little understood. Estimates done by the online media project Refugees Deeply has calculated that $803 million has come into Greece since 2015. All funds actually spent or allocated, all significant bilateral funding and major private donations are included in this amount. With a grand total of $803 million spent, this constitutes the most expensive humanitarian response in history.

> *"On the basis that the money was spent on responding to the needs of all 1.03 million people who have entered Greece since 2015, the cost per beneficiary would be $780 per refugee. However, the bulk of these funds was used to address the needs of at least 57,000 people stranded in Greece after the closure of the borders on 9 March 2016, and on this basis the cost per beneficiary is $14,088"* (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017).

According to officials from the EU's humanitarian directorate, Echo, they believe that this operation has had the highest payout per beneficiary than any of their previous ones. As much as $70 out of every $100 spent are estimated to have been wasted according to a senior aid official (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017). The average amount spent per person is much higher in Greece than in other countries hosting refugees and migrants. By comparison, Greece presumably spends ten times more per person than Egypt, and Egypt has about twice as many refugees and migrants. It is of course a cost difference between Egypt and Europe, but that does not account for the big difference in spending alone. Supposedly, a large number of aid worker believe that the operations in Greece have a larger cost due to indecisiveness from the Greek government, and the fact that the funding must pass through a long chain of organizations before it reaches the camps (Benning-Love, 2017). According to Howden and Fotiadis (2017);

"The biggest pots of money are controlled by the European Commission (EC), the EU's executive body, which oversees the Asylum Migration Integration Fund (AMIF) and the Internal Security Fund (ISF) which collectively dedicated $541m to fund Greece's costs related to border control, asylum and refugee protection. However, since it did not complete the extensive strategic planning required, the Greek government did not receive significant amounts of these funds, necessitating emergency assistance from the commission, channelled through other means."

It has been indicated that without help from citizen initiatives, donations and international NGOs, the Greek government would not have had a chance to deal with any of the problems that has come as a result of the crisis.

5.8 Change in situation and rising numbers

When I left Lesvos, the situation was calm and steady with few arrivals and housing was no longer an issue. However, after I came home, there has been a few 'unexpected' turn of events. In May, came the news that all NGOs were now preparing to leave the island and should be gone by the end of July. A spokesman for the UNHCR said that this was done as an act to move the situation from an emergency response to a sustainable system. The Greek government will supposedly assume greater responsibilities and take over services that the UNHCR has been providing, supported by the UNHCR through the transition. NGOs present on different locations in Greece were skeptical when the news was revealed. Some say it is a logical step forward, but even if it may sound good in theory there is no guarantee that will work well in practice. When the news got out there were still a lot of unanswered questions on how the transition would take place (Trafford, 2017). However, in November it appears that most NGOs, initiatives and the UNHCR are still on the island.

From the EU-Turkey agreement came into force, the situation became a 'bottleneck system,' meaning more arrivals than departures. The beginning of this year looked promising with few arrivals and with a promise for speeding up the asylum process. Unfortunately, the low number of arrivals did not last. As soon as the summer ended the numbers of arrivals started to increase. Number of arrivals in September 2017 was almost double compared to September 2016 and the following months have not been any better. Pouilly, spokesman for the UNHCR, says that the

situation now is challenging. Lesvos, Samos and Leros are now experiencing more arrivals than the authorities can transfer to the mainland, making the situation worse on the island yet again. In August there were 3,695 arrivals and only 2,561 departures on the islands. The involuntary length in camps and detention centers have also affected the physical and mental health of many refugees and migrants. Violence, self-harm and sexual assault is a growing concern and more security is needed (UN, 2017, 09.08). In fact, refugees and migrants that have arrived after the EU-Turkey agreement are not supposed to be detained longer than 25 days after they arrive. After 25 days they are supposed to either be relocated or sent back to Turkey. Truth is, that after the agreement became active, some have spent more than a year in camps (Benning-Love, 2017). *"They won't let us come, they won't let us stay, they won't let us go"* is a phrase that has emerged from the irregular arrivals started to expand on Lesvos in 2008. Tsoni (2016) writes that refugees on the island find themselves in impossible situation;

> *"If they did not get illegally pushed back to Turkey while crossing, they were received with indifference or hostility by the local authorities and simultaneously prevented from leaving the island or Greece due to the legal and political restrictions imposed on their mobility."*

Since then, the phrase above has become a slogan shared by refugees and migrants and others who express solidarity with them and the situation. Frequently used in debates and during demonstrations. Living in a refugee camp is far from ideal. As I mentioned, The UNHCR (2004) reminds us, that most people become refugees when they escape threats concerning their fundamental rights in their home country. When their new lives get confined to camps, stranded in limbo, they unwillingly waste their lives. It may look as if, the local authorities and the Greek government refuses to see the crisis as what it has become, it is not as temporary as they might wish. The EU-Turkey agreement does not work in practice. With a little over 10,000 arrivals so far in 2017, over 8,000 are still on the island. As I have written, it is not yet a protracted refugee situation as it has not yet reached a duration of five years. I would like to include the term Frydenlund (2015) introduces in her study; durable displacement, when a situation has become lengthier and are between temporary and permanent. Although her study is about a situation that has lasted much longer than this refugee crisis has so far. Frydenlund (2015) also emphasizes that cooperation is essential when a massive flow cross international borders. When this occur, it calls for international response. Cooperation on a global scale is both needed for an immediate response and for long-term stays. She also claims that existing theories have

failed to explain expansions of durable cases because refugee situations are often only viewed as temporary.

Chapter 6

6.0 Critical voices across the island

6.1 Introduction
This chapter will introduce some of the counterparts to my case study. Throughout the crisis, voluntary citizen initiatives have been created all over Lesvos, in line with the growing needs. Some of the people who have started citizen initiatives on Lesvos have, as I mentioned in chapter three, become 'accidental aid workers.' In addition, some of the initiatives have a more critical voice towards how the local and the Greek government handles the current crisis. Thus, they end up on the 'outside' and some of them are not particularly popular or welcomed by the local authorities. The local authorities and the Greek government does not manage, or have failed to cover all needs on the island, and as I have mentioned this means that there are plenty of gaps to fill.

I will start by introducing an organization called No Border Kitchen (NBK) which is an organization I became aware of after I arrived at Lesvos. In addition to Kara Tepe, NBK has been the initiative I have focused the most on. After that, I will also mention a few other initiatives such as The Hope Project by the Kempsons and The Starfish Foundation.

6.2 No Border Kitchen - NBK
6.2.1 Introduction
We are visiting the warehouse that houses NBK. Lunch has just been served outside and the atmosphere is good. A few children from Kara Tepe has just found out that they are serving food here. They happily get a portion each and run away. A few minutes later, a couple more children come running. They ask if there is more food, which it is. They help themselves from the big pot of warm vegetable stew, pack a few plates to go and run back to Kara Tepe. Today is a sunny, but cold day. During lunch hours, it is usually busy outside the warehouse. The

people that have gathered here today are eating outside, playing football, smiling and or chatting with each other. From where we are standing, Kara Tepe is the nearest neighbour, but Kara Tepe is located on the top of a small hill. When looking up to the right, we see the fence surrounding the site and some of the container houses.

Through one of my roommates while staying in Mytilini, I met one of the volunteers who works for NBK. The volunteer told me about the organization and the work they are doing and that I was welcome visit them anytime during my stay. After my roommate had been there a few times and told me a bit more about the place, I got curious and joined her on her next visit. I wanted to see what NBK is and what they are doing.

Figure 5: Outside NBK Warehouse (Source: Author).

6.2.2 What is No Border Kitchen?

One of Kara Tepe's closest neighbors are some abandoned warehouses. Three of them are currently occupied by an organization called No Border Kitchen (NBK). The warehouses houses both the organization, its volunteers and refugees and migrants. According to the organization's own blog they;

> *"... currently supports 350 refugees to cook and subsist autonomously, at a regular cost of 20 euros per person per month. We work alongside refugees failed by the broken*

asylum system and the bloated NGOs, standing with them as they self-organize and live outside the detention regime at Moria prison camp" (NBK, 2017a).

According to NBK itself, it is basically an anarchistic group with its roots in Germany. Most of the people volunteering for the organization are from Germany, and it is therefore also known under the nickname 'Camp Aleman' (Camp Germany). The informant I talk to tells me that most people who come to volunteer with NBK have been involved in similar activities in their home countries, or a similar project abroad, which means that they are often already part of a more 'alternative' movement on the political scene. Hence, they also often have experiences with arranging demonstrations or working with politically oppressed people or other matters that are usually being marginalized by mainstream media (Informant, 2017). According to the same informant;

"The reason why NBK formed as an alternative to other organizations on Lesvos, is that we have a different view on how to approach the refugee crisis. Whereas the big organizations again and again show that they are more concerned about putting money in their own pockets than to actually help anyone, and the smaller organizations often have a religious agenda, we focus on solidarity. We are not trying to make money on these people, we are not running a business (in contrast to UNHCR, Samaritan´s Purse, etc.), we only seek to help where it is needed, which, thanks to the inefficiency of the government and UNHCR, is with approximately everything. But instead of having office hours and waiting lists, we are 'on the ground' with the people, using our resources to cover the most basic needs. Because while we are living with refugees from many different countries, and we see them as our equals, at the end of the day we are the lucky ones, we have European passports, we have contacts who donate money to our cause – so we have an obligation to use this luck to help the ones who are in a much more dire situation. That´s where the solidarity comes in. They can't come to us (in Germany, in Norway, etc.,) so we come to them" (Informant, 2017).

As NBK say, they are formed as an alternative to the already existing organizations, rooted in a belief that the already established organizations are not doing their job.

6.2.1 Experiencing No Border Kitchen

'The warehouse' where NBK is located is a big abandoned building. The NBK prepare and offer food for its volunteers and refugees, but sometimes other organizations come and donate already prepared food to them. It is usually, and therefore naturally, most busy around lunch hours. In the warehouse the volunteers and its residents have tried to make the building into a home by making small bedrooms of temporary walls of wood and or blankets. I was invited into one of the rooms. This room had one space heater and two 'beds.' The beds were made of blankets laying directly on the floor. The hallway had a distinct smell, due to garbage full bags just standing in the hallway. Out by the road there were more of them. On one side of the warehouse there was a huge pile with a mix of trash, sleeping bags and other things laying on the ground. The NBK are squatters, meaning that they occupy a place or a building without permission. Therefore, they have had moved a few times and they are now on their fourth location in Mytilini. Right now, they are also building a classroom inside the warehouse so they can give language lessons to the people staying here. Inside the warehouse I start to talk to a young Afghan man. He has been on Lesvos for 11 months at this point. His cousin and his brother are here too, but they are in Moria. He tells me about Moria, that it is like living in a prison and that worst part is the food. The young man says that being here (at the warehouse) is ok and he hopes that they do not have to move location again.

After seeing the first warehouse, we walk to another one. On the way from the first warehouse to the others there is a sewage like smell. There are three warehouses, if I am not mistaken. The warehouses have 'names' and are referred to according to which nationalities that live there. The main one is where the Afghans lives, then there is one for the Somalis and one for the Pakistanis. We are now on our way to the Somali house. This warehouse is much smaller, but also much nicer. There are two men there from Eritrea here when we arrive. One of them cooks food in a small temporary kitchen. My friend and roommate, who is making a documentary asks if she can interview the other man. He says yes. This warehouse is much cleaner than the other. They take their shoes off at the entrance and have blankets on the floor. The bedroom where we make the interview has big windows, proper walls, actual mattresses to sleep on and are clean compared to the other warehouse.

The guy that is being interviewed asks how much that is going to be shown in the video. My friend explains that it is only going to be his face and a color background. He is ok with this. He explains that he does not want his family to see how he actually lives. He has been telling

them that it is much nicer here than it is, and that he is ok. He puts on a sweater that says "MAMA," just in case his family is going to see the documentary. He is a very sweet young man, but he is nervous to talk in front of a camera. My friend explains that the motivation behind making this documentary, is to show that refugees are just like everyone else, that we are all equal. That the difference is that refugees and migrants are just people that they have had to leave their home and want nothing more than to get a new home. She explains that he can talk about whatever he like in the interview, such as everyday life, food, sports, hobbies or something else that is important to him. The guy chooses to tell about his current situation. He shortly describes a bad situation in general; how it is in Moria, the lack of food, that they have been here for a long time and that the situation is extremely difficult.

After the interview, we go back up at the main warehouse. We are not the first ones to visit today. A few different organizations have been here just today to see what NBK is and what they are doing. Everyone we have met so far at the warehouse have been very friendly. They smile and say hi to everyone who arrives, but behind the facade there is a more serious tone. There is another man making a documentary here as well. He asks an Afghan man how he is. The Afghan man answers '50/50' with a glimpse of a smile. He has been smiling and making jokes until now, but then he explains that 'yes the situation is hard.' He tells me later that he has a family in England. His English is very poor, so it was hard to understand everything, but I think he used to work without legal papers and now his passport had been taken away from him and he had been deported. He will get the passport back in 5 months. So now he is here, waiting.

6.2.2 Why NBK caught my attention

NBK was not an organization I had noticed before I arrived at Lesvos. It was not until after I visited them that I really understood what they are doing and the work the impact of their work. The local authority on the other hand, is not a fan. They are well aware of NBKs presence at the island and not happy about it. As I have mentioned, NBK have been forced to move three times already and are now on their fourth location. During my fieldwork I was also told that the police had increased their 'random checks' and the frequency between their visits to the warehouses were more often than before. The police usually show up in the middle of the night, get everyone to go outside and demand to see everyone's papers. Then they check that everyone has the correct papers on them. Sometimes they chose to bring some of the refugees with them and keep them in custody overnight (Fieldwork, 2017).

Personally, I have never been a fan of an anarchistic vision or philosophy as they sometimes are associated with violence, and they believe the state to be undesirable or unnecessary. As the crisis is today, the NBK do have some good and realistic views and not least, experiences from working several places in Europe, including Lesvos since late 2015. One does not have to agree with their vision or philosophy, to see that they have good intentions with what they do here on Lesvos. They are simply a critical voice filling the gaps, they claim that the government or other NGOs are not able to fill.

6.2.3 Anarchists in other parts of Greece

Anarchist groups are also active in other parts of Greece. The economy, austerity pledges and high unemployment rates, has contributed to less and less faith in the government. Kitsantonis (2017) writes *"These days that idea is not only about chaos and tearing down the institutions of the state and society — the country's long, grinding economic crisis has taken care of much of that — but also about unfiltered self-help and citizen action."* As I have mentioned before, more citizens are starting to take matters into their own hands, and often they feel that this way is more effective. In Athens, some activists focus on helping the growing proportion of poor Greeks failed by the social system, and others have started to help the flow of refugees and migrants that have arrived after 2015. Anarchism is not an unknown phenomenon in Greece. They played an active role when the student uprising helped bring down the dictatorship in the 1970s. Unfortunately, there are also a lot of negative incidents associated with anarchists, as some of them resort to violence.

The police have raided buildings squatted by anarchists in Athens, Thessaloniki and on Lesvos during the first half of this year. According to the Mayor of Athens, the anarchists 'have compromised the quality of life of the refugees.' Anarchist groups on the other hand, say that they are humane alternatives to the state run camps (Kitsantonis, 2017). As the situation has been in Greece for the past year, anarchists have not compromised the life of refugees, but the lack of political actions taken by the governments in Europe might have.

6.3 Vulnerability among those who are usually not classified as vulnerable
6.3.1 Vulnerability among single men in NBK

When hearing about the NBK, one of the first question one might ask is why some people choose to stay there instead of an actual refugee camp. I visited two of the different warehouses

they occupy while I was there. They were quite different. One was clean and only housed a few people, the other was bigger and had garbage bags in the hallways, making a distinct and unpleasant smell. The Municipality of Lesvos is well aware and not happy with NBKs presence on the island. Because they are squatters they occupy an area or a building that is not used by anyone else, but without permission. The warehouses the NBK are currently located in, are abandoned buildings next to Kara Tepe. The situation is far from ideal, yet some would rather stay here than in an actual refugee camp.

As mentioned, in April 2017 over 90 per cent of the residents living in Moria were male, and most of the residents had proper housing at that point. Hence, those who were believed to be the most vulnerable cases had been placed in other and better housing. What does this tell us? Can single men travelling alone not be classified as vulnerable? The experience when visiting NBKs warehouses tells otherwise. People staying here are so desperate that they cannot stay in Moria anymore. They are lying to their families back home about were and how they live. Some have been staying up to 11 or 12 months in a camp that can only be described as 'prison like conditions' or worse. It has even been said that the people staying in Moria are treated worse than animals. One of the international organizations I talked to, told me that people had to stand in queues for hours in the rain and mud, even with small children. No exceptions. There are queuing systems for food and queuing systems for appointments (Informant, 2017). In addition, incidents of alcohol abuse, rape and deaths have occurred inside the site. Not everyone who arrive to Lesvos are fleeing war, some can be classified as economic migrants without the rights to asylum in another country. An important question I have asked myself, is why all procedures take so long. If someone has no chance of getting their asylum application approved, why detain them in Moria for such a long period of time? Why is the EU-Turkey agreement not held as planned? After 25 days, refugees and migrants should either be returned or resettled. By not keeping this agreement, it only makes the situation worse and creates more challenges for everyone involved. It might seem like the government are trying to send a message. Those who are not entitled to asylum, are not to be returned right away, but detained in order to prevent them from entering Europe again, in another location. As the slogan mentioned above say; they won't let us come, they won't let us stay, them won't let us leave. Moria has become a place for detention, where there is lack of food, bathroom facilities and accommodation and the NBK has therefore become a more desirable place to stay.

6.3.2 Self-harm and police violence

NBK writes and share experiences of police violence and self-harm among refugees and migrants in Moria (NBK, 2017b). However, they are not the only ones reporting this. In addition to the incidents mentioned above, hunger strikes, riots and even fires were reported in Moria during the summer months. The different initiatives I follow on social media, kept posting one bad news after another. All these incidents contribute to emphasize how bad the conditions really are. Refugees and migrants that lives there are getting more desperate the longer they have to stay. They see no way out of there.

The deaths that occurred in Moria this winter have been a topic both in the media and at the coordination meetings on Lesvos. As I have mentioned, at the Inter-Agency Consultation Forums, a representative from one organization kept asking about the deaths at the meetings when I was there. From the first death occurred, to I attended my first meeting, is was around 3-4 weeks. My guess is that people have been requesting answers from the start, right after it happened. However, no answers were given from the UNHCR and no one was willing to make a comment on it. The organization that kept bringing up this topic can be referred to as so-called 'watchdogs.' Someone who monitor or keep an eye on a certain situation or a person. They take up the topic, repeatedly, and will not give up until they get an answer. The authorities on the other hand are trying to avoid the topic and hope that it will be 'forgotten.' Supposedly, the deaths occurred due to the record low temperatures in a combination with lack of proper housing. On the other hand, recent news from Chios, another 'hot spot' in the crisis, reported that an increasing number of suicides are being committed in front of other residents in the camps there. 39 per cent of the refugees that were asked, said that they had witnessed suicide after they had arrived on Chios. Others say that they are so depressed that they do not know what to do, so maybe they will be next. 71 per cent said they had experienced mental health problems after arriving and only 29 per cent had been offered medical help (Sarmadawy, 2017). This does not necessarily imply that the same numbers may apply to other islands, such as Lesvos, but it is not unthinkable either.

6. 4 Northern part of Lesvos

6.4.1 Introduction

The focus in this thesis is mainly the actors and initiatives in and around Kara Tepe, but I will also briefly mention the northern part of Lesvos. The northern coast has become home to some of the citizen initiatives that has been founded due to the refugee crisis. They have been initiated

because the major actors or the government have not been present. Most refugees and migrants arrive at the northern part of the island, which makes this area an important part of the crisis as well. Here, citizen initiatives have risen from the local population or expats, in line with the increasing number of arrivals. The Hope Project, The Starfish Foundation, Dirty Girls of Lesvos and Lighthouse Relief are some of the citizen initiatives located on the northern coast. These are all initiatives that operates on their own, and manly not in cooperation with the local government or the camps. Even if they work on their own, they are active and take part in what is happening on the island, some of them attend the Inter-Agency Consultation Forum. All initiatives have been extremely important pieces of puzzle in handling the crisis.

6.4.2 Activities and arrivals around Molyvos

I have visited the small coastal city of Molyvos on two occasions, while conducting this research. As opposed to Mytilini, Molivos has been a popular tourist destination for both Greeks and Europeans for decades. Molyvos is a small community which rely heavily on tourism. Most of the shops, restaurants and hotels are only open during the summer season when the number of people increases significantly due to tourists. The coastline on the northern part of Lesvos, from Molyvos to Korakas lighthouse, is also where most of the rubber dinghies with refugees and migrants arrive. The strait between the island and mainland Turkey is so narrow, that one can see right across the strait.

Figure 6: View from Molyvos, Turkey on the other side of the sea (Source: author).

It is not uncommon to see Navy vessels patrolling the area during the day. Most refugees and migrants arrive at night or early morning when it is still dark. In 2015, about 400,000 thousand refugees and migrants traveled through Lesvos, some of the initiatives I follow on social media claim the number is even higher. Lesvos was soon being named 'the refugee island' in the media. Naturally, this affected the tourism industry and the numbers has been low for the last three seasons. For the locals it has been easy to blame the large incline on the flows of refugees and migrants, which was the biggest factor the year the crisis peaked. Needless to say, the crisis has become a much-discussed topic and created much frustration. However, it can be easy to forget the underlying and initial factor, the economic crisis. Tourism industry on the Greek islands had not been great in the years before the crisis either. During my visits to Molyvos I continued with participant observation and talked informally to a few different locals regarding the situation. As I mentioned in chapter five, a popular opinion is that the conditions on the island has not improved in the camps, because better conditions may encourage more arrivals. Another common belief is that as long as the standards are low, this may eventually make the refugees and migrants chose another route to Europe. However, what the locals may forget with this thought is that the refugees and migrants rarely chose how they are going to get to Europe. They use the only option available and are often victims of human smugglers.

Between Molyvos and Eftalou there is a co-called graveyard for life vests and some of boats that the refugees and migrants have arrived in.

Figure 7: Life vest graveyard outside Molyvos (Source: Author).

6.4.3 The Hope Project by the Kempsons

One of the citizen initiatives on the north shore on Lesvos, 'The Hope Project,' is run by Eric and Philippa Kempson. The Kempsons live in an area called Eftalou, a popular landing spot for boats. They are originally from England, but have lived on Lesvos since 2000. Their involvement in the crisis started out by giving water on the beaches. As with other initiatives, when the local authorities or larger NGOs failed to show their presence, Eric and Phillipa got more involved. They have become a stabile actor working throughout the crisis and providing help where it is needed. They even bought a hotel, Hotel Elpis. Their plan was to give refugees and migrants a chance to relax and be treated as equal human beings before continuing their journey. This did not work out as planned, as they were refused to use the hotel. The local population was a contributing factor behind this. The hotel is located between Molyvos and Eftalou in an area with houses and other hotels. I have been at the property where the hotel is located, which now looks abandoned. It had a note or an eviction notice on one of the windows. It was written in Greek, except from their names which was written in English. Unfortunately, I did not get the chance to meet with The Kempsons during my visits on the north coast, but I have followed their activities on social media. They are very active on Facebook and have a YouTube channel where they post videos of what is happening, and to release frustration about the situation. In general, their posts are critical towards what is happening and the lack of coordination and help from bigger actors (Fieldwork, 2017). Philippa recently wrote a letter to the UNHCR questioning their activity on the island;

> *"After years of this crisis, still nobody takes responsibility for what can only be described as a comedy of errors, the blame game continues as the authorities and the UNHCR continue to blame each other for the shortcomings and failures that have occurred and cost lives."*

The letter was sent in September 2017. 'Are you Syrious?' who reports daily news from the field targeted at volunteers and refugees, wrote about it through the online network called 'Medium.' In her letter to the UNHCR, Phillipa calls for a better cooperation between the UNHCR, the port police and the volunteers. She points out an incident in particular, where a woman who went into labor was refused to the help she needed. Philippa writes that the situation now creates more distress than needed. She continues by writing; *"I understand that the role of the UNHCR is a complex one, especially as you are reliant on volunteer organizations for*

logistics and personnel but I really feel that to move forward clarification is needed" (Are you Syrious? 2017).

The Kempsons have a very critical view on the work the local authorities, the national government and some of the bigger actors do. Therefore, their work is both appreciated and viewed upon with skepticism and negativity. On the social media platforms they use, they receive mostly positive comments, but there are some very negative ones too. The fact that their intended hotel plans were cancelled can also indicate that somebody is working strongly against them. On their own Facebook page 'The Hope Project' they say this about their story;

> *"They may stop us using a building, but they will never stop us helping. We will continue onwards stronger than ever as The Hope Project! Please continue to follow our page! Your ongoing support will be so greatly appreciated. We will still be here, helping in any way we can. We will be ready to support the coast should the situation change here regarding the number of boats arriving, we will continue to help source and distribute vital supplies of aid to where they are needed, we will continue to work closely with all other volunteer groups and NGOs to ensure that people are supported with love, compassion, dignity and respect! We will continue to fight harder than ever for human rights for all!"*

In November, they posted that there is a demand for more independent volunteers on the north coast as the number of arrivals are increasing again. They point out that they are only a voluntary team and not an NGO, so all volunteers must be financially independent. They are currently involved in building a medical center and have rented a warehouse next to Moria where they plan to distribute clothes.

6.4.4 The Starfish Foundation

The Starfish Foundation is also an initiative started based on a need, that no one else filled. It started as a citizen initiative where Melinda, a woman who runs one of the restaurants in the harbor of Molyvos, started by giving food, water and welcoming words to the refugees at the time when only a few boats arrived. Now, the initiative is now officially registered as an international NGO, making Melinda an aid-entrepreneur. According to the organization's website, the situation started to change in 2014 and thus she could no longer afford to hand out

food to the ever-increasing number of arrivals. However, the word about her work spread and soon;

> *"...people all over the world began to hear about what she was doing to help on this Greek island; tales from holidaymakers, the internet and the media began to work their magic. Before long, volunteers and tourists were arriving to give their time, money and effort to make sure the new arrivals were not alone. The team made sure the refugees had food, water, dry clothes and onward travel to Mytilene, where they could be registered and given papers to continue their journey"* (The Starfish Foundation, 2017).

When the number of arrivals slowed down in 2016, the organization redirected some of its efforts. Now, they no longer have a volunteer program to help assist the large number of arrivals, but the organization continue to assist local people. As I have mentioned, the island struggles to rebuild the tourist economy. The Starfish Foundation has a vision to continue filling the gaps that brought to their attention. As they say;

> *"Meanwhile, Starfish continues to do what it always has and what the people of Lesvos are known for: providing a warm welcome to travelers, standing together to take on the challenges they face, and most importantly, never overlooking the value of offering help, for it is by living out the spirit of Starfish that the world will be changed."*

Unfortunately, I did not get the opportunity to talk to this organization either during my stay in Molyvos. As the Kempsons, the Starfish Foundation has also experienced hardship from the locals. The fact that they welcomed refugees and migrants that arrived, was by some seen as a contributing factor for more arrivals. which is of course not the case. As said, most of the one that arrive are victims of human smugglers and does not choose their own desired landing 'spot' in Europe.

6.5 Filling the gaps

As the site manager in Kara Tepe said when I asked about expanding the site; 'we cannot do everything,' which is true. Kara Tepe is just one of the sites hosting refugees and migrants, but one can still question how the local authorities do not do more? There are the obvious factors of money in a tight economy, and the fact that they are still hoping that the crisis will end, and

life can go back to 'normal.' Apart from this, they need to address the situation for what it is, not hope it will come to an end. Regarding some of the actors I have introduced in this chapter, these are actors that the government is aware of, and at the same time they mildly opposed to them being there. It is at least true with NBK, due to their political point of view. I wonder how they can try to remove actors that try to fill the gaps that they themselves are not able or willing to fill? It is easy to understand that the local authorities are not a fan of anarchists, as anarchists themselves advocates self-governed states. They did play an important role when Greece went from a democracy to a republic, and may be seen as a threat yet again as the people are losing faith in the government, due to the two ongoing crisis, both the economical and now the refugees.

As I wrote in chapter three, the world of development and aid has changed the last two decades. Smaller actors, not just the governments of the global North and international NGOs have become important in development and aid work. This has been especially noticeable in Europe during the refugee crisis. As Pollet et al., (2014) writes there has been a significant increase among the non-traditional components in development. Aid workers have often been invisible in both critical anthropology and in applied and professional literature on development. Traditionally the focus has been on the recipients of aid, not the workers providing it. The ongoing crisis has helped strengthen this paradigm shift. According to Fechter and Hindman (2011, p. 3-4) we must see them as human resources and give them as much focus as other commonly debated issues in the industry such as sustainable development and new forms of microfinance. The initiatives I have explored in this chapter as such initiatives. They might be critical and sometimes unwanted, but they do in fact do important work. And not to forget, they are the ones that have been willing to work and do what is needed where the larger and international NGOs and government has failed to show their presence. Pikpa, NBK, and The Hope Project are all focused on solidarity and claim that the Greek government and the local authorities are not. Pikpa, also say that they focus on involving the local populations to promote community and sustainable solutions, which is a step in the right direction considering Lesvos' future. Maybe one day, the statue of Asia Minor Mother will be accompanied by another statue representing the second refugee crisis on the island.

Chapter 7

7.0 Conclusion

The flow of refugees and migrants that has arrived in Europe, has put an enormous pressure on the affected host communities. Most refugees and migrants that arrive are vulnerable or have put themselves in a vulnerable and uncertain situation. As discussed, most of them now find themselves in a in a situation that is approaching a protracted refugee situation. The main objective of this research has been to explore how different actors meet and engage in this humanitarian crisis. The situation has changed and gone from bad to worse from when I started this research until I finished. My starting point was the refugee camp of Kara Tepe with an aim to do an in-depth exploration of this particular site. I wanted to experience and see how a refugee camp of its kind is run, especially since I already knew that there were huge contrasts between Moria and Kara Tepe. In addition, I have also explored other citizen initiatives operating around the island and how the local authorities and these newly formed initiatives work side by side.

Kara Tepe is a refugee camp that is run and initiated by the Municipality of Lesvos. The Municipality is not involved in running the site, to do that job the Mayor has appointed a site manager. The daily operations inside the site is run in cooperation with different actors which the site management has approved. The site management is strict both regarding which organizations they will allow to work there, and on letting anyone not working for the appointed organizations inside the site. In the beginning of 2017, 15 NGOs were working in Kara Tepe. How the distribution of responsibility takes place inside, seems a bit unorganized according to my experiences. The site management itself does not have any money or a budget, and is therefore dependent on all actors working inside to cover their own activities. The actors are responsible for their own activity, given to them by the management. A major challenge for the actors, is that the management must approve all the work they do. If a problem occurs, usually a few of the actors go together and find a solution and then propose that solution to the site management. Even though it can be argued that this is a well-run camp that can be used as an example for others to follow, they are still depended on volunteers, different actors and donations in order to run and function. The site is close to only relying on solar panels for energy, which is one step in the right direction, but all in all the operation of the site is far from a sustainable solution. First, there is no kitchens in Kara Tepe, so all food must be delivered to

the site. Second, the fact that they rely on other actors to cover the daily operations will not work in the long run if the situation continues as it is today.

When I attended the Inter-Agency Consultation Forum and the CWC meetings during my fieldwork I got an entry into how the coordination is conducted on the island. The general perception after attending these meetings is that there is some frustration among the aid workers and the volunteers present on these meetings. Most frustration revolves around the fact that the situation has remained the same since the EU-Turkey agreement was made and that the asylum process is taking too long. The Inter-Agency Consultation Forum and the CWC meetings are held by the UNHCR as an attempt to create a good cooperation between the NGOs and other initiatives on Lesvos. I have discussed if they are as effective as they are intended to be. They do inform the various actors present about the official numbers and actions that have been taken, but they mostly just inform. The meetings do not encourage the various actors to actually create a better cooperation between them. The overall impression from being at the Inter-Agency Consultation Forum, the CWC meetings and talking to aid workers who work inside the Kara Tepe, is that the site is well-functioning, with only some frustration or small disagreements. The local authorities and the site management are basically on the same page, but the site management and the actors in Kara Tepe seems to have a slightly more strained relationship. Most answers I got regarding cooperation inside the site was good, but some of the aid workers showed some frustration. The frustration mostly revolves around the strict rules and that the site manager runs the camp with a 'Greek military mentality.' According to my experiences, what I have seen and by talking to the local authorities, the UNHCR and some of the actors, most of them expresses a positive attitude towards the conditions in Kara Tepe. The management inside the site take pride in running it, at least that is what they claim. After what I have learned it might look like their initiative is used as a showcase for their work. They have tried to build a nice facade in an otherwise chaotic situation. They praise their own initiative, but they are also very clear that they hope that the crisis will end soon, so they can close the site and go back to the way things were prior to 2015. However, the island and its communities will always be affected by the refugee crisis and life on the island will not naturally go back to the way it used to be.

While conducting my fieldwork and writing this thesis a lot has happened on Lesvos, both positive and negative. Arrival numbers for 2017 have remained low, but with a steady flow of arrivals through the year, until September. In September the arrivals numbers started to increase

again. The different initiatives I follow on social media have reported that the situation is getting worse, including overcrowding in Moria, the site has yet again been filled up with refugees and migrants living in tents. Between September and November, the numbers have kept rising and the island are yet again experiencing overcrowded facilities. The way the situation is today, the system is like a bottleneck. There are still more arrivals than departures on a monthly basis. At the same time, the winter is approaching, and the actors present are starting to worry that we might get a repeat from last year. Both the lack of, and the political actions taken have made this situation difficult. This can be seen as a failure where neither humanitarian needs nor the actors filling the gaps have been taken into account by the government. This has caused a tremendous frustration among those who are not able to continue their journey to the mainland. Riots, fire, deaths, rape are all incidents that have been reported during 2017 on Lesvos. The situation inside Kara Tepe is apparently calmer. Here the site management try to create a seemingly good place to be considering the circumstances. Seemingly, since the situation is the same in this site as the other sites on the island. The difference is that Kara Tepe have better facilities and housing, but this is still not where any of the refugees and migrants want to be. The site manager in Kara Tepe said that they do not like to see people on the streets or in the port, but Kara Tepe cannot be responsible for everything, as the site manager said they are not the government or the EU. As I have presented, the Greek economy was in no way able to handle this crisis, but they have received large donations. Apparently, Greece has received as much as 803 million since 2015. Where they have spent all this money, is much debated and yet little understood.

As I have discussed, the actors working inside Kara Tepe have accepted and agreed with the managements' premises on how the management wants the site to be run. In addition to these, the island is filled with other citizen initiatives that are more critical to the initiatives run by the local authorities. The island is full of contrasts in how they approach the crisis. Pikpa, NBK and The Hope Project are all initiatives based on solidarity, something they claim the government lack. They are citizen initiatives that dare to be critical towards the local and the Greek government. Due to their critics towards the local authorities, it is no surprise that the local authorities are not a fan of them either. By seeing and experiencing the other alternatives on the island, one really sees that together they try to cover every need as good as they can. NBK and Pikpa are in some respects alternative shelters, run solely by volunteers. Pikpa works in cooperation with official camps and received the most vulnerable people arriving, and NBK are an alternative shelter for those who desperately wants to stay anywhere besides the state run

camp of Moria. The Hope Project and The Starfish Foundation are examples of initiatives that are present at the arrival spots and have been handing out food, water and blankets to the newly arrived refugees and migrants. Schulpen and Huyse (2017) writes that most people who start a private initiative does not have the ambition to become 'a real NGO' with paid staff etc. A good number of the ones who do start their own initiative are skeptical to the traditional donors, and believes that people-to-people aid is much more effective. Some of the citizen initiatives work by themselves and does not have any long-term plans. In a crisis such as the ongoing refugee crisis there is no doubt that they are helpful then and there, but spontaneous actors are not necessarily linked to sustainable solutions. However, some locally run initiatives who try to include the local population, such as Pikpa, are promoting long-lasting sustainable solutions. The Starfish Foundation and The Hope Project are also run by people who live on the island, so their initiatives can also be viewed upon as more long-term, if their initiatives are not being stopped by local population or local authorities. Local authorities and Greek government are still the main actors, but that does not imply that they there is only room for them. Non-traditional development actors are growing in scale and importance. It is not uncommon to be skeptical to organizations with a somewhat extreme political ideology. As mentioned, anarchists are often associated with violence and view the state as unnecessary. However, there is one thing that can still be established with certainty, the work they all do matter. Some of the initiatives I have mentioned self-acclaim that they fill the gaps that neither the Greek government or the local authorities cannot fill. The local government is aware of their existence and they are not happy about it. As it seems now, it does not look like the crisis will come to an end soon. It might be time for the Greek government and the local authorities on Lesvos to realize that the situation is about to become more permanent. In addition, the citizen initiatives run by unskilled volunteers have become part of the situation as well. If refugees would rather stay in an abandoned warehouse than the official camp and registration center run by the Greek government, there must be a need for organizations such as the NBK, or at least someone to fill this gap. Experiences from this research shows that no matter how nice and well-working Kara Tepe looks from the outside, is not good enough when there is still a large proportion of people that does not get the help they need.

On the Starfish Foundation's own website, they have a quote from a famous essay that have been retold and modified all over the world. It gives a very good insight on motivation behind founding citizen initiatives. I would like to end my research with this quote;

"A young girl was walking along a beach upon which thousands of starfish had been washed up during a terrible storm. When she came to each starfish, she would pick it up, and throw it back into the ocean. People watched her with amusement. She had been doing this for some time when a man approached her and said, "Little girl, why are you doing this? Look at this beach! You can't save all these starfish. You can't begin to make a difference!" The girl seemed crushed, suddenly deflated. But after a few moments, she bent down, picked up another starfish, and hurled it as far as she could into the ocean. Then she looked up at the man and replied, "Well, I made a difference to that one!"

The old man looked at the girl inquisitively and thought about what she had done and said. Inspired, he joined the little girl in throwing starfish back into the sea. Soon others joined and all the starfish were saved.

– Adapted from The Star Thrower by Loren C. Eiseley" (The Starfish Foundation, 2017).

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Appendix I
Snapshots and official numbers from the UNHCR:
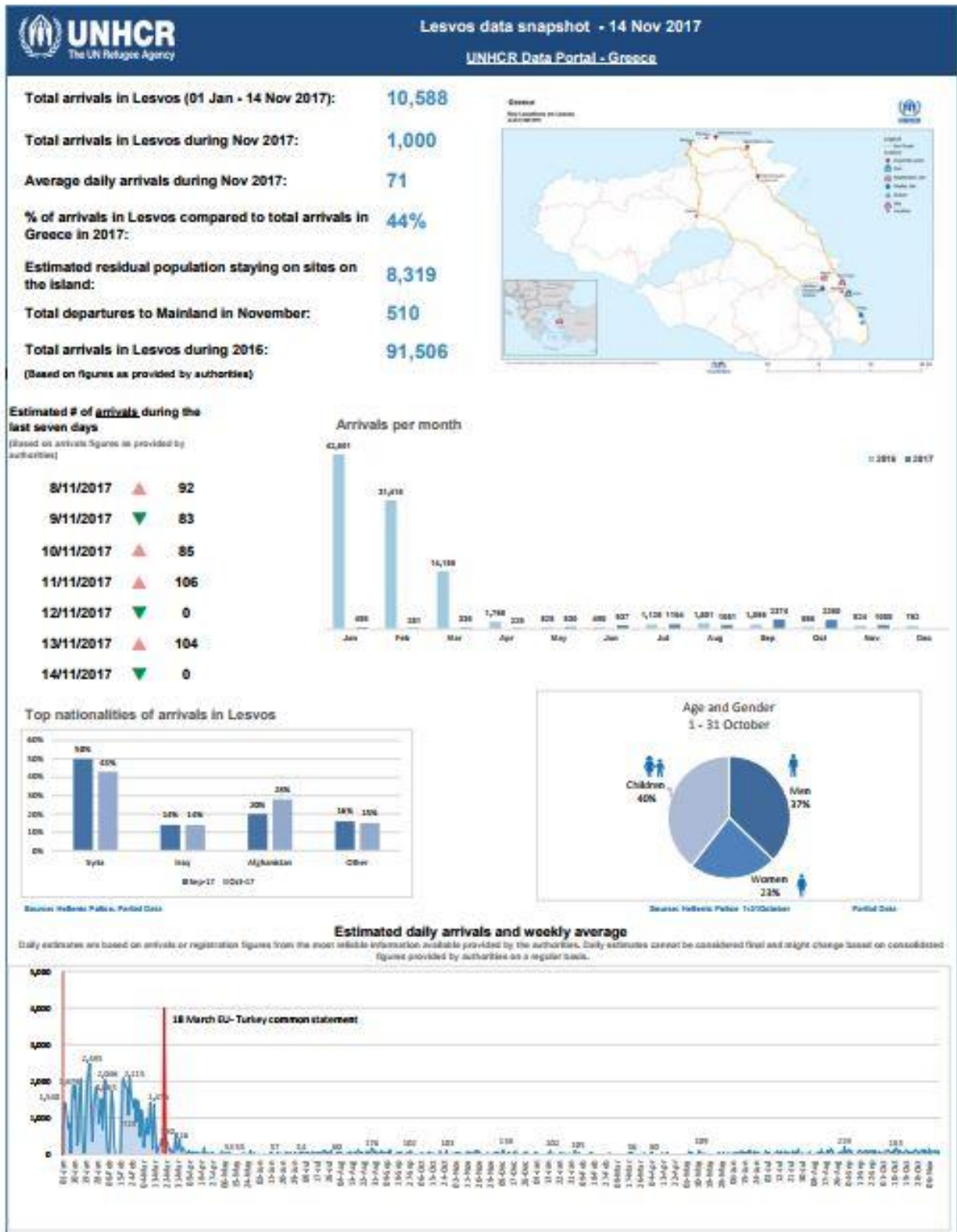
Appendix II

Interview guide

I will present the questions I used for semi-structured face-to-face interviews conducted on Lesvos February/March 2017. The interviews started with a presentation of myself, my studies and what I intended to find out by conducting this research. After I had presented myself, I asked the actors if they wanted to introduce themselves, tell me about their work and their presence at Lesvos, before I asked some follow-up questions, or if I should start by asking questions. Here are the questions I had prepared before contacting the actors;

Questions for site management in Kara Tepe:
- What is the story behind this camp/accommodation site? (When was it established, motivation behind the camp, etc.)
- What organizations can come and work here, is it open for anyone? (Who can enter, who can work here, who can be volunteers?)
- What does the camp offer to its residents? (Food, housing, assistance with?)
- How do you decide who can enter stay in the camp? (Who are classified as vulnerable?)
- Do you receive any financial aid, if so from whom?
- What are the future plans for the camp?
- How are you experiencing the situation at the moment?

Questions for NGOs/other actors:
- What is XXXs mission?
- Why are you present in Kara Tepe? How long have XXX been active in Kara Tepe/on Lesvos?
- How have you experienced the situation here in Kara Tepe/on Lesvos? (How has it changed during XXXs presence here?)
- How are you experiencing the demand for volunteers who wants to come here and contribute?
- Do you have a long-term plan for your work here, and if so what is it?
- Media: we have heard a lot about the crisis when it started, then it calmed down for a while until the cold wave hit Europe and the crisis was yet again a topic in the media. What do you think of this, that the crisis only receives media attention when something catastrophic happens?

- It is claimed that the situation would have been a much bigger crisis, if it not received any help from volunteers. Do you have a comment on that?

Questions for the UNHCR:
- What are the UNHCR's tasks and responsibilities on Lesvos?
- How long have you been active on Lesvos/in Kara Tepe?
- How is the collaboration between the UNHCR and the local authorities in regards to organizing the camp(s) and providing assistance?
- How are the UNHCR experiencing the situation now, and what are your future plan?