



“You do your house, I do my house”

A critical analysis of the humanitarian response to the refugee crisis on Chios

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to explain how the humanitarian actors can facilitate a coherent response to the refugee crisis on Chios in order to meet the needs of the arriving migrants and refugees. Through Biermann's theory of inter-organizationalism we were able to identify gaps and challenges as well as understanding the cooperation between the humanitarian actors on Chios, in order to answer the research question.

The analysis is divided into three sections, where each section enables us to answer our chosen research question. The first section analyzes the creation of new organizations and regimes on Chios, as new problems in regards to the refugee crisis appeared. We conclude that all stakeholders play an essential part as gap fillers in the humanitarian response, because firstly; the newly established NGOs cover the humanitarian needs of food, clothing and medical services on beach level where the migrants arrive. Secondly, the major actors are covering the areas of legal assistance, campsite management and in the field of coordination in order to construct a process of a single flow of migrants on the island.

The second section analyzes challenges in cooperating amongst different actors present on Chios. This is explained by the difficulties of bridging organizational culture, due to differences in operational standards and procedures. The use of approaches based on different rationale leads to incompatibility and diversity in practice. Another major obstacle for humanitarian organizations in utilizing standards is the complexity of the emergency on Chios. We conclude that it is to some extent necessary to have standards for newly established actors in the humanitarian field, even though standards have proven to be too rigid and hamper improvising skills. By adhering to a minimum standard it is possible to create more synergy and continuity in the humanitarian field. Thereby, it would be easier to cover all gaps and needs on the island, and resources would be spent more efficiently.

The third section analyzes strengths of cooperation and the possibility to take advantage of overlaps in the field and therefore share the burden. It is clear that the incentives to

cooperate on Chios grow when organizations are dealing with problems that are difficult to handle alone. It is evident that the major actors can benefit from being connected to organizations working in the grey areas, as they provide solid information on timing and places of boat landings. We conclude that sharing of best practices and exchanging experiences across organizational levels is important on Chios as a cooperation tool. It contributes to ensure quality in the humanitarian work, as well as it stimulates cooperation and the present actors can find better solutions for problem solving. There has not been enough sharing of good practices on the different islands in Greece, Chios included. Sharing of best practice to enhance quality and professionalize the response on the island is highly necessary, especially in regards to medical services for arriving migrants.

By strengthening cooperation across organizational levels, and by limiting the challenges encountered in this thesis, it is possible facilitate a more coherent approach to the refugee crisis to meet the needs of the migrants on Chios.

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List of abbreviations

BAAS	Be Aware And Share
Basque SMH	Basque Country Salvamento Maritimo Humanitario
CESRT	Chios Eastern Shore Rescue Team
CHS	Core Humanitarian Standards
DIO	A Drop in the Ocean
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IS	Islamic State
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MDM	Médecin Du Monde
NFI	Non food items
NGO	Non governmental organization
NPO	Non profit organizations
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
SOP	Standard Operation Procedure
SP	Samaritan's Purse
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WAHA	Women and Health Alliance International
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WHO	World Health Organization

1.0 Introduction

“How can we work together? I think it is in respecting the role of everyone. What volunteers are doing has to be done according to the best interest of the refugees and what an NGO is supposed to do is exactly the same, so we have the same objective”

(Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 4)

When more than a million migrants and refugees crossed into Europe in 2015, it sparked a crisis as countries struggled to cope with the large amount of influx. Violence in war-torn zones of the Middle East increased in 2014 and throughout 2015 as the Islamic State strengthened its position in Iraq and seized most of central Syria, leading to the commencement of the Syrian crisis' fifth year of civil war (Fargues 2015, p. 5). In addition, the protracted character of the situation in Afghanistan combined with deterioration of the situation in countries surrounding Syria due to reinforcement of border policies and a shift in foreign policy, as well as states' willingness and tolerance to protect and support migrants and refugees in the area, resulted in more displacement and a new wave of refugees emerged. This reached a peak in August 2015 and the need for humanitarian aid increased. Greece was specially exposed as the vast majority of migrants arrived by sea, principally via the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to the Greek islands (BBC 2015; Fargues 2015, p.3-5)

UN-agencies alongside other non governmental organizations and civil society movements are responding to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Greece, assisting refugees who arrive on shore and on the following route within Greece towards the Idomeni camp, which is situated on the border of Greece and Macedonia (FYROM). Western governments' struggle to handle the many conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa (from now on MENA) region and the overwhelming need for a response from the overloaded UN-agencies and the major international actors, created pressure in the humanitarian world. As the major humanitarian actors have existing constraints in their capacity, competencies and available resources, civil society movements and newly established non-governmental organizations

(from now on NGOs) received prominent roles on the ground. Not only acting as the primary representatives of the international community, but also increasingly providing public goods in the absence of functional states (Stoddard 2009, p.25). There has been an increase in non-governmental humanitarian organizations present during emergency responses in the past three decades, and they have evolved into a crucial pillar of the architecture in the international humanitarian response system alongside the major international actors. Rafael Biermann explains that when new problems and emergencies arrive it also stimulates the creation of new organizations and regimes (Biermann 2009, p. 7). Newly established NGOs based on volunteerism and the engagement of civil societies is now in some areas the primary implementing agencies present, and at times the driving force behind international humanitarian responses (Stoddard 2009, p. 25).

The humanitarian response on Chios, which is our selected research area for our thesis, has performed formidably with civil society as first responders to the crisis, followed by a response from UNHCR alongside with other major humanitarian organizations. The local community has been supporting migrants coming to the island for the past five years, and in October 2015 the major international humanitarian organizations established themselves on the island (UNHCR 2016). However, due to the extreme pressure of the need of relief aid on the beaches of Chios and lack of initiative by the humanitarian actors in the field, the capacity of the local community became limited, which led to an international humanitarian response organized through volunteerism. It is obvious that whether people arriving to the islands of Greece are categorized as refugees or migrants, in search of economic opportunities or seeking international protection, they are all in need of humanitarian assistance. Several newly established NGOs emerged on Chios during the fall of 2015, alongside UNHCR and other major international actors, all with the same objective to assist the people of concern and their needs while staying on the island. This includes assisting with boat receptions, food distribution, transportation, and deliver assistance within the transit- and detention sites.

We initially set out to uncover the reasons for why we did not hear as much about the major humanitarian organizations' work on the Greek islands, but more about the work of the smaller newly established NGOs. During our fieldwork our focus took a turn to the

conditions and frameworks the humanitarian organizations work in and how this affect the humanitarian response. How the conditions were displayed on different levels, in terms of cooperation and gap filling, and how the humanitarian aid could become more effective by focusing on the strengths of cooperation and burden sharing, were topics we were intrigued by. Therefore, this thesis explores humanitarian aid given on Chios, the humanitarian gaps identified and different perspectives on cooperation in order to enhance the humanitarian aid given.

1.1 Research question

The humanitarian response on Chios, as portrayed by the involved actors, is the fundamental background of this research paper. We wish to explore the reasons for the emergence of newly established NGOs, and to comprehend how all the different stakeholders are cooperating on the island to fulfill the needs of the people of concern. We also wish to identify challenges and gaps in the humanitarian response, and to understand who are filling these gaps and how the humanitarian aid by the major international actors, as well as civil society, are constrained by the environment they work in. We try to answer this with the following research question:

How can the humanitarian actors facilitate a coherent response to the refugee crisis on Chios in order to meet the needs of the migrants?

To answer this we conducted fieldwork on Chios for 4 weeks, working with the organization “A Drop in the Ocean” (from now on DIO). During our time on Chios we used participant observation and conducted seven interviews with representatives from different organizational levels working in the humanitarian field. To answer our research question we have divided our analysis into three sections. In the three sections we analyze:

What are the identified gaps on Chios and what actors are filling them?

What are the different challenges of inter-organizationalism?

How can the humanitarian actors cooperate across organizational levels in a humanitarian emergency?

1.2 Structure of the thesis

It is important to keep in mind that this is an empirically based project, where the goal was to paint a picture of the situation on Chios through the humanitarian actors eyes and not strictly through theorists. We therefore explore these questions in-depth by investigating the different stakeholders' humanitarian response to the emergency situation on the Greek island of Chios and review how they cooperate, as well as by identifying gaps in the response and understanding how civil society and volunteers have emerged to the island in order to assist the humanitarian response where needed.

In order to answer our research question, in the second chapter of our thesis we present an introduction to the field, in order for the reader to gain basic knowledge on the background of the refugee crisis before we go in-depth on our selected field of study. This is followed by chapter three, which presents our conceptual clarification. In the fourth chapter of the thesis we present the methodological framework. This chapter elaborates on our methodological considerations during the process of our fieldwork, the methods used in order to conduct our research and considerations made during the production of the research project. In order to strengthen the response to our research question, in chapter five, we elaborate on the theory of inter-organizationalism presented by Rafael Biermann (2009, 2011), and Griekspoor and Sondorp's (2001), as well as Dorothea Hilhorst's (2002), theory of quality and accountability within humanitarian assistance. In chapter six we present the various actors on the island, including an in-depth presentation of our selected organization to conduct our fieldwork, and explain our assignments while working on Chios. Lastly, we illustrate our theoretical framework for the analysis.

Chapter 7 in this research project consists of our analysis that is partitioned into three sections. These three sections form the necessary analytical observations to answer the research question. The first section analyses why civil society with small newly established NGOs have emerged on Chios and identifies the humanitarian gaps. The second section of the analysis elaborates on the challenges of inter-organizationalism identified on the island, and the third section is focusing on the positive aspects of cooperation amongst stakeholders, why organizations choose to cooperate and how this is beneficial for the

humanitarian aid given. After the analysis chapter we present our conclusion in order to answer the chosen research question and summarize the main points of the research paper.

2.0 Background

In this chapter we present some of the background information on the situation in the MENA region that led to the congestion of migrants in Turkey, and the following sudden refugee flow from Turkey to Greece. We do this to ensure that the reader have the broader picture of the refugee crisis in order to better understand the context and background of this research project. Linking our background knowledge on push- and pull factors with our fieldwork on Chios, we can better comprehend why the sudden flow of refugees commenced in August 2015.

2.1 Illegal border crossings and nationalities

Illegal border crossings through the Mediterranean into Europe have been a large-scale phenomenon since the 1980s, however the extent and pattern saw a radical change in 2014 (Fargues 2015, p. 2). The migratory route shifted from the long and perilous Central Mediterranean route to the shorter and safer Eastern Mediterranean route, and within that change there was a decreased risk of a lethal journey across the sea (ibid. p 2). According to UNHCR, there were 856 723 sea arrivals to Greece in 2015 compared to 153 842 arrivals to Italy (UNHCR 2015, p. 1). In 2014 there were 41 038 arrivals to Greece, against 170 100 arrivals to Italy (UNHCR 2016). By reviewing these numbers, one can understand that there has been a huge shift in the migratory route, as well as the amount of people fleeing and seeking a better future Europe. Migratory routes are constantly in change depending on border policies, politics in the origin and receiving country, change in geography of conflicts, and tightened state control in transit or destination countries (Fargues 2015, p. 2). The emergence of new refugee situations such as in Syria, and the protracted character of other situations like in Afghanistan, has also contributed to the rapidly changing flow of migrants, as the majority of the migrants arriving to Greece are from Syria and Afghanistan (ibid. p 3). Figures based on information from the Hellenic Coast Guards and the Police in Greece, collected within the framework of UNHCR, states that 54,9% of migrants and

refugees arriving to Greece in the period January 2015 to March 2016 were from Syrian Arab Republic, while 24,6% are from Afghanistan (UNHCR 2015, p. 3). Remaining majority of the nationalities who arrived to Greece were from Iraq, Pakistan, Iran, Somalia and Eritrea with respectively 11%, 2,9%, 2,7%, 0,4% and 0,1% (ibid. p 3). Information on who are fleeing is important in order to understand the different push- and pull factors influencing people's decision to escape their countries. In the following chapter we look into some of the push- and pull factors for why the identified nationalities chose to flee their countries.

2.2 Push- and pull factors

The European refugee crisis evolved rapidly in the Mediterranean starting from August 2015. What were the reasons behind the sudden flow of refugees and migrants arriving to the Greek islands? There is a debate on what triggered the crisis, and the existing push- and pull factors. According to Fargues (2015, p. 2) there were various push factors in the Middle East and pull factors in Europe, which triggered the crisis and contributed to the extreme mixed migration flow. Our paper do not go in-depth of the reasons behind the sudden refugee flow to Europe, however it is useful to have an insight in some of these factors in order to understand how our research question emerged and the related background (ibid. p 2-4). Therefore, in the following paragraphs we highlight some of the major events in the countries surrounding Syria in order to comprehend the exponential growth in migrants crossing the border from Turkey to Greece starting from August 2015.

An identified pull factor is access to a job market. The majority of the refugees are smuggled to Europe after spending a long time in countries of first asylum, such as Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan and Egypt (ibid. p 4). Due to lack of access to livelihoods combined with the fact that their savings gradually disappear when individuals and families have no income in countries of first asylum, the need for a more sustainable livelihood emerges (ibid. p 4). Therefore, it becomes a necessity of utter importance for the refugees to access the job market and earn an income in order to protect and support themselves and their families. Without the possibility for a safe return to their country of origin, moving towards Europe become one of the few possibilities left.

A push factor is violence in war-torn zones of the Middle East that increased in 2014 and through 2015, as the Islamic State strengthened its position in Iraq and seized most of central Syria (ibid. p 5). As a result, many more people became displaced, and created a new wave of internally displaced persons and refugees to neighboring countries already burdened by protracted conflicts (ibid. p 5). Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt were in the beginning of the Syrian civil war in 2011 welcoming towards Syrian refugees, however since 2014 they have been changing their policy towards Syrians by reinforcing border controls in order to reduce the number of refugee arrivals (Zaragoza-Cristiani 2015, p. 7). The situation in countries of first asylum surrounding Syria has deteriorated, as humanitarian aid is becoming more rare over time and due to tensions rising between refugees and the host states (Fargues 2015, p. 5). The MENA region is the source and the host to 50% of the world's 20 million refugees according to UNHCR and UNRWA (ibid. p 5). As many of these countries have not signed the Refugee Convention from 1951 and the following Protocol from 1962, the response in these countries are very much charity-based instead of using a right-based approach (ibid. p 5). The response is based on the willingness of the host state to assist their neighboring countries in need, however they do not offer them a refugee status, which means they are lacking their fundamental rights they receive through the international law for refugees. In the beginning the neighboring countries such as Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey were mostly welcoming and tolerating the refugees, however after time their countries suffered due to the prolonged crisis (ibid. p 5). Therefore, the surrounding countries have become stricter towards delivering access to their territories. Jordan and Lebanon have recently taken measures in order to make it almost impossible for new refugees to arrive (ibid. p 5). They also restrict the stay of the refugees who are already in their country, which means that once existing refugees in the area's entry visa have expired, they become unauthorized and therefore in risk of exploitation and destitution, which is why they find the need to leave their first country of asylum (ibid. p 5). When Jordan and Lebanon are tightening up their borders, the only choice left for Syrians are to flee to Turkey, as Iraq is not a possibility as a safe country, which is why the route to Europe through the Greek islands becomes extremely popular.

The conflict and regional turbulences of the Middle East and the increased restrictive policies of the countries neighboring Syria, caused according to Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani

a funnel effect, cornering and concentrating a huge amount of refugees from Syria in Turkey (2015, p. 20). He explains causes of the massive migratory flow from Turkey to Greece since August 2015 with the same arguments as Fargues does. However, in addition he explains in regards to Turkey that there were two major factors influencing the sudden change of refugees' decision to leave Turkey, which were a series of security incidents within the country and a shift in their foreign policy strategy in 2015 towards the conflict in Syria and their perception on how to handle Syrian refugees within their territories (ibid. p 1).

Previously, Turkey had continued with open borders, even when countries such as Jordan and Lebanon were closing theirs in 2014 (ibid. p 9). Solidarity towards refugees in Turkey was observed by experts as a Turkish foreign policy strategy in order to gain impact and influence in the region (ibid. p 9). However, in 2015 there was a switch in the Turkish government decisions, and most of the borders were closed (ibid. p 10). Turkish border guards also opened fires towards Syrian refugees trying to cross the border, killing at least 8 people in June 2015. However, it was not until 20th of July 2015 that it was possible to observe the major changes in the Turkish government decisions, which triggered the major refugee flow from Turkey to Greece that started in August 2015 (ibid. p 10). Following in that period, several security incidents that happened within Turkey, which led to the decision by refugees who had been staying in Turkey for a while to leave for Europe in August 2015 to live a life in dignity (ibid. p 20). These security incidents were a series of terrorist attacks in Turkey such as suicide bombings near the border to Syria which led to violent demonstrations in several regions of Turkey, and an attack on Turkish soldiers killed by the IS at a Turkish border post, which persuaded them into changing their policy towards the conflict in Syria (ibid. p 10-11). Thus, the Turkish government mobilized soldiers to control the regions bordering Syria in order to besiege IS's position in the area, as well as lending their military facilities to the US-led coalition against IS. In addition, they built a wall to reinforce the Turkish-Syrian border, making it harder for both IS and refugees to cross the border to Turkey. Cases of anti-refugee demonstrations, human rights violations, unlawful return of refugees to Syria, as well as unlawful detention of refugees have also been reported in Turkey (Fargues 2015, p. 6; Zaragoza-Cristiani 2015, p. 11-19).

Moreover, as an exchange for the US to use Turkey's military bases, there was speculations of Turkey and the US to agree to establish a safe zone in northern parts of Syria, in order to send back Syrian refugees to their country (Zaragoza-Cristiani 2015, p. 14). The US denied this allegation of creating a safe zone, however the announcement by the Turkish Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Feridun Sinirlioglu of the safe zone in August, may have enforced the refugees' decisions as one of the push factors to leave Turkey and seek safety in Europe (ibid. p 14). To be sent back to Syria, the country they all fled war and the advance of IS, refugees were not in favor of returning to an area within Syria which is still occupied by the IS (ibid. p 14). In addition, the 2 million Syrian refugees stranded in Turkey in August 2015 did not have an official refugee status, as the government labeled them as guests granted temporary protection. This means that Turkey is under no obligation to support Syrians, and they are therefore allowed to return refugees whenever they want to. Through the temporary protection, refugees are ensured basic services in camps, but limited access to services such as health care, and they do not have working permits, which is an explanatory factor for why Syrians work unlawfully in the country (ibid. p 15-16).

These events resulted in political and social instability (ibid. p 11), and the willingness of the Syrians to wait in Turkey for the war to end, which led to the beginning of the current refugee crisis in Europe through the Eastern Mediterranean route (ibid. p 20). The exponential migratory flow observed from August 2015 was intensified by the Turkish lack of interest, willingness and capacity to continue receiving refugees from Syria, and assist, protect and control them, as well as the motivation for seeking refuge in Europe increased, which led to a massive number of Syrian refugees' decisions to leave Turkey (ibid. p 16-17). Fargues also argues that in a way, the Syrians have unlocked the door to Europe, as it is evident that a flow from other countries such as Afghanistan and Eritrea emerged after the situation in Syria deteriorated in the fall of 2013 (Fargues 2015, p. 5).

Alongside with what was happening in the Middle East and in Turkey, Europe started to build up fences in order to limit the access to their territories. In December 2012 Greece finished the construction of a fence on their border with Turkey, and in November 2013 Bulgaria did the same. These procedures reduced the number of refugees arriving by land to Greece and Bulgaria, forcing refugees and migrants to choose the more perilous journey

through the Eastern Mediterranean route via the Aegean Sea (Zaragoza-Cristiani 2015, p. 1-8).

Another contribution to the shift from the Central Mediterranean route from Libya to Italy to the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece was also the significant reduction in the probability of death at sea (Fargues 2015, p. 2). As one was more likely to survive crossings to Greece than to Italy, the route to the islands of Greece became more popular. In addition, two events in 2015 may have affected refugees' decisions and preferences to choose the Eastern Mediterranean route. Firstly, on 19th of April 2015 900 migrants, mostly of Syrian nationality, died crossing the sea trying to reach Italy from Libya (Zaragoza-Cristiani 2015, p. 8). Secondly, in May 2015 the EU approved the military European mission EUNAVFOR MED, which was to limit trafficking (ibid. p 8). These two factors may have influenced Syrian refugees to switch to the less dangerous Eastern route to reach Europe (ibid. p 8).

All of the abovementioned factors contribute to understanding why a huge amount of migrants suddenly appeared on the islands of Greece. Chios is receiving the second largest amount of refugees and migrants in Greece after Lesbos. In 2015, a total of 506 919 migrants arrived to the island Lesbos, while 120 556 migrants came to Chios (UNHCR 2016). This made Chios an interesting field of study in order to understand the complex and rapidly changing refugee emergency situation on the island and the following humanitarian response.

3.0 Conceptual clarification

In this chapter of our research project we clarify our definitions of the essential concepts used in this paper. We present the scope and limits of our research project by addressing the concept of an NGO and an NPO and how that relates to the definition of civil society, as well as how these terms have been used in this paper. Furthermore, we clarify what we mean by UN-agencies throughout the research project.

3.1 NGOs and civil society

There are many humanitarian actors present on Chios who work directly and indirectly with the arriving migrants. To determine the role of NGOs and how they are a part of the humanitarian rescue response team on Chios, it is first important to clarify what an NGO is. The United Nations Environmental Program defines an NGO as a group:

“(a) formally or informally organized around shared purposes; (b) non-governmental, and so not part of the state apparatus; (c) self-governing, rather than externally controlled; and (d) voluntary both in the sense of being non-compulsory and in the sense of voluntary involvement in their governance or operations” (UNEP 2003).

This definition is clear on what NGOs have in common, and makes it possible to distinguish between an NGO and a state-funded organization. Using this definition and the World Bank's description, that to a greater extent captures the complexity and variety of the different types of NGOs, provides an understanding of the terminology. The World Bank refrains from a definition due to the high diversity of NGOs, but argues that the concept:

“Include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organized regionally or nationally; and member-groups in villages. NGOs/NPOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organization. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, water-user societies, women's groups and pastoral associations. Citizen groups that raise awareness and influence policy are also NGOs/NPOs” (World Bank 1990).

NGOs thus play a crucial role in states lacking resources to ensure human needs and protection for its citizens and people resetting within its borders. NGOs can also be divided

into different categories based on their orientation or level of operation and experience. The categories in orientation include charity, service providing and empowering and the level of operation include community based, national and international organizations (Cousins 1991). By this definition it is apparent that all stakeholders currently operating on Chios, with the exception of the authorities, are within the definition of an NGO, including well-established humanitarian organizations, organizations based on volunteerism and organizations deriving from civil society movements. An example of a community based NGO according to the abovementioned definition is the local organization Chios Eastern Shore Rescue Team (from now on CESRT), which emerged on Chios as a civil society movement. In this research project we differ between the major humanitarian organizations and newly established NGOs. Organizations that have been established for a long period of time and that are known worldwide and leading in humanitarian work such as NRC and the UNHCR, are in this paper referred to as “the major humanitarian organizations”. The smaller NGOs that have emerged in the recent year due to the crisis on Chios, such as a DIO, CESRT and Khalsa Aid, are referred to as newly established NGOs. To ensure the broadest possible perspective in this research project, we secure that the organizations subject to analysis vary in level of operation and orientation.

3.2 UN-Agencies

Unofficially known as the “UN family”, is the UN system made up by the UN affiliated programs such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Food Program (WFP), World Health Organization (WHO), to mention a few (United Nations 2016). Represented in this research project is the UN refugee agency officially named Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This is the only UN agency present on Chios, and therefore also the only one worth mentioning in this thesis. UNHCR is one of the actors with the most experience present on Chios, and further down in the thesis we present UNHCR and their role on the island more broadly.

4.0 Methodology

This methodological chapter explains our methodological decisions and considerations of the thesis. We start by explaining why a qualitative approach was beneficial for this research project, followed by an explanation of strategies used during the interviews that were conducted during our fieldwork and ending the chapter with a discussion of our choices regarding the main theories used in this thesis that enables us to answer our final research question.

4.1 Qualitative research

This research project started out as a curiosity about the different actors present on the Greek islands in relation to the escalation of arrivals of migrants. Why did we read more about the smaller volunteer organizations' involvement in the humanitarian aid than UNHCR? Where were NRC and the other major NGOs in all of this?

Due to lack of knowledge in this field and the constant changing conditions, we decided that participant observation and conducting interviews with the different actors involved would give us the depth and the insight we needed to answer our questions in a proper matter. As our decision landed on traveling to Chios working for the NGO DIO while doing our data collection, our process became a mix of inductive and deductive analysis. During the 4 weeks we spent on the island of Chios, we worked 100% with DIO. In addition to this we made contact with a lot of different actors that are present all the way from the beach and to the registration- and transit sites. By being present at the same place for a long time ensured us good and trusting contacts that were willing to open up to us about the work that is being done, both in formal and informal conversations.

During our time on Chios we conducted different interviews with several actors present on the island, which gave us a better insight of the situation and an overview of the different roles they all play. These interviews have been characterized by broad and open questions, which stimulate conversations and make the respondents able to talk about what they find important. Going over the empirical material we gathered during our stay, we thus approached a more deductive analysis strategy in which we specified our questions and centered them on topics that the different actors presented to us. For our research project,

this approach was beneficial as it allowed us to go back and forth between the different empirical details and let them shape each other, thus ensuring that the empirical material shaped the theory and not the other way around. By letting the respondents talk freely about the work they are doing and the issues they face as casual and unstructured as possible, also ensured that the empirical material gathered was not purely determined by our assumptions and thematic reduction.

Using interviews and qualitative data as a method has both its strengths and weaknesses. But as our goal was to gather as much insight about the field as possible from the participants' eyes, qualitative data collection ended as the obvious choice for us. This kind of research method allows for a deeper insight to individual behavior and the meanings that are related to this (Bryman 2012, p. 405). As methods, we valued a mix of interviews and participant observation, as both remained equally important. Participant observation while doing work turned out to be extremely important to learn the dynamics of the humanitarian work on Chios, while the interviews gave us a deeper insight in the actors' everyday experiences and the empirical material we needed (ibid. p 405).

Objectivity and reliability is something that has been a matter of a lot of discussion and criticism in using qualitative methods (ibid. p 405). But for this research project, our wish was to focus on the truth as how it was explained by the participants, but also based on our own experiences and observations, the obvious choice remained qualitative method regardless of the downside of subjectivity and reliability of the informants. Thus, the choice of methodology landed on participant observation and furthermore in-depth interviews as our goal was to give the reader a correct and realistic description of the situation as possible, seen through a variety of experiences and observations. With that being said, it is important to emphasize that our interview objects are both experts and non-experts in the field of the services they provide and the organizational obstacles they face on Chios. Therefore, in order to ensure objectivity it became crucial to back up the empirical material with primary sources and academic literature to improve representability and validity of our research project (ibid. p 405).

4.2 Interview method

The seven interviews that were conducted on Chios have been of the semi-structured type, more precisely the “interview guide approach” presented by Britha Mikkelsen (2005). This type of style has a basis in a guide to question our topics before the interview is conducted, but the sequence and wording are decided during the interview. This has been the main starting point for every interview conducted during our fieldwork, but new themes and questions presented by the respondents have also been pursued. For all of the interviews the guide has worked more as a checklist to make sure that the different themes have been covered and the questions have been formulated during the interview rather than read out loud from the guide. This was done in order to allow the participant to speak freely about topics that they found important, and to avoid us as interviewers to guide their answers and control the topics of conversation (Mikkelsen 2005, p. 171).

For this research project, doing a semi structured interview has given us the possibility to increase the amount of valuable information about the different topics we wanted to know more about, as it kept the interviews conversational but still thematically on track. The interview approach furthermore secured a systematic collection of information for all interviews, as the information offered by the different respondents could be matched with the guide. This made it easier for us to fill in gaps of information about certain topics. One of the issues with doing a semi-structured interview is that the different topics, which are relevant to the respondent, might be avoided. We tried avoiding this issue by pursuing new themes and new questions during the interviews and that decreased the possibility of neglect of important topics or perspectives. This has been done with sensitivity to the timeframe we were in and the predetermined themes to ensure the biggest possible amount of valuable data (ibid. p 171-173).

4.3 Sampling and choice of questions

With an inductive starting point and a hope to gain more information, “criterion sampling” was the first technique we used to set up the interviews. We talked to everyone that we thought could broaden our perspective and provide insight on issues regarding volunteerism and humanitarian aid on Chios, which can thus be considered as the determining criterion (ibid. p 170). For this research project, this was seen as a useful

strategy to gain valuable knowledge about the humanitarian aid given during the refugee crisis that has struck out throughout Europe and especially in Greece. On that account, we set up interviews, which provided us with good information on this topic next to us using participant observation method working with DIO at beach level. After a while we changed our sampling tactic to a mix between “snowballing” and “maximum variation”, which allowed us to set up interviews with different actors we had already been in contact with, in relation to our work or invitations to private arrangements, and chose different respondents that differed from the people we had already talked to. To secure a variation in perspectives we differentiated between the functions of the organizations, such as those who work in the first line at the beaches and the ones that are in second line who’s main responsibilities lie in the detention and registration sites. Our main goal with this interview tactic was to gain as much insight as possible on the different responsibilities, which was a question of both access to the different organizations and their busy schedule. All this made snowballing and maximum variation the best possible options (ibid. p 171).

4.4 Analyzing interviews

After every interview we went through our material and transcribed it, as this strategy would ensure the least loss of data due to our memory limitations. Transcribing the recorded interviews was a good option to double-check our material and to plan our next step in the interviewing process. As Bryman explains, transcription allows for a more thorough examination of what people say. Due to the variable of language barriers as well, it was important to go over the interviews afterwards to make sure that our data was as precise as possible and that we understood everything that had been said (Bryman 2012, p. 482).

After each transcription we also went over and color-coded the interviews according to themes that made it easier for us to use the material during the production of the thesis. As the interviews gave us a lot of information, it was important that we could organize that information according to these themes, so it would be easier to go back to the interviews and look for the information. The different colors went accordingly to the main themes that were brought up during the interviews, such as cooperation, coordination challenges and so forth.

4.5 Choice of theory

When using a qualitative approach, we lean on theory to analyze and explain our empirical material. It is therefore important to clarify what kind of theories and concepts we have chosen for this research project, how they supplement each other and enable us to question and analyze the humanitarian aid provided on the Greek island of Chios.

In our analysis we use Biermann's framework for conducting an inter-organizational analysis of the humanitarian response on Chios. This theory focuses mainly on interaction between organizations, and what positive and negative outcomes that may occur by using this organizational approach and how this affects the given humanitarian aid (Biermann, 2009, 2011).

To supplement this, we use theory on quality and accountability as presented by Andre Griekspoor and Egbert Sondorp (2001), as well as Dorothea Hilhorst (2002). By using these theories we clarify why humanitarian actors are accountable for the quality of the humanitarian response, and what outcomes that follow when unprofessional volunteers are used as one of the main facilitators in an emergency response situation. Quality and accountability theory is also used to analyze how humanitarian aid can improve, by using the refugee crisis as an example and Chios as a context.

Both of these theories work as main guidelines to ensure a qualified analysis for answering our research question; *how can the humanitarian actors facilitate a coherent response to the refugee crisis on Chios in order to meet the needs of the migrants?*

5.0 Theory

This chapter outlines the organizational theories we found most suiting to constitute the theoretical framework and to apply on the empirical material we produced while working on Chios. The chosen theories are the key instruments used to break down the studies we made and analyze the material that constitute our master thesis. In inter-organizationalism there exist challenges and cooperation methods that constitute a theory on how inter-

organizational relations should work. Furthermore, quality and accountability theory are concepts that affect organizational work in the humanitarian field. In order to analyze the studies we made on Chios, we use organizational theory approaches like challenges, cooperation, competition and quality of aid in order to answer our chosen research question, and to outline that changes need to be done in the humanitarian emergency aid field.

5.1 Inter-organizationalism

Inter-organizationalism as a theory, presented by Rafael Biermann (2011), is used to clarify why organizations cooperate in emergencies when they share a functional and geographical overlap in an institutional space and what challenges they face while cooperating. Theoretically, inter-organizationalism “studies the structure and processes of inter-organizational relations” (Biermann 2011, p. 173). It intends to explore, and explain, the “embeddedness of organizations within their environment” (ibid. p 173). The relationships between the different organizations present during humanitarian responses vary in terms of bonds, the number of existing partners each organizations collaborate with and the degree of institutionalism (ibid. p 173). Inter-organizationalism also identifies the roles the different organizations take on and how other actors define these roles, and how they work both individually and collectively in the humanitarian field. Thus, inter-organizationalism emphasizes the type of interactions that intergovernmental organizations, public and private partnerships and NGOs have between each other. In this research project we focus on how the interaction between the different actors function on the Greek island of Chios. Biermann argues that in inter-organizational theory there exists different types of interactions to focus on. The interaction can be horizontal or vertical, formal or informal, and the different organizations can affect the performance and future development of other organizations present on a scene in a direct or indirect, manner (ibid. p 173). This means that inter-organizationalism has a functionalistic focus and by exploring the strengths and weaknesses of interaction between organizations it tries to increase the effectiveness of inter-organizational cooperation (ibid. p 174). Historically, most of the interactions amongst organizations during a humanitarian crisis have been vertical with the sovereign state on top of the hierarchy leading all humanitarian operations. They are usually followed by UN-agencies and they are further followed by NGOs and civil society (Biermann 2009).

In this research project we argue by using inter-organizational theory, that humanitarian aid is changing from vertical into horizontal interaction in dynamic ways and that cooperation should change accordingly so humanitarian aid can be optimized to meet the needs of the beneficiaries.

If one looks at inter-organizationalism from a functionalistic angle, one can argue that NGOs and civil society, and not only state institutions and UN-agencies, can contribute with problem solving during humanitarian crisis. According to Biermann, there are three effects in regards to the organizational contribution of NGOs and civil society movements. Firstly, Biermann argues, that when new problems arrive it also stimulates the creation of new organizations and regimes (ibid. p 7). In the context of the Greek island of Chios, both the economic crisis and the increasing number of migrants arriving to the beaches are important exogenous factors driving the newly establishments of NGOs and the commitment of the local community. Secondly, Biermann argues that growing problems put pressure on institutional transformation of organizations (ibid. p 8). The situation on Chios is in constant change, and therefore the organizations, both UNHCR and the smaller NGOs alongside the state, need to adapt to the situation to constantly be on top of the needs of the arriving migrants and cooperate with each other accordingly. Thirdly, Biermann argues that due to the increasing density of institutional space there is an inter-organizational way of networking. Meaning, that in a small space the different organizations need to deal and adapt with overlapping and network across organizational levels. The presence of an overlapping on functional and geographical grounds creates opportunities of essential inter-organizational relations, which means opportunities of burden sharing and more effective problem solving amongst the different organizations present, if they decide to take advantage of it. This type of overlap is, theoretically speaking, necessary to establish an efficient cooperation amongst the organizations, and the different incentives to cooperate grow when organizations are dealing with problems that are difficult to handle alone (ibid. p 8).

To be able to respond to major and complex challenges, such as the refugee crisis on the different Greek islands has turned out to be, organizations need to coordinate and work closely with other organizations that are engaged in the same field. It is essential since

cooperation will “achieve more coherence, synergy or unity of effort” (Biermann 2011, p. 174-175).

5.1.1 Challenges of inter-organizationalism

Cooperation is not always a given in organizational interaction and culture. In this section of the theoretical framework we focus on Biermanns three major challenges when looking at inter-organizationalism and why organizations can choose not to cooperate: the bridging between organizational culture, the causing of self-centeredness while cooperating and fighting over visibility and resources (ibid.).

Challenges can occur when different actors have to bridge organizational cultures in-between the organizations. Organizations can have different standard operation procedures (from now on SOPs), some do not have any SOPs and generally work in a different way that other possible cooperation partners may find difficult (ibid. p 176). Another challenge is that cooperation can cause self-centeredness: this means that organizations try to protect their own authority, autonomy and visibility in the field. When implementing an activity it is essential to review it in connection with the overall picture. Organizations will then avoid self-centeredness by solely focusing on its own agenda, as this can lead to conflict and can hamper other organizations’ activities. Fighting over resources, Biermann argues is a third challenge, and in the fight for resources rash decisions can be made (ibid. p 176-177). As an example, in different emergencies NGOs have given the impression of being “ambulance chasers” as they appear on the different emergency scenes with a big amount of people to provide assistance. Although this is not exactly how things are done on Chios by the NGOs, one can see a clear escalation in “free spirited cowboys” who work as boat chasers, trying to save one child at a time by taking “selfies”. The more dramatic they make an event, post it on social media or to get local media coverage, the greater chance they have of getting likes and money (Natsios 1995, p. 409). Visibility is crucial for NGOs to get the necessary funding in order to survive, but can also create tension and fighting over resources. As for working in the humanitarian field, this type of organizational behavior can be counterproductive in ways such as duplication, waste of resources, unnecessary competition and exacerbation of the problem that needs to be solved (Biermann 2011, p. 177).

5.1.2 Cooperation: strengths of inter-organizationalism

Although one can argue that inter-organizational cooperation can have its challenges and that they are valid arguments used by organizations, it is also important to outline the positive outcomes of inter-organizational cooperation, and what this has to say for the quality of the humanitarian aid given. As Biermann argues, since inter-organizationalism is inspired by both globalization and interdependence, cooperation is an implicit outline of the theory (ibid.).

Compact spaces with a lot of actors present encourage inter-organizational networking in the humanitarian field. One of the strengths of cooperation outlined in inter-organizational theory is gap filling, which is also one of the key arguments of this research project. We highlight how the humanitarian actors work as gap fillers across organizational levels, and how this is necessary to cover all the needs of the people of concern. Biermann continues with the argumentation of burden sharing as a second key factor for cooperation, where issues in ongoing emergencies tend to grow bigger than an institution or organization can handle alone, where a possible solution is that organizations contribute to problem solving amongst each other. The third and final strength of inter-organizational cooperation theory outlined in this research project is the sharing of practices and experiences to ensure quality in the humanitarian work (ibid. p 8). Overlap stimulates cooperation and one can find better solution for problem solving in exchanging of experiences across organizational levels (Biermann 2009, p. 44).

Academics and researchers have been interested in inter-organizationalism to study the variation of cooperation and competition over time amongst organizations in the humanitarian field, as it is important to outline that they are not only potential cooperation partners, but also competitors. To further develop humanitarian aid in emergencies it is important to study causation of humanitarian activities based on evaluation, so that humanitarian actors can offer better solutions and pave the way for more effective problem-solving and cooperation (Biermann 2011, p. 12).

Further down in this research project, we analyze the emergency aid provided on the island of Chios, based on the framework of inter-organizationalism, together with theory of quality

and accountability. We analyze the motives of existing cooperation, causes of obstacles and what this has to say for the humanitarian aid that is provided, and humanitarian aid that should be provided for the many migrants that arrive on the island everyday.

5.2 Quality and accountability and the use of standards in humanitarian aid

The background for our theoretical focus on accountability, quality and standards in humanitarian aid, is due to the absence of the major humanitarian actors at beach level on Chios, and their further lack of initiative in other areas such as food distribution, transportation and providing services in the detention sites. The presence of unprofessional volunteers as major contributors in the humanitarian work on Chios enhances the necessity of evaluating the quality and accountability of the emergency response. Therefore, in our analysis we elaborate on the questions of accountability, quality and standardization of procedures in the major humanitarian organizations on Chios, as well as accountability and quality towards organizations based on volunteerism and civil society present at beach level.

In this next section we firstly paint a picture of the reasons for the current debate on the importance of quality and accountability in the humanitarian world, followed by theoretical definitions of quality and accountability and their relation to humanitarian assistance. We explain why standards have become important aspects of quality and accountability when humanitarian activities are implemented, investigating Hilhorst's three approaches to quality management. Furthermore, we present different standards in the humanitarian aid section, such as The Sphere project, the Logical Framework and the more "modern" approach of Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability. Secondly, we present standards utilized in humanitarian assistance. Thirdly, we explain how the mentioned standards have been criticized, and present implications of using standards based on theoretical arguments from Griekspoor and Sondorp (2001).

5.2.1 Quality and accountability

The general perception by the public of humanitarian assistance before the crisis in Rwanda was that humanitarian agencies' work was always to do good (ibid. p 210). However, when evaluating the humanitarian assistance received in Rwanda in 1994, people commenced

questioning if the humanitarian system was just doing good, due to the growth of relief agencies, the prolonged conflicts and due to awareness of the fact that conflicts were prolonged by economic interest of different parties involved in the crisis, and therefore the humanitarian aid could be a factor in exacerbating the conflict (ibid. p 210). NGOs recognized the limitations of just delivering services to the affected population, and therefore started additional services, such as advocacy work, development work and reducing poverty. When evaluating the humanitarian assistance received in Rwanda, people became suspicious and concerned about the quality delivered, and a report stated that 100 000 people's death could have been avoided if the performance of the relief was of better quality. The report concluded that weak systems of accountability and lack of standards contributed to many deaths that could have been avoided if humanitarian organizations were better coordinated and worked in a more professional manner (ibid. p 210). Thereby the need for increased quality and accountability of humanitarian assistance emerged. On an important parallel note, donor governments increasingly contributed with more funding and they became more attentive towards what their funding was being spent on. Donors expected results and documentation of the activities from their funding. On account of this, an interest in paying more attention towards the quality, impact and accountability of humanitarian assistance emerged (ibid. p 210). Thus, the next step was two folded as some NGOs wanted to work towards standardization and regulation, while other relief agencies, according to Griekspoor and Sondorp, prioritized retaining flexibility and their innovative approaches (ibid. p 210).

“The issues of quality and accountability are high on the agenda of humanitarian organizations and their stakeholders” (Hilhorst 2002, p. 209). The concept of accountability is according to Michael Edwards and David Hulme “the means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority (or authorities) and are held responsible for their actions” and is an essential part of claiming legitimacy (Edwards & Hulme 1996, p. 968). They argue it is a complex and abstract concept, however, that there has been little research about the topic in regards to NGOs. Edwards and Hulme explains that in order for accountability to be used effectively, a statement of defined goals is required and “transparency of decision making and relationships, honest reporting of what resources have been used and what has been achieved, an appraisal process for the overseeing

authorities to judge whether results are satisfactory, and concrete mechanisms for holding to account (i.e. rewarding or penalizing) those responsible for performance” (ibid. p 968). NGOs are accountable both “downwards” towards their partners, beneficiaries and supporters, as well as “upwards” towards their trustees, donors and host governments (ibid. p 968). Hilhorst is backing up their arguments by stating that in order to be accountable, organizations have to be transparent and responsive regarding their compliance with agreed standards on organizational policies and practices. Hilhorst further argues that this requires clear guidelines of roles and responsibilities, and that partners involved need to agree on a set of standards of performance, or at least decide upon certain objectives against which performance can be measured (Hilhorst 2002, p. 203). Hilhorst states that often NGOs are claimed to be unaccountable for their work, however according to the Core Humanitarian Standard (CHS) on Quality and Accountability report, all NGOs working with humanitarian response are accountable for their actions (ibid. p 203; CHS 2014, p. 2). Therefore, it is not our intention to discuss, or analyze, whether or not NGOs are accountable for their work. In this research project accountability is argued to be a given for NGOs working in the humanitarian field.

Quality and accountability are two interlinked concepts, however they do not automatically go hand-in-hand (Hilhorst 2002, p. 203). According to CHS, quality is defined as “the totality of features and characteristics of humanitarian assistance that support its ability to, in time, satisfy stated or implied needs and expectations, and respect the dignity of the people it aims to assist” (CHS 2014, p 19). Accountability is directed towards using power responsibly towards different stakeholders and beneficiaries, and being held accountable for the exercise of the power it holds (ibid. p 19). While quality distinguishes from accountability as it is focusing on quality of the humanitarian assistance given, activities implemented by organizations, as well as making sure exercised power meet the needs of the people it aims to assist. The idea of using quality as an attribute to enhance performance, is for organizations to learn from one’s own and other’s mistakes and best practices, and has become increasingly popular in the field of humanitarian assistance. Hilshorst argues that there is no definite “blueprint” of going about quality in humanitarian aid, but identifies three different approaches of humanitarian assistance worth mentioning in this research project, which can be an important asset of ensuring quality in the work

that is being done. Hilhorst mentions the rights-based approach, the contingency approach and the ownership approach (Hilhorst 2002, p. 198).

The rights-based approach is based on international humanitarian rights standards (ibid. p 199). Hilhorst explains that even though human rights standards emerged in 1948, they only entered into development and humanitarian practice in the 1990s. The rights-based approach was enhanced by the Sphere standards, which set a minimum requirement of what beneficiaries are entitled to in regards to the humanitarian response. The contingency approach is referring to understanding how the crisis will evolve in the short- and long term and to be able to plan accordingly (ibid. p 199). Instead of relying on standards, it encourages humanitarian workers to consider the complexity of a humanitarian crisis and actors involved, and how it is influencing the quality of the assistance (ibid. p 199). The ownership approach is designed for a bottom-up approach where recipients of aid are forming the response, instead of a top-down approach. In this context, the refugees would set the standard of needs and not the humanitarian organizations. The ownership approach embraces the participation of beneficiaries, in order to maneuver their response according to their feedback (ibid. p 200). On Chios these three approaches are utilized. The contingency approach is mentioned both by UNHCR and NRC as an important tool, and NRC has implemented the ownership approach as they are questioning the migrants of their opinions on the aid received on Chios.

The approaches are not mutually exclusive, but differ in rationale they are based upon, and therefore often lead to incompatibility and demands agencies to choose between them in practice (ibid. p 209). Thereby, the difference in the approaches to quality can lead to diversity in humanitarian practice. Hilhorst argues that it is important to establish control of methods of quality, which ultimately will have to grow out of ongoing activities in the humanitarian organizations, however it is unlikely that there can ever be one uniform sectorial approach to quality control (ibid. p 210).

Furthermore, in regards to humanitarian organizations not operating within any methods of quality and thereby escaping requirements of responding to what funding from their private donors have been spent on, Hilhorst suggests that they can be controlled by direct

or indirect external control (Ibid. p 210). In our analysis we discuss this issue further and present ideas and evaluations from actors present on Chios, including DIO, on how this problematic concept of controlling quality in minor organizations can be handled.

In the following sections we present some standards used in humanitarian aid, before we continue to review how these standards have been criticized when implemented in a humanitarian response.

5.2.2 Standards in humanitarian assistance

The use of standards in humanitarian assistance is important in order to enhance performance, quality and accountability in the field. The idea is that standards can lead to increased cooperation and professionalism, in order to avoid outcomes as identified above during the evaluation of emergency assistance delivered in Rwanda (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001). Several contributions to the humanitarian community have been made in regards to standards, regulations and principles, such as the SPHERE project, the well-known normative framework “Do No Harm” principle, code of conducts, and the logical framework to mention a few. Hilhorst argues that standards are implicit when it comes to quality and accountability and that there has been much debate about the use of standards, especially in regards to the Sphere standards (Hilhorst 2002, p. 201).

The Sphere Project emerged as a response to the criticism of the Rwanda evaluation process where international humanitarian NGOs worked in order to establish a humanitarian charter and minimum standards for humanitarian assistance. The Sphere Handbook included five sectors for disaster response; water supply and sanitation, nutrition, food aid, shelter and site management, and health services (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 211). The humanitarian charter elaborates on the legal responsibility of states to guarantee the basic rights to assistance of persons affected by disasters. Worldwide, the Sphere project aims to contribute to improve performance by measuring process and outcome indicators (ibid. p 211). The Sphere standards mentioned here are widely used in camp site management by UNHCR, as well as in program activities (UNHCR 2002). Much of the debate around the Sphere standards evolves around the questions of them being used as absolute or relative standards, and if they should be imposed or

voluntary (Hilhorst 2002, p. 202). Back to the Rwandan example, in regards to making the discovery that humanitarian assistance could potentially exacerbate conflict led to a framework developed by the Local Capacity for Peace Project (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 211). This framework is known as the “Do No Harm” principles, which was mentioned by UNHCR as a guiding principle that they are following on Chios (UNHCR 2010). The “Do No Harm” principles work as guidelines enabling humanitarian actors to analyze how their activities may positively or negatively influence conflict resolution or emergency response. UN-agencies have institutionalized “The Logical Framework” as an approach for planning, monitoring, reporting and evaluation, by using measurable indicators in order to quantify and qualify results (UNHCR 2002). It is considered a useful planning method when it is necessary to document what actors intend to do, and to evaluate whether or not their objectives were achieved (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 210-211).

A more recent example of standard implementation of quality is the Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability report (from now on CHS). In 2014 Joint Standards Initiative together with Humanitarian Accountability Partnership, People in Aid and The Sphere Project hoped to find a better coherence and guideline for users of humanitarian standards. 2000 humanitarian workers were consulted as well as different head offices and regions, and the initiative started to build on the already used Sphere standards that are mentioned above. CHS present commitments that all organizations and individuals present during humanitarian responses can use to improve quality and effectiveness of the assistance they provide (CHS 2014, p. 2). Although the quality commitments are voluntarily, the CHS highlight that the standards should be implemented and adapted to all actors’ internal procedures when working in humanitarian responses to ensure a standard set of quality aid. It is important to highlight that the commitments mentioned in the CHS needs to be adapted to the context in each humanitarian response and is not written to create limits, but work as basic guidelines that the users of CHS need to keep in mind when working in the field in order to ensure quality of the aid given (ibid. p 4).

5.2.3 Criticism of standards

The abovementioned standards have been implemented in the work within the humanitarian field in order to enhance performance through quality and accountability.

However, there has been raised criticism towards the implementation of standards and regulations in the humanitarian sphere.

5.2.3.1 Lack of consideration towards the complexity of emergencies

Griekspoor and Sondorp highlight the complexity of an emergency as a major obstacle for humanitarian organizations working in the field, and mention insecurity and “restricted access to affected population, limited resources, and/or rapidly changing circumstances” as factors that will put constraints on humanitarian organizations’ interventions (2001, p. 211). On Chios, all of the mentioned factors are a reality. The complexity of the situation leads to difficulties in utilizing standards as a productive tool, as “too strict adherence may even prevent relief workers from making necessary adjustments in complex situations” (ibid. p 211). They therefore argue that the standards presented in the Sphere project “can not always be used as planning objectives by NGOs working in more chronic or complex emergencies” (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 211). The reason behind this statement lies in the fact that the scenarios the Sphere standards were based upon derived from work in refugee camps and similar acute emergencies, which differs from the situation on Chios and the other islands in Greece (ibid. p 211). Furthermore, Griekspoor and Sondorp argue, “we should keep in mind that operational standards apply to predictable situations with predictable problems and consensus on what to do. Complex situations require innovative responses. Here, one only can use simple rules: keep abreast of development in your field, adapt these to the situation, and do no harm” (ibid. p 211). Hilhorst is backing up what Griekspoor and Sondorp argue, that by being too strict in using humanitarian guidelines and standards, humanitarian aid can lose its effect and become too rigid by becoming mechanic in their implementation, instead of using standards as a tool to improve practice. She further argues that it is feared that standards can hinder creativity and improvisation skills, especially when funding is depending on certain conditions (2002, p. 202). Because standards does not include guidelines on how to adjust them in practice when they cannot be met, implementing standards mechanically is problematic and can become expensive for an organization when the activities cannot meet the refugees’ needs (ibid. p 202). That is also why it becomes problematic to use standards, when standards do not entail any recipe on how to adjust and adapt in specific and complex situations. We go further into this topic

in the analysis, as we question the major humanitarian actors enablement in being innovative and fulfilling the needs in the emergency response on Chios.

5.2.3.2 Lack of consideration towards the context standards are implemented

Griekspoor and Sondorp are criticizing the logical framework, as they state it has several shortcomings, such as not sufficiently taking into consideration the context the program is implemented, and that the values of humanitarian assistance that cannot be measured by indicators are neglected (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 212). The planning method uses measurable indicators to quantify and qualify results and its objective is to verify whether or not the humanitarian actors have achieved their objectives (ibid. p 210). However, the framework does not always include a solution for complex and rapidly changing emergencies that call for flexibility in planning, and this can cause obstacles for the organizations in implementing the procedure.

5.2.3.3 Implications in regards to evaluation

Griekspoor and Sondorp argue that we currently do not know how widely and how well the available tools to measure accountability and performance are applied in the field (ibid. p 211). Firstly, one of the limits of the logical framework evaluation process is that evaluations are done after the activities are implemented, not during, making it difficult to evaluate if the measures taken to optimize the accountability and performance in the field actually improves the overall performance of the activity (ibid. p 211). During the evaluation process an external evaluator is hired to measure the overall performance. This has proven to add value for the accountability and policy analysis, but not for operational changes and improvements. Meaning, that there is no system to assure changes in quality during a humanitarian emergency response (ibid. p 212). Secondly, there exist no method on how to evaluate organizations collectively. There is no mechanism for addressing system-wide performances, which makes coordination limited to only sharing information. It is much more a matter of getting the right knowledge to the right person at the right time (ibid. p 212).

6.0 Data

In the data section we present the various actors on Chios, our selected host organization including a description of the assignments, as well as presenting the interviewees.

6.1 Presentation of the actors on Chios

Before the commencement of the analysis, it is necessary to paint an overall picture of the different actors on the island. This is in order to understand the complex organizational structure of the different actors present on Chios. The humanitarian response to the refugee crisis on Chios is based on a mix of professional international humanitarian actors, representatives from the authorities, the civil society with volunteer organizations, other independent actors, as well as a private bus company hired by Frontex in charge of transportation of the migrants. All of the stakeholders are assisting in the different sectors of WASH, protection, food security, nutrition, health, logistics, and shelter. We present the most relevant organizations for our thesis in-depth below. Please see appendix document number one for a detailed map of the different actors operating at beach level, at the registration site Vial, and the transit site Souda, as well as the organizations' different activities.

6.1.1 Professional international humanitarian actors

The list of the major international humanitarian actors present on Chios, are the following; UNHCR, NRC, the Red Cross represented from Greece and Spain, Save the Children, Samaritan's Purse and Caritas. In the next section we present the humanitarian actors that were most visible on the island and that we had close contact with

6.1.1.1 UNHCR

UNHCR has been on Chios for about five years, originally with only one staff member providing legal information to migrants, as the flow of migrants has been going on for a long time but with a lower number. In October 2015 they increased their presence and are now currently 14 staff members in order to support the Greek government in responding to the refugee crisis and the emergency situation on Chios. Their core mandate is to provide legal information to people of concern about the asylum process, what rights they have, and how

they can apply for relocation which is the European Union scheme to take asylum seekers from Greece and process them in different member states. Because there is a mixed flow on Chios, they call the migrants people of concern, as some people are in need of international protection and therefore eligible for asylum, while others are not. UNHCR also has a role and responsibility of protecting vulnerable groups and groups with special needs, such as unaccompanied minors, women and in particular female head of households, elderly and disabled. In addition, they also focus on supporting coordination, infrastructure and providing goods on Chios. For example, UNHCR assisted building the accommodation site called Souda, and they deliver quite a lot of non food items (NFIs) like blankets, water and wheelchairs through different partners like Samaritan's Purse (UNHCR 2016; Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 1).

6.1.1.2 NRC

NRC's main responsibility is to "provide a dignified response, including giving basic services and provide information so that the refugees can make a qualified decision or an informed decision" (Interview NRC Knævelsrud, p. 1). This includes working on establishing a well functioning and efficient registration site, in order for the migrants to have a dignified and fair reception on Chios. When NRC arrived to Chios in the beginning of October 2015, the registration service provided to the migrants was unstructured, and they could stay and wait on Chios from four to six days, compared to now where the migrants can come from Turkey and leave for Athens the same day (ibid.). NRC is providing a 24/7 presence at the registration site and at Chios port, continuing with helping the authorities with site management and by enhancing the registration flow (NRC 2015). NRC's objective is to create a single flow for the migrants from when they arrive at the beach till they leave on the ferry. This needs to be coordinated with all the different stakeholders, including volunteers, the police, the army, Frontex and other humanitarian actors (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 1). By creating a single flow it will ensure people's protection and reduce the tension between migrants as well as between the migrants and the host community, and the migrants and the police (ibid.).

6.1.2 Authorities

There are several Greek authorities present and visible on Chios; the local police, the Greek military, the port police, the municipality and Frontex. Frontex, represented both locally and internationally, were most present at the scene and is the highlighted authority mentioned in this project. Frontex main aim is to “promote, coordinate and develop European border management in line with the EU fundamental rights charter applying the concept of Integrated Border Management” (Frontex 2016). On Chios, their main responsibilities were to help the local authorities with the registration process and they were present every night at beach level to assist with boat landings. At beach level their main intention were to assist the volunteers in securing the arrival spots and boat landings, and to keep track of incoming traffic which included observing the number of arrivals together with an overview of nationalities, as well as capturing smugglers. During our stay we observed a lot of misconceptions about Frontex’s work, which Frontex also confirmed during our informal conversations. The representatives of Frontex we talked to during our night shifts explained how a lot of the volunteers present at beach level are skeptical and resilient to cooperate with them, as their conception is that Frontex is only there to send the migrants back. Frontex argued that this was not true, and that they were only there to help with safety first. Most of the representatives we talked to were from Greece, Bulgaria and Holland.

6.1.3 Representatives from civil society

The major representation from civil society on Chios is the Chios Eastern Shore Rescue Team (CESRT). CESRT was a local initiative by Pothiti Kitromilidi (from now on Toula), a Greek hotel owner on Chios that started out as a volunteer with a small local team, and is now known as “the queen of civil society”. Toula lives close to the beach of Megas Limnionas and has witnessed the refugee situation up close from the beginning. As she saw the major influx of migrants arriving while working with the small local team, she felt that more needed to be done and turned to social media. She pleaded for help on Facebook, and from all over the world hundreds of volunteers came to Chios and therefore Toula created CESRT. From her connections in Zurich, she have ensured distribution of clothes to a lot of the other NGOs present on the island, as well as the major humanitarian organizations, and have been a stabile leader figure for the civil society movement and a solid partner for the

other NGOs. Toula knows the island back and forth in her sleep and is the kind of person everyone turn to when they have questions, whether they are working in her group or not. She is also recognized and familiarized by, and with, the major humanitarian actors on the island, and her voice is heard both at coordination meetings, as well as in weekly city hall meetings with the mayor of Chios, the international organizations and other NGOs. There is a certain respect towards her among the NGOs involved in the emergency response on the island, as she is local and has contributed beyond what can be expected of a single person when reviewing her limitations within funding, time and capacity. As her team do not have a bank account and are not registered as an organization, all of the transactions done by volunteers are done directly with the supplier.

Two other well-known and respected figures on the island are “The Pirates”. They are a set of local Greek twins, called Antonis Vorrias and Mixail Vorrias, and they drive around the island on their Harleys assisting the Basque SMH team with boat landings by ensuring that the migrants arrive safely out of the water and onto shore. With them are usually a small group of “free spirited cowboys” that follow them to boat landing.

A smaller, but also well-known, civil society group on the island is a group of Greek and Norwegian retirees owning a small shack on the harbor of Agia Ermioni that they have turned into a warehouse with clothes for the arriving migrants. On their own initiative, they show up at the harbor every time there is a boat landing nearby to help the other volunteers by ensuring food and clothes distribution. They have in addition put up dressing rooms where the people of concern can change in private, and they have built a small corner where they can change diapers and clothes on their babies.

6.1.4 NGOs based only on volunteers

Praxis, DIO, Be Aware And Share (from now on BAAS), Volunteer for food, Apostoli, Doctors of the World, Women and Health Alliance International (from now on WAHA), Médecins Du Monde (from now on MDM), European Asylum Support Office (from now on EASO), Metadrasi, the German Alliance, the Basque Country Salvamento Maritimo Humanitario (from now on Basque SMH) and People’s Street Kitchen are just a fraction of the NGOs based on Chios involved in the humanitarian response. What they all have in

common is that the work is based on volunteer effort. This means that locals and people from all over the world travel to Chios to be a part of the work that is being done to make the migrants' journeys a little safer. These NGOs have different level of operation, which means that some are focusing only on food distribution, while others are facilitating the response by distributing clothes and hygienic supplies. They are stationed at beach level or present in the registration- and transit sites. Some cooperate together and some do not. What they all have in common is the thought that something more needs to be done for the greater good of humanity, and that is why they are all there.

6.1.5 “Free Spirited Cowboys”

There exist a number of actors that are totally independent from any registered volunteer organization and local team. These independent actors work on their own terms without any sort of guidelines to follow, and appear at the scene of boat landings in order to assist the arriving migrants. However, according to our observations and sources it can be argued how much assistance that is actually provided. During the vast majority of landings they come unprepared without any organizational sense and without any supplies. More often than not they take supplies out of the other volunteers' cars and are often seen as more of a disturbance than of actual use. A well known term on the island is the “free spirited cowboys”, the adrenalin junkies with people traveling from place to place to get their piece of action. In addition to these “free spirited cowboys”, some of the people from the local community collect the engine and fuel from the boats. It is a well-known fact at Lesbos that the locals sell the engine and fuel back to the smugglers in Turkey. However, we have not gotten it confirmed that this is the case on Chios as well.

6.1.6 Outsourced companies

The bus company hired, with Frontex and local government in charge, is responsible for getting the migrants safely from the landing scene to the existing hot spots on Chios. As this company is a private one, they rely on the migrants to pay a fee to board the bus, but as of 1st of April, Caritas stepped in and took over the responsibilities of the buses and provided this for free.

6.2 Presentation of the selected volunteer organization

In order to receive inside knowledge of the humanitarian response to the refugee crisis in Europe from a grassroots level, we decided to volunteer for a newly established NGO. This to give us a better understanding of how the crisis is handled on the island, to become hands on familiar with the different actors, for ourselves to contribute by assisting the migrants when arriving to Europe, and exploring the complex situation that is unfolding itself on Chios.

6.2.1 In-depth presentation of A Drop in the Ocean

We chose to volunteer for the organization DIO as it was newly established in August 2015, and therefore representing the humanitarian response from a grassroots level. The fact that the organization cooperates with UNHCR and was registered on the island also played as important elements when making our decision.

Jacobsen, the founder of DIO, has been traveling to Greece for many years with her family, but the trip she went on to Lesbos in August 2015 turned out to be a little different than the others. As a starting point she wanted to explore how the authorities and the humanitarian actors were receiving the migrants, and was shocked to find out that there were no one there to help the arriving people at the shores of Lesbos. This was the beginning of DIO. The time Jacobsen spent at Lesbos in August, she drove around alone in a car receiving boats all by herself. At this time, Lesbos had over 2000 migrants coming in every day. At the beginning, DIO started with a personal Facebook page so that Jacobsen's family could follow her during her time on Lesbos. However, just after four days she had received over 11 000 followers that were interested in either helping her directly on Lesbos, or by donating money so she could continue with the work she had started.

By 6th of March 2016, more than 900 volunteers had traveled with the organization, participating in the humanitarian work on Lesbos, Chios, Kos and Samos. More than 30 000 people have joined the closed group on Facebook called "Dråpen i havet". As of 1st of January Jacobsen has been working full time for the organization, without receiving any salary, and DIO continues to expand (Interview DIO Jacobsen, p. 2).

6.2.2 Assignments for DIO and cooperation between the volunteers on beach level

Our main assignments when working with DIO was first of all to scout for boats by driving along a defined route along the coast of Chios. In our car we packed dry clothes, water, juice and some snacks. During our time on Chios a better relationship was developed between DIO, CESRT and BAAS, as all organizations were on the same level of operation. During every nightshift DIO, CESRT and BAAS would cooperate by ensuring that all boats arriving were taken care of. If we scouted a boat, we informed the Alpha phone that was managed by CESRT, who had contacts with a volunteer on shift at a watchtower. It was possible from the watchtower, where volunteers were present 24/7, to get a better view and to scout boats all the way to the Turkish shore. The volunteers on the watchtower would confirm or reject if it was a refugee boat, and anticipated approximately where the arriving spot was going to be, and thus the Alpha coordinator could send a team of cars directly to the landing spot.

Secondly, when a boat landed we assisted the migrants when they arrived at shore. Normally the local pirates and the lifeguards from the Basque SMH team would assist the people of concern at sea or close to shore, to ensure that the landings would go as safely as possible. Volunteers, including DIO, would stand ready handing out dry clothes, water and food, as well as comforting the children and women, assisting them in changing clothes and making sure the children were not separated from their parents before going on the bus to the registration site.

As some boat landings were chaotic, working at beach level could be challenging. Some were dehydrated in need of water, others in shock and therefore in risk of fainting, others were suffering from hypothermia and in critical need of medical assistance. Several other medical conditions needed medical expertise, which could be provided by volunteer organizations such as BAAS, WAHA and the Basque SMH if they were available. DIO would also provide medical assistance when possible, however this was not consistent as it was depending on the presence of volunteers with medical background. Medical conditions could be anything from fever, pregnancy issues, malnutrition, hypothermia, shock and unconsciousness and need for CPR. As an example, a DIO member with no medical background on Lesbos had to help a lady who were giving birth at the beach when a boat arrived.

Thirdly, the volunteers would call the bus company in order for the migrants to be transferred to the registration site. The volunteers are in charge of making sure all of the migrants managed to get safely on the bus. After the bus had left with the migrants, the volunteers would clean up the arrival spot, placing life jackets and garbage on the main road for the local garbage companies to collect them. Jackets and pants would be placed in a separate plastic bag and brought to the laundry place in order to be used again. DIO is also present in Souda and Vial, helping out with breakfast and lunch.

In addition, the organization is cleaning the beaches for life jackets, shoes, leftovers from boats and other garbage. As Greece is in a financially difficult position, it is important for the mayor on Chios to have the beach cleaned for when tourist season starts in April and continues throughout the summer. Other experiences that were useful for our thesis except from working directly on the beaches were; participating in the weekly coordination meeting between the international humanitarian actors present in Chios, including the authorities and volunteer groups; workshop with NRC on site management; and meeting with NRC and their donor partners.

The cycle on Chios for migrants arriving to the island can be explained in figure number 1. Firstly, people of concern arrived to the beaches. Secondly, they were transferred to the registration site Tabakika (later Vial). They would register and spend a night or more in the transit site called Souda (later the detention center Vial became the main place for accommodation, and Souda the second choice if Vial was full), depending on departure time of the ferry and if it was full or not. Lastly, they would leave for mainland with the ferry. If the main transit site Souda were full, migrants would be transferred to the emergency sites, which were the port and Diphete.

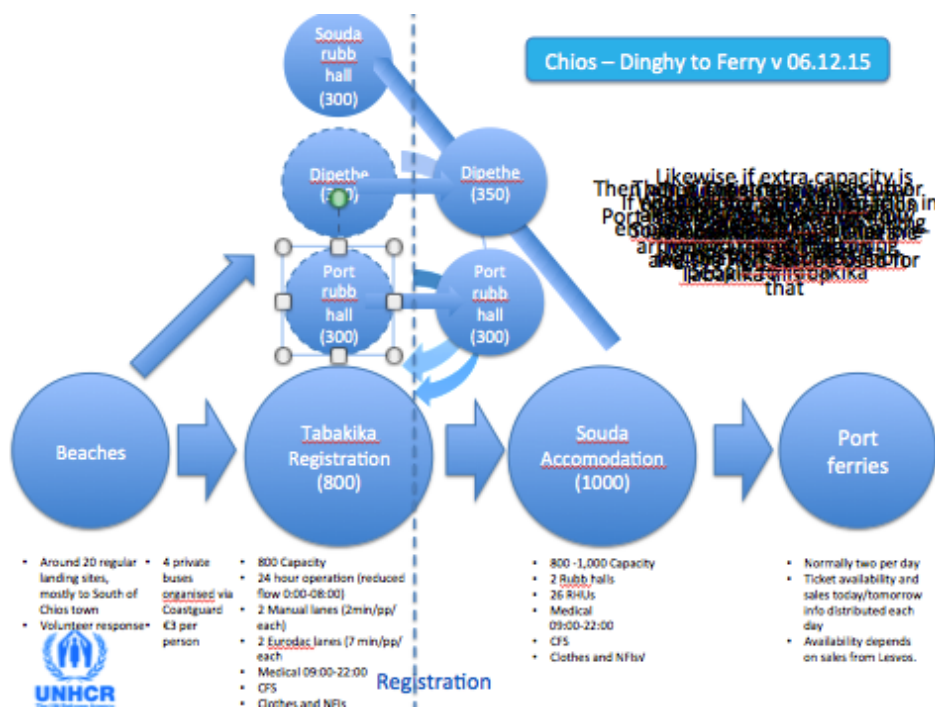


Figure 1: The cycle on Chios from the beaches to the ferry (UNHCR 2016).

6.3 Presenting the interviewees

As mentioned in our methodological chapter, for our analysis we decided to interview actors from the various groups present on Chios, including professional international humanitarian actors such as UNHCR and NRC, representatives from civil society like CESRT, as well as the coordinators and the founder of DIO. We decided to interview people from various organizations in order to receive an overall picture of the different angles and points of view of the situation on Chios. Because the actors play different parts in the humanitarian response, and they have distinct mandates, it was necessary to interview them all in order to receive the most objective data. A default in our research is that we did not interview the local authorities as well as representatives from Frontex. The reason for this is because when we commenced our studies on Chios, we were focused on who were filling the gap at beach level, and why international humanitarian actors were not present on the beaches, as well as strict interview rules from the wanted representatives at Frontex. We remained occupied with exploring how the major international actors operated, trying to understand the dynamic on the island and why it seemed like on the outside that the volunteers were filling the gap at beach level. However, because our questions to the interviewees were broad and open, we collected a lot of information about the cooperation

of the different stakeholders on the island, juggling between the major humanitarian actors, civil society, NGO volunteers, and the authorities.

7. Analysis

In our analysis we discuss findings from our empirical data based on observations and interviews conducted with the different stakeholders on Chios during our fieldwork in February 2016. Inter-organizationalism as presented by Biermann will be our main framework for the analysis in order to identify gaps, and clarify why organizations cooperate in emergencies when they share a functional and geographical overlap in an institutional space and what challenges they face while cooperating. The analysis is divided into three parts, firstly we identify the gaps on Chios and the emergence of NGOs, and secondly we elaborate on the challenges of inter-organizationalism identified on the island. The last section is related to the topic of cooperation and why organizations cooperate in emergencies and what challenges that can occur.

7.1 The gap

Almost every day for the past eight months, Chios has had a large number of migrants arriving at the shores. This means that people arriving are in huge need of care and guidance by professional humanitarian actors. On Chios there exist a diversity of stakeholders, all with different roles, responsibility and agendas, however all with the same objective, to assist people of concern arriving by boat to the island. Biermann emphasizes the importance of cooperating in an emergency in order to achieve an optimized humanitarian response. All the different stakeholders, from UN-agencies to civil society, must come together with different experiences and competencies, open for cooperation and gap filling according to the different competencies the stakeholders possess (Biermann 2009, 2011).

The presence of an overlapping on functional and geographical grounds creates opportunities of essential inter-organizational relations. This kind of overlap can mean opportunities of burden sharing and more effective problem solving amongst different

organizations, if they take advantage of it. Overlap is necessary to establish an efficient cooperation amongst the organizations and to cover gaps in the humanitarian response, and the different incentives to cooperate grow when organizations are dealing with problems that are difficult to handle alone (Biermann 2009, p. 8). However, on Chios cooperation and taking advantage of overlaps is not necessarily the case for the humanitarian organizations present.

Humanitarian relief agencies are typically UN-agencies and NGOs who engage in emergency response to decrease the degree of either a natural or a man made disaster. These relief efforts are complex responses to evolving crisis situations, where challenges on the ground can change rapidly (Saab et al. 2013, p. 196). Due to the rapidly changing situation on Chios, the island have seen an emergence of civil society teams and NGOs reacting to the large influx of migrants arriving to the island, even before the international humanitarian actors could establish a response. In the first part of our analysis we explore the reasons behind the emergence of these newly established NGOs, before we move on to identify the humanitarian gaps that are currently present on Chios and discover the actors that have taken on the responsibility to fill them.

7.1.1 The emergence of NGOs

As explained by Biermann, inter-organizationalism identifies the roles the different organizations take on and how they work both individually and collectively in the humanitarian field (Biermann 2011, p. 10). On Chios, major humanitarian organizations such as UNHCR and NRC are present, focusing on activities such as coordination, the registration process, assuring the existence of a single flow of refugees and migrants on the island, camp site management and provision of legal assistance. Their roles do not include the responsibility of assisting the people of concern when they arrive on the island as first responders, or following them to the registration camp. Currently, it is only volunteer organizations and teams based on civil society movements who are working with boat receptions on Chios, as they acknowledged this as a huge and important gap to fill.

Biermann argues that growing problems put pressure on institutional transformation of organizations (Biermann 2009, p. 44). Because the complex situation on Chios is in constant change, the major humanitarian actors and the smaller NGOs need to adapt to the situation

in order to constantly be on top of the recipients' needs. However, the major humanitarian actors have not been able to respond rapidly enough, which is why newly established NGOs emerged as a reaction to the major organizations' slow adaptation to the situation. Well-established and specific frameworks are hampering the major organizations' ability to transform their response in order to become flexible, innovative and adapt to a situation, which is in constant change. Their procedures and standards limit them in a changing environment, where smaller NGOs are able to transform and respond faster according to the situation (ibid. p 44-45).

When new problems arrive it stimulates the creation of new organizations and regimes (ibid. p 7). In line with Biermann's argument, CESRT was founded based on an initiative from civil society on Chios and has been present on the beaches from June 2015, and was one of the first responders to the refugee crisis on the island. As mentioned in our data chapter, because the number of the refugees and migrants arriving to Chios came in big numbers, Toula established a Facebook group encouraging volunteers from all over the world to come and assist the arriving migrants. Toula explained that the local community is tired of the situation, and that if the volunteers were not there to assist, it would have been a disaster. "I don't want to think what was going to happen if the volunteers from all over the world weren't here, in the winter in these islands. Yes, it's precious vulnerable people" (Interview CESRT Pothiti Kitromilidi, p. 3). Till the beginning of March, more than 700 people have been volunteering for Toula and other volunteer groups on Chios (ibid. p 3).

Similarly, Jacobsen from Norway established DIO as a response to the lack of initiative by the major humanitarian actors and authorities on Lesbos to respond to the refugee crisis, which unfolded itself on the Greek islands. As she recognized that this was not only happening on Lesbos, the organization developed and started DIO teams on Chios and Samos as well, and later to other areas where needs erupted. As of the beginning of March this year, 900 volunteers have participated in the refugee response on the Greek islands with DIO (Interview DIO Jacobsen, p. 4). Other volunteer organizations such as BAAS, the Basque SMH and the German Alliance, to mention a few, have also identified Chios as a place where help is needed and established themselves as an organization.

The emergence of newly established NGOs on Chios further developed into more gap filling in other areas of humanitarian assistance beside beach level. In the following sections we present identified gaps observed during our fieldwork in regards to beach level, food distribution, transportation and the detention center Vial.

7.1.2 Beach level

The first identified gap is, as mentioned, at beach level. Beach level is from when the migrants arrive at the beaches on Chios, till they have been transferred to the registration- or transit site. First response at beach level is a crucial point in the humanitarian response as people are wet and hungry after hours on a small rubber boat, and they can be in acute need of medical assistance. This leaves a huge gap in the international response on the island, and the responsibility of filling it have been taken on by non professional actors such as civil society teams, as well as by local and international volunteers coming to the island. Realistically, as Joseph Kuper from the UNHCR states, having an emergency response that is completely professional would be preferable, but not possible (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 2).

An organization working in the humanitarian field cannot be specialized in everything. Bjørn Arntzen, a former coordinator for the volunteer organization DIO, argues that there will always be a need for gap fillers (Interview DIO Arntzen, p. 3). Arntzen acknowledge the fact that NRC have their limitations in their core competencies and explains that “NRC is specialized in A, B, C, D and E. This is their core competencies. And first responding at beach level is not a part of this. And no other NGO have this as their core competencies. So we step in as gap fillers” (ibid. p 4). However, “(. . .) when a situation has persisted over time, one would think that the major humanitarian community would step in. Because the response, it can get too random” (ibid.). Even though Arntzen understands that there will always be a need for gap fillers such as DIO, he finds it strange that the major humanitarian organizations have not stepped in as the situation has persisted for quite some time now, and the people currently “in charge” are highly unprofessional and therefore the response is too irregular. As Arntzen states, the volunteer approach is more left up to chances than professionalism, leaving no continuity in the aid that is given (ibid.). The response becomes coincidental because a minority of the volunteers do not have a system in place to ensure

that each boat landing will receive all the need that is required. It is argued from UNHCR's perspective that: "When we get gaps like this, people are not necessarily rushed to fill it. If the gap is filled then people just leave it as it is. So the beach response here is being done by volunteerism, and because it is being done by volunteerism, other organizations have not felt the need to step in instead, and the same with food" (Interview Kuper UNHCR, p. 3). The major organizations have not felt the need to step in at beach level, because from their perspective it seems like the volunteers are handling it, thus disregarding the fact of an unprofessional approach to the issue. Furthermore, Kuper argues that it is complicated for the local authorities to deal with the refugee crisis on Chios as none of the state levels want to take the responsibility for the situation, as they argue that this is not only their problem (ibid.). As a law has not established a hierarchy, none of the actors want to be ordered around. In other words, the cooperation between the actors is eventually depending on goodwill and a general desire to do the right thing (ibid. p 4-7). The fact that the interaction between the different stakeholders on Chios has been horizontal, and to a strong extent informal, makes it difficult to establish a system of who is in charge of what.

The different statements from the DIO and UNHCR coordinators highlight a difference in perspective of how the response at beach level should be handled. Further down in the analysis we elaborate on the consequences of these different perspectives, and what could be the consequences of using unprofessional actors as first responders.

7.1.3 Food distribution

Food distribution in the registration- and transit sites is the second gap identified in the humanitarian response on Chios, and is being filled by volunteer organizations. During our time at Chios, there were mainly five organizations that distributed food in the camps on the island in addition to the serving inside the camps; BAAS, German Alliance, Apostoli, Solidarity Kitchen and People's Kitchen Aid. Quality in humanitarian aid is not only good cooperation amongst stakeholders, effective responses and evaluation processes, but also quality in the humanitarian services provided (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2002, p. 198). Although NGOs are prominent actors in the humanitarian arena, they do not always succeed in their missions. In the effort of substituting other humanitarian actors in regards to food distribution, it is not necessarily sufficient that refugees and migrants receive food, it should be of certain quality (Ossewaarde et al. 2008). Earlier there was a case where the

volunteers had distributed food and the refugees and migrants got diarrhea (Interview NRC Knævelsrud, p. 7). After hearing about this incident Kuper argues that it is important to discuss whether it is appropriate that the volunteers are providing all the food in the different hot spots, and that it should be considered if the food should be provided by the state instead (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 2). Because there is no food shortage in Greece it is not appropriate that World Food Program is present on the island, although it would be preferable. As a solution, a deal between UNHCR and an external contractor has been made. This way food can be provided by the army in the different hot spots, however it has taken them a long time to establish a functional food distribution system. In the newly established registration site Vial, the people living there only receive one meal during the whole day, which is obviously not enough food for one person a day. In addition to that one meal, the people of concern have to buy their food outside the site. But after the registration camp was moved to a non-walking distance from Chios city it has been difficult for them to access and buy the food they need. While the authorities may have meant that the army would provide for food, there were not any solutions in place in Vial, as it had to open before a kitchen was finalized. This seemed strange, as there existed several other registration- and transit areas on Chios where the arriving migrants could stay. In the meantime, volunteers have had the opportunity, and according to Kuper been happy to, provide the food. Kuper argues that if the volunteers had not been there, UNHCR would have found another solution by now. It would not have been optimal, as they would only serve sandwiches and food kits, but they would at least gotten the problem fixed (ibid. p 3-4). However, we were informed by a camp representative that Vial was only opened as a proof to the European Union that the new registration site, and later on detention center, was finalized in time and in use. In other words, because of politics refugees and migrants were not provided with a sufficient amount of food and decent living arrangements.

7.1.4 Transportation

Thirdly, another gap identified on Chios was lack of contingency of transportation of the migrants. A bus company was hired in cooperation with the local authorities and Frontex, to bring the migrants from the arriving spots to the registration- or transit sites. The official rule was that those who could pay were let on the bus first, followed by the migrants with no money. This was to ensure that the bus company at least got some compensation for

their work. In the weeks we were on Chios issues started to appear, as more of the people of concern did not seem to have money to pay for the bus ride. This started to upset the bus drivers, so instead of letting the migrants on, the buses would leave the scene or volunteers had to argue with the bus driver for a long time before finally letting the people on the bus. It came to a point where a volunteer organization called Khalsa Aid had to pay for all of the migrants who were not able to pay for themselves in order to get on the bus.

In February the bus fee was three euros for each person and children got on for free. In comparison, transportation on the island of Lesbos is free and provided for by both UNHCR and Médecins Sans Frontières, although UNHCR none of them are obliged to provide free buses. Kuper mentioned transportation as one of the gaps that were still not dealt with. When asked why the buses were not free on Chios, he said it was a perfectly good questions to ask, but that it could only be explained by the fact that the emergency response evolved differently on each of the islands but that “...both systems work” (ibid.). Arguably, this is not true as migrants have been stranded at landing spots waiting for hours in the cold because the bus has not arrived, or the bus left them behind due to lack of payment. However, starting from April the organization Caritas stepped in and provided free buses. The wide variation of quality and continuity in field programs provided, is in large due to complications of cooperation and communication amongst the humanitarian actors present on the island. Slow processes of evaluation of the existing activities are proven to limit existing systems of accountability, and it is the arriving migrants who have to suffer for it (Natsios 1995; Griekspoor & Sondorp 2011).

7.1.5 Vial

When the EU-Turkey deal was settled, the registration site Vial was changed into a detention center. It was emptied and the remaining migrants were sent to the mainland on ferries. By 20th of March 2016 the detention center was ready to receive new migrants who would arrive to the island; collect them, imprison them, and later send them back to Turkey. The detention of migrants for these related reasons is defined as administrative detention, and is originally meant as an administrative measure to ensure that unwanted migrants can be identified and to ensure that they are located in one place until the registration process is done properly. When measures like this is taken, the reasons behind this type of detention should constitute of a sufficient explanation for why the actual detention

practices emerge (Leerkes & Broeders 2010, p. 831-832). UNHCR could not see that there existed a good enough explanation for detaining the migrants, so the organization pulled out of the detention center due to what they considered to be violations of human rights. DIO was now one of the few remaining organizations present in Vial and their responsibility became even more significant. Due to the closed fences, they now had to serve the food through the holes in the fences around the camp. DIO was able to stay behind in Vial due to personal contacts that the DIO coordinator had in the army, and although they in theory were not allowed to serve food in the camp, they used the holes in the fences as “loopholes” for their work. Doing this is considered to be one of the positive aspects of working in a small NGO, when comparing to the major international actors, the NGOs can work in grey zones and respond to the situations that occur in a more flexible manner (Natsios 1995).

Sub conclusion part one

In the first part of the analysis we have explained why volunteer organizations emerged on Chios beginning in August 2015, and analyzed the identified gaps in the humanitarian response on Chios and who had to fill them. We have analyzed different aspects of the work of both professional and unprofessional actors in the humanitarian field, and how the latter are very much used as gap fillers, where the major humanitarian actors become insufficient. In the following section we move towards Biermann’s arguments in regards to challenges within inter-organizationalism.

7.2 Challenges of inter-organizationalism

Cooperation is not always a given in organizational interaction and culture. Biermann identifies three major challenges when looking at inter-organizationalism and why organizations can choose not to cooperate; the bridging between organizational culture, the causing of self-centeredness while cooperating and fighting over visibility and resources (Biermann 2011, p. 6). In this section we analyze the major challenges observed on Chios in light of Biermann’s theory of inter-organizationalism.

7.2.1 Bridging between organizational cultures

Challenges can occur when different actors have to bridge organizational cultures in-between organizations. In this section we first of all explain how diversity in use of

standards on Chios lead to different practices and ways of implementing these practices. Following different approaches and standards can make it complicated for the different stakeholders to cooperate (ibid. p 176). We emphasize that it is complicated to create one uniform sectorial approach to quality, especially due to the complexity of the emergency on Chios. Too strict adherence to standards may prevent relief workers from making necessary adjustments in complex situations, and hinder creativity and improvisation skills (Hilhorst 2002, p. 202). That is why the work of volunteers and civil society is a valuable asset, as they are able to respond in an innovative and flexible way. In the next sections of the analysis, we analyze whether the humanitarian world need organizations who follow the standards and the ones that do not in order to optimize a humanitarian response, before we investigate some of the actors reluctance to cross-organizational cooperation. In light of this, we analyze the possibility of creating a common SOP for volunteers, and explain why this may be a difficult objective to reach. We argue in line with Hilhorst's statement that standards are a necessity in order for organizations to be accountable, and that this could be high value for civil society and volunteer organizations, as it can lead to a more coherent and unified response at beach level. Lastly in this section, we investigate the different mindsets of the actors, and what they consider to be the main challenges on Chios, in order to show that difficulties of bridging cultures also lies in the various perspectives of stakeholders in the crisis.

7.2.1.1 Diversity in standards

Hilhorst argues that approaches are based on different rationale, which often lead to incompatibility and diversity in practice. This applies for stakeholders working in an emergency setting, both for the major humanitarian actors and the volunteer- and civil society organizations (ibid. p 209). In line with Hilhorst's argument, Sebastian Daridan from NRC emphasized that having different approaches on the island, such as the authority approach, volunteer group approach and NGO approach, the inter-organizational cooperation will not work (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 2). Continuing on this statement, Edith Chazelle explained that NRC had tried to implement the camp management approach, a comprehensive approach where all systems currently running on the island are viewed as a single flow, instead of looking at it as separate places and separate actors (ibid.). In inter-organizational terms, the objective is to bring the various

actors together and to respond and communicate with the migrants in a single flow. However, because there is a variation of the different actors' standards and approaches on Chios, it is difficult to collaborate coherently. In addition, at the moment, all the three approaches mentioned by Hilhorst (2002, p. 199) are visible on Chios; the rights-based approach, the contingency approach and the ownership approach. The right-based approach is recognized as a fundamental link between rights denial, impoverishment, vulnerability and conflict, and has led to the incorporation of right-based approaches into funding strategies, policy formulations and practice of a diverse range of actors, including UN-agencies, major donors, international NGOs and local grassroots NGOs and social movements (Gready & Ensor 2005, p. 1). UNHCR and NRC use the contingency approach in order to be better prepared for future challenges. In addition, NRC has embraced the opinions of their beneficiaries through the ownership approach by questioning the migrants about the aid received on Chios. Because the approaches are based on different rationale, they will not be compatible, which will lead to diversity in humanitarian practice (Hilhorst 2002). Chazelle argues that it is necessary to have an understanding of which framework the different actors are working with, or else it will be complicated to work together. She further suggests that by creating a standardized humanitarian framework, the stakeholders ensure easier cooperation across organizational levels, and that all the gaps and needs are filled, and that resources are made better use off (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 2). However, according to Hilhorst it is unlikely that there can ever be one uniform sectorial approach to quality control (Hilhorst 2002, p. 210).

There is a second reason for why it is unlikely that there can be a uniform sectorial approach on Chios. Complexity of emergency is mentioned by Griekspoor and Sondorp as a major obstacle for humanitarian organizations working in the field. The authors emphasize that such a situation can lead to difficulties in utilizing standards as a productive tool, as "too strict adherence may even prevent relief workers from making necessary adjustments in complex situations" (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 211). When asked what the main challenges of the humanitarian response on Chios were, Chazelle from NRC replied that it was not to have the power to know how long the situation is going to last. Chazelle explains that in many other crises where there exist major displacement issues, it stops after a while and it becomes easier to implement routines and daily activities. On Chios it is a continuous

emergency, where all actors have to rethink a new plan every morning, evening and every night, because the previous one is not working anymore. The situation requires constant creativity, constant coordination and constant adaption (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 6). Kuper backs up Chazelle's argument by stating that Chios is a transit place, which makes it difficult to find long-term solutions, and there is a need to find solutions to the same problems over and over again.

Adjusting the emergency response on a daily basis and use contingency planning as an approach to meet the needs of the migrants makes it difficult to use standards in a productive way. As Hilhorst argues, too strict adherence to standards can lead to humanitarian aid to lose its effect, instead of using standards to improve practice (2002, p. 202). Hilhorst further argues that it is feared that standards can hinder creativity and improvisation skills, which is especially applicable in a complex situation as Chazelle describes where creativity is a valuable tool in order to think innovative in order to be able to adapt to a constantly changing situation (ibid. p 202; Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 6). One of the arguments in this paper is that because organizations based on volunteerism and civil society are not obliged to follow strict guidelines, the positive consequence of this is that these organizations are able to respond on beach level in an innovative and flexible way, and they have the personality to adapt to constantly changes, which is a quality that is not possible for the major humanitarian organizations to have (Natsios 1995, p. 412).

This leads to the following questions; do we need those who follow the standards and the ones who do not in an emergency response? Do we need those organizations that follow the rules and the ones that "break" them by working in grey areas, in order to save more lives? Maybe it is possible that a combination of the two distinct ways of operating is benefiting the migrants in more ways than we can imagine?

When asked about contacts on the Turkish side and how this helps them in their daily work, Toula hesitated before she replied "Yes. Sometimes we have some contacts with some people that are working in these areas. But most of them we found the boats by patrolling" (Interview CESRT Pothiti Kitromilidi, p. 4). As Natsios argues in his article, "NGOs and the UN system in complex humanitarian emergencies", the need for speed is one of the reasons why the UN-NGO relationship is now more intimate (Natsios 1995, p. 411).

UNHCR argued that if they were to operate at beach level, they would most definitely not have any contacts in Turkey assisting them, such as CESRT have (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 6). Although contacts are beneficial, there is a fine line between assisting migrants contra assisting smugglers in the humanitarian world, but for the smaller NGOs these contacts have been crucial in order to assist the arriving boats, unethical or not. What is certain is that CESRT are using an approach that would not be suitable for major actors such as UNHCR and NRC.

One can ask why some of the newly established NGOs on beach level are reluctant to cooperate with the major actors, and why they do not want any interference from them in their work. When UNHCR suggested to start a beach response group, were all actors present on beach level would participate, as well as some of the major humanitarian agencies, some of the volunteers were not supportive of this idea. Contradictory to this, the common discourse is that the volunteers hope for a better cooperation with the international actors, but still feel like they do not need help at the beaches. The reason for this can be explained by the difficulties in bridging organizational culture. There exist two diverse ways of operating; one mode is working in a system, relying heavily on clearly defined work assignments, rules and SOPs, and is utilized by the major actors. Heavily reliance on operational standards in unpredictable situations with unpredictable problems is not ideal in complex situations. In complex situations innovative responses are required, where one should adhere to simple rules such as keep abreast of development in your field, adapt these to the situation, and follow the do no harm principle (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 211). Bridging this approach to the other hand, where there are the “inexperienced” volunteers who work based on instinct, not on international humanitarian rules of conduct. This approach supports the innovation in humanitarian aid required in complex emergencies. By not following any standards and procedures, creativity and improvisation skills can flourish (Hilhorst 2002, p. 202).

Analyzing this, one can argue for both sides. The point to be made is that the two ways of operating are not necessarily easy to merge due to difficulties in bridging their organizational cultures but still necessary. As Toula clearly pointed out during a town hall meeting, “you do your house, I do my house” (CESRT Pothiti Kitromilidi 2016). With this mindset, cooperation between the major and minor actors becomes challenging. On a

positive note, these distinctive ways of operating can have a way of fulfilling each other through the fact that the well-established humanitarian actors are working in a clear zone, while the volunteer organizations sometimes operate in a grey zone. During one of our night shifts on Chios, we made conversations with the patrolling officers from Frontex who provided us with detailed information about upcoming boat arrivals. They had received the information from working volunteers, but pointed out that it was not in their interest where the information came from, but the information in itself that mattered. The major organizations, the police and Frontex are aware of the fact that volunteers may work in grey areas of humanitarian assistance, which is why they do not question where the volunteers receive their information from. In a way they are closing their eyes in order to be able to cooperate with the volunteers, and to be able to take advantage and use the information the volunteers can provide them (Saab et al. 2013). Even though organizations operate with different standards and procedures, they are in this case able to cooperate and bridge different cultures.

7.2.1.2 Creating a common SOP for volunteers

None of the volunteer organizations have any formal or well-defined SOPs they follow while working. Therefore, UNHCR asked if it would be useful for them to assist the volunteers on establishing a SOP for beach level, or a code of conduct with the voluntary groups in order to guide the volunteers. Kuper argues that since the beach level response is purely based on volunteer action, there can be no long-term plans or solutions. If you have standard operation procedures, it will have more continuity over time, and support both short- and long-term goals. In the end, this will be more effective, and the humanitarian aid process will work more smoothly and serve the people in need in a deserving manner (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 5). UNHCR suggests that they could support the implementation of a SOP for volunteers, by contributing with their ideas and experiences within the field, and share their knowledge of best practices and transfer these qualifications onto the volunteers. The SOP would impose volunteers to act in a certain way, such as “do not separate children from their parents”, “do not take equipment from other cars and volunteers without permission” and so forth (ibid.).

Even though the idea works well in theory, it would not necessarily work in practice. Since there are many independent actors present on the beaches that do not belong to a

certain volunteer group, implementing such a standard would be difficult. People come from all over the world to assist the migrants, but not all decide to cooperate with a volunteer group, and therefore operate independently. Due to this, the risk is higher for lack of professionalism and can for example result in children being separated from their parents. DIO, BAAS, and the Basque SMH all have their own procedures on how they operate when there is a boat landing. However, there will always be some independent actors working by themselves and disturb the other volunteers by asking for food, water, clothes, medical equipment or other interferences. This is highly due to the fact that the independent actors come unprepared. They do not have anything to contribute with in terms of equipment needed to assist the people of concern. The problem may seem minor, however in a stressful and chaotic situation when a boat arrives, it becomes undoubtedly disturbing to have other volunteers asking for assistance as well as 60 other migrants that are in need of your immediate help. Often those people are the same as the ones who are preoccupied with taking a photo of themselves with the children, more than actually assisting the ones in need.

A second reason for why it would be challenging to have a common SOP, and a consequence of dealing with unprofessional actors at beach level is due to the high turnover of the volunteers. Many people are only volunteering for a couple of days or a week, which is why it would be difficult to implement a standard procedure. The volunteer groups would find themselves constantly training people, only for the volunteers to leave in a few days afterwards. This would lead to less time spent actually patrolling and assisting the migrants when they arrive. The high turnover of volunteers also makes it difficult to cooperate with different stakeholders, especially on beach level, due to personal opinions. "You can have one coordinator that is open minded and up for cooperation, and then in a few weeks a new one comes along and this one don't want any cooperation at all" (Interview DIO Hegna, p. 2). A continuity of good cooperation is difficult due to the high turnover of people. New personalities that want to do things differently change all the time.

A third argument to why it is difficult to create a SOP for volunteers, is that because of the various background and knowledge the volunteers bring with them, it would be challenging to train people as not everyone has the ability to be innovative, dynamic and quick to respond. Alpha, the coordinator who was in charge of deploying cars to landing sites, informed us that he had some problems with the older volunteers who were too slow

to respond when there was a boat landing. However, there are no doubts in the fact that the coordination involving the different volunteer organizations are in need of better communication and information flow among themselves, in order to make the boat landings go as smoothly as possible. Thereby, the implementation of a strict and coherent SOP becomes challenging when considering the various factors as mentioned above, but is also observed and argued to be of importance.

7.2.1.3 Accountability

The issue of accountability is according to Hilhorst high on the agenda of humanitarian organizations and their stakeholders. Accountability is an essential part for organizations to claim legitimacy, as they should be held responsible for their actions both upwards towards a recognized authority or donor partners, and downwards towards their beneficiaries (Hilhorst 2002, p. 209).

Hilhorst further argues that in order to be accountable, organizations have to be transparent and responsive regarding their compliance with agreed standards on organizational policies and practices. A set of standards of performance, or at least decide upon certain objectives against which performance can be measured, is essential in order for organizations to be accountable (ibid. p 203). In light of this statement, it is easier for the major humanitarian actors to be held accountable for the work they do, as they have implemented procedures and specific approaches in their work that assure adherence towards certain humanitarian standards and principles. Although some NGOs based on volunteer work have a clear set of values and guidelines, they do not follow a minimum standard of quality commitments, like the Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability for example (CHS 2014). During our stay on Chios, we observed that some form of a clear set of humanitarian standards to follow is needed by all of the volunteer organizations present. Even though not having any standards at all leads to flexibility in organizations, which is a characteristic that is in particular valuable in the context of Chios, there is a need for a middle ground. By adhering to some selected humanitarian standards as a guideline on professionalism, it will ensure that newly established NGOs in collaboration with all stakeholders are able to find the best solutions (Walker et al. 2010). Griekspoor and Sondorp argue that lack of a clear set of standards, and systems of accountability, makes it difficult to evaluate humanitarian projects, which means that by

having standards evaluation will be simplified (2011, p. 211). This will not only contribute to easier evaluation processes so the organizations can learn and improve their effort, but if all the actors present followed some humanitarian principles, it would create better opportunities for inter-organizational cooperation as values across organizations are the same. Additionally, it would be easier to ensure quality improvements when a specific framework is implemented, as well as creating a more unified response. Arntzen, the coordinator for DIO, argues that implementing this set frame of standards in all the organizations present in a humanitarian field would improve the working conditions for the organizations and their volunteers, as it would be easier to exclude the non-serious actors that are present (Interview DIO Arntzen, p. 3). The standards would work as both a quality and accountability assurance.

7.2.1.4 Variation in perspectives

Another challenge of bridging different organizations together are the different perspectives each organization brings with them in an emergency situation. Organizations can be distinctive in their mindset and view the emergency differently and that will have an effect on how they respond to a crisis. When asked what the main challenge of the humanitarian work on Chios was, the team leader of CESRT, answered:

“The vulnerable people, the refugees. The children, the women, the pregnant women, the people that are sick with disabilities. That is the most difficult for us. Yes, because people are coming, stressed by a trip for three hours four hours in the boat. And also at least twenty days after they leave from Syria ending in Turkey in Cesme. And so this is the most big challenge that we have” (Interview CESRT Pothiti Kitromilidi, p. 4).

Her answer is entirely focusing on the humanitarian aspect of the crisis. Comparing Toula’s response with Daridan’s from NRC when he was asked the same question, his reply was “The main challenges remains coordination, still” (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 6). Kuper stated that it is the predictableness and difficulties to anticipate the future which are the main challenges on Chios, as it makes it extra challenging to plan activities according to the situation at all times (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 5). By comparing these three

statements there is a clear distinction in their mindsets on how they view the challenges on Chios. UN-agencies and major international actors experienced in the field are more concerned about problems relating to coordination and the predictableness and complexity of the crisis (Natsios 1995). The humanitarian actors, like NRC, are more colored by the standards and procedures they are trained to follow in a humanitarian response, which make them able to act more objectively towards a situation. Civil society groups are more colored by the unfairness of the situation, and bridging these two distinctive mindsets can become a challenge when cooperating.

In the past section we revealed challenges of bridging organizational cultures, both in between major actors and organizations based on civil society and volunteerism, and between the newly established NGOs. We now continue to Biermann's second identified challenge of inter-organizationalism.

7.2.2 Causing of self-centeredness while cooperating

Cooperation can cause self-centeredness, which means that organizations try to protect their own authority, autonomy and visibility in the field (Biermann 2009, p. 43). It is important for all the organizations present in the humanitarian field to outline which organization that does what, and create an understanding of who is actually in charge of each project and the situations that occur. When implementing an activity it is essential to review it in connection with the overall picture. Organizations will then avoid self-centeredness by solely focusing on its own agenda, as this can lead to conflict and hamper other organizations' activities (Walker et al. 2010).

7.2.2.1 Coordination

Daridan emphasized the importance of respecting the role of everyone in regards to how we can work together (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 3). All organizations have the same objectives; it is to act in the best interest of the migrants. This includes making sure families are not separated, that the migrants are registered in order for them to receive their rights, as well as informing them about their rights and the asylum seeking process. Hans Knævelsrud describes the importance of coordination when implementing new activities (Interview NRC Knævelsrud, p. 2). Knævelsrud argues that actors are often

extremely focused on their own tasks, and problems occur when actors are not communicating and informing each other on their ongoing activities. When two activities fall on the same day, people are forced to choose one of the two. That is why coordination is important, in order to clarify each organization's roles and responsibility and to identify gaps and overlaps (ibid. p 2-3). This became a problem in the registration site Tabakika, when volunteers suddenly decided to distribute food, and the consequence of this was threefold; firstly, the unplanned food distribution resulted in people standing in line to become registered left the queue in order to receive food. This was disturbing as the task of the authorities and the police on Chios are to register the migrants as soon as possible, and the consequence of this was that the registration process stopped. Secondly, it became challenging to receive an overview of who had been registered and not. Thirdly, it was a challenge to the security in Tabakika, as there were many people of concern in the building, and the situation suddenly became more chaotic as people left the registration queue to receive food (ibid. p 7).

This is a classical example of what happens when actors are solely focusing on their own agenda, by being self-centered, narrow minded and not sufficiently taking into consideration the context in which their activities are being implemented (Walker et al. 2010). In the next section we investigate more on the topic of visibility in the field and how it is necessary in the fight over resources, and how this can lead to issues of self-centeredness.

7.2.3 Fighting over visibility and resources

Fighting over resources is the third identified challenge by Biermann, and he argues that in the fight for resources rash decisions can be made. Visibility becomes crucial for NGOs to get the necessary funding in order to survive, which can create tension amongst the present actors. Working in the humanitarian field, this type of organizational behavior can be counterproductive in ways such as duplication, waste of resources, unnecessary competition and exacerbation of the problem that needs to be solved (Biermann 2011, p. 11). Lack of funding has a huge impact on organizations' abilities to respond to a crisis. Therefore, in this section we focus on the major humanitarian actors' challenges and reasons for not being able to perform at beach level and respond to other needs of the migrants, which leads minor organizations to take the responsibility.

7.2.3.1 The impact of economical limitations

Organizations are fighting over resources because they are in need of funding in order to implement activities in the humanitarian response. Limitations in funding lead to lack of capacity and competencies within organizations.

Economical constraints are an essential reason for NRC to not be present at beach level according to Knævelsrud. Due to lack of funding and limitations in resources, they are not able to implement all the activities they originally hoped for. Even with enough competent people specialized in emergency response at first level, their resources limits them. NRC was able to establish themselves at Chios due to funding received from the Norwegian “TV-aksjonen”, which is a yearly fundraising in Norway where one selected organization receives the collected pot (Interview NRC Knævelsrud, p. 12). Knævelsrud explains that there have been several challenges towards fundraising for their work in Greece, since Greece is a part of Europe. When comparing Greece to other emergencies in the world such as in South Sudan where people are dying of malnutrition, lack of access to medicine or clean water, the situation in Greece seems less grave, and Knævelsrud states “If you have one more dollar, where would you place it?” (ibid.). In line with Knævelsrud’s argument, although the situation in Greece is of utter importance, Greece is not the highest priority because the situation is reviewed as less urgent comparing to other current emergencies in the world (ibid.).

Furthermore, in regards to lack of capacity, when asked if UNHCR would like to be present on the beaches and take over more of the responsibility of the first responders, Kuper stated that “In an ideal world the whole thing would be professional, but that is just a huge amount of people who are required to do that” (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 2). UNHCR’s lack of capacity to take on more projects than they are already involved in, combined with the significant capacities of the volunteer groups on shore, have resulted in volunteers and civil society to be the first responders on beach level. Kuper argues that none of the organizations have the capacity to make it all professional, so the way things are working now functions like a hybrid between what would ideally be professional and the efforts available, but at least it is taken care of (ibid. p 6). Compared to other Greek islands, the balance on Chios is different. The natural equilibrium on the island is that the major actors are working with the different sites, NFIs, processes and crowd management through the island, while the volunteers are dealing with the boat reception sites. Kuper argues that

the equilibrium would have been different if the volunteers had less capacity and if UNHCR had more. However, there is no doubt that limitations in their capacities are constraining UNHCR and NRC to extend their activities on Chios, as well as the volunteer efforts.

It is not only a matter of capacity, but also a matter of competencies. Knævelsrud from NRC explains this by arguing that they have five core competencies and focus areas in which they function as professional actors. These five competencies are education; food security; information and legal assistance; shelter and water, sanitation and hygiene. They function as a guideline for what sort of work is within their framework. As one can see, working at beach level with boat arrivals is not one of their core competencies (Interview NRC Knævelsrud, p. 9). As NRC's employees on Chios do not have the necessary background and qualifications to fulfill the duties required on beach level in a safely manner, they have made the decision to not use their employees in that area. Furthermore, they do not have the training required to conduct rescue at sea and provide coast guard services. NRC prefers that other actors competent in rescue at sea do that type of work, while they can focus on their own five core competencies. However, Knævelsrud stated that if they were to make the decision to expand effort to the beaches, they would have done so in a professional manner by using competent people (ibid.).

7.2.3.2 Visibility for funding

As mentioned earlier, in order to survive, NGOs rely on funding. In order to get funding you need to stay visible (Saab et al. 2012) An example of organizations' need for visibility, and how this can triumph professional behavior, is the involvement of media in the search for funding. The WAHA team, mainly containing a team of two people, a nurse and a doctor in each patrolling car, showed up to a boat landing one night with a team of nine people. Six of these people volunteered for WAHA and the rest were a camera crew who had flown to Chios to document the work the WAHA team did on the island, and their involvement in the crisis. In reality this did not have to be an issue, but it later on became one when an already covered arrival spot turned into an arranged stage for the team to flaunt out their work. A situation that was not calm and stable was exacerbated and made dramatic when the doctors started to examine children that were not hurt, only to show it off to the camera, leaving the parents terrified that something had happened to their children and babies. When the team got the clips they needed, they moved on to the next scene.

Knævelsrud from NRC argues that it is important to cooperate with other international actors, as well as the authorities, instead of competing against each other in order to remain visible to the public (Interview NRC Knævelsrud, p. 6). Visibility is obviously important as the humanitarian actors depend on funding from donors, but a cooperation project between NRC and Samaritan's Purse ended with a whole set of new toilets placed on different arrival spots on the island. By putting resources together one can reach the required needs with positive outcomes.

As a summary of the abovementioned factors including economical constraints, lack of capacity and competencies, as well as the non-existing structure in the volunteers' response on Chios, it is evident that this leads to fighting over resources in the humanitarian field and impact organizations' ability to respond to a crisis, as well as a necessity for the different organizations to be visible in order to raise funding for their activities.

Sub-conclusion part two

The three challenges identified by Biermann, which are bridging cultures, the risk of cooperation causing self-centeredness and fighting over resources, impact organizations' abilities to perform in the humanitarian field on Chios. To be able to respond to major and complex challenges, such as the refugee crisis on the different Greek islands has turned out to be, organizations need to coordinate and work closely with other organizations that are engaged in the same field and not only view each other as competitors. It is essential since cooperation will "achieve more coherence, synergy or unity of effort" (Biermann 2011, p. 174-175). In the following third part of our analysis we elaborate on the cooperation of the different stakeholders on the island.

7.3 Cooperation in inter-organizationalism

Compact spaces with a lot of actors present encourage inter-organizational networking in the humanitarian field (Biermann 2009). Although one can argue that inter-organizational cooperation can have its challenges, it is important to outline the positive outcomes of inter-organizational cooperation, and what this has to say for the quality of the humanitarian aid given. Biermann argues that since inter-organizationalism is inspired by both globalization and interdependence, cooperation is an implicit outline of the theory

(Biermann 2011, p. 8-10). Biermann identifies three strengths of inter-organizationalism: gap filling, burden sharing and the sharing of practices and experiences to ensure quality in the humanitarian work. In this section we first present the different perspectives on who are the main gap fillers according to the volunteers and civil society, NRC and UNHCR. There exist different understandings of who are filling the gaps in the humanitarian response on Chios, and we elaborate on these perspectives in the following section.

7.3.1 Gap filling

The first strength of cooperation outlined in inter-organizational theory is gap filling. State institutions are not the only actors that can contribute with problem solving during humanitarian crisis, but NGOs can also play a key role in logistics and especially at field level (ibid. p 7; Gustavsson 2012, p. 7).

In humanitarian responses, NGOs have been willing to cooperate and be in charge of activities where the major humanitarian actors may fall behind, and they invest a lot of time to make things work (Gustavsson 2012, p. 6). Talking to several of the volunteers present at beach level on Chios, the majority agreed that they were needed to act as leading gap fillers due to lack of response by the major humanitarian actors. The NGOs have all something to contribute with on beach level in terms of medical services, food and clothing supplies and maintain a logistical overview in order to provide information about transportation and registration procedures to the arriving migrants. This makes it easier for the present actors to put together resources, leaving no gap unfilled.

As a representative from one of the major international actors, Daridan disagreed to the fact that the volunteer organizations function as gap fillers. "I am not sure that the volunteers are filling the gap, it is us which are filling a gap because of the magnitude of the crisis and the civil society and the authorities in Europe and in Greece cannot manage to provide the necessary support" (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 3). Their perspective is that NRC and the other international actors are filling the gap for the volunteers between the migrants' needs and the international response to the crisis. Daridan and Chazelle argue that even though the volunteers play an important role in the humanitarian response, the major actors are the ones who are coordinating the response, making sure there is a single

flow for the migrants from the beach, to the ferry and furthermore to the mainland. Although there have been increasing attention to the important work of smaller humanitarian actors present in humanitarian crises, they do not subscribe to principles in the formal system, meaning that when it comes to overall logistics and work with registrations, they are not able to do the same job as the international actors (Pacitto & Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2013, p. 10).

On the other hand, Kuper from UNHCR acknowledge the volunteers as the main gap fillers on the island. According to his understanding, there are no other gaps to be filled at beach level by professional actors, other than medical coverage and proper transportation. Kuper argues that UNHCR need to be more present on the beaches in terms of structured support, but recognizes the importance of volunteerism. He further argues that it would have been a shame if the response on Chios, was totally professionalized to the point where people wanting to come out and help was unnecessary. The future hope for UNHCR is to be present at the beach twice a week to visit each of the landing sites and the volunteer groups, in order to enhance cooperation, "To be more present than that would be a fantasy" (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 8). Being more present at beach level would benefit UNHCR in understanding what the volunteers are doing and identify gaps where they can fill in with professional support. Kuper stated that this has not been established yet, because of minimum staffing, but he hopes that the program will be up and running soon (ibid. p 3-7).

Since UNHCR arrived on Chios in October 2015, they have not managed to address the issue of supporting the volunteer groups with their presence on beach level. Volunteer organizations established themselves on the island early summer 2015, due to the huge humanitarian gap that existed on Chios at that time. They initiated support towards boat landings, awaiting help from the international humanitarian community. When UNHCR and NRC arrived in October 2015, they realized that they could not manage to address the issue and support the volunteer groups with their presence on beach level. Therefore, they had to establish themselves according to their mandates and competencies, and work full time in the different sites. Because the volunteers were already doing a decent job at the beaches, it was unnecessary to consume more energy on something that was already functioning (ibid. p 3-4).

David J. Saab et al. argue that since local NGOs, international NGOs and UN-agencies find themselves responding to the same crisis, they have all realized the importance, and potential benefits, of coordinating responsibility and general information (2013). NRC listed a volunteer coordination position to ensure good communication and cooperation between the different operating levels. The position was developed in order to coordinate better between the registration center and the transit sites, as well as keeping an overview of what is happening at beach level with the volunteer organizations. Chazelle states that this employee will work as a bridge between the different organizational levels, and NRC developed a web site where volunteer organizations can share the current needs on the island and enlist where they could use more professional help. NRC had also, according to Chazelle, developed welcome packages for all the volunteers, together with a code of conduct (Interview NRC Daridan & Chazelle, p. 2-4). Daridan claims that as long as the different actors can work towards their objectives together, they can all work together. The idea is to create a forum of discussion where the major international organizations explain to the volunteers that they are not interested in stepping in and taking over the work the volunteers are doing at beach level, but simply to function as a guide and to exchange experience. Daridan and Chazelle argue that NRC does not make any distinction between the international organizations and the newly established NGOs, as “this is exactly the same. You [as in DIO] are also part of the humanitarian actors” (ibid. p 4). NRC’s objective is not to take over the humanitarian response, but to protect and ensure cooperation.

Biermann explains gap filling as a strength of inter-organizationalism, however as analyzed in this section, there exist a disagreement on cooperation and collaboration towards filling the humanitarian gaps that exist on Chios. Set aside this argument, it is worth noting that because the volunteers, civil society, and the major humanitarian organizations are present and cooperating with the government, they are able to respond to a complex refugee crisis. As Saab et al. argue (2012), cooperation enhances the quality of the aid distributed, and can lead to burden sharing which can be in everybody's favor. The positive aspects of burden sharing is analyzed and discussed in the next section.

7.3.2 Burden sharing

Burden sharing is the second key factor for optimal cooperation. When issues in ongoing emergencies tend to grow bigger and one institution or organization cannot handle things alone, one solution is for organizations to cooperate and contribute with problem solving amongst each other. Organizations that cooperate in emergencies when they share a functional and geographical overlap in an institutional space, stimulates cooperation to find better solutions for problem-solving, if they choose to take advantage of it (Biermann 2009, p. 8-10).

7.3.2.1 *Burden sharing between the volunteer groups and civil society*

As mentioned, Biermann argues that overlap can mean opportunities of burden sharing and more effective problem solving amongst the different organizations present. However, it is up to each organization on Chios to decide if they are willing to take advantage of the overlapping functions in the humanitarian response. As BAAS, CESRT and DIO are all covering beach level with boat reception, they share the burden and can increase their cooperation and thereby achieve more effective problem solving. Toula emphasizes the importance of cooperating and although other teams on Chios have their own backgrounds and names, they cooperate like it is their own team. When the beach level organizations, the locals and the independent actors cooperate, the results are very good (Interview CESRT Pothiti Kitromilidi, p. 2). However, the desire to cooperate with other actors present in an emergency response is not always there.

The concept of overlaps in an emergency situation, is the fact that incentives to cooperate increases when organizations are dealing with problems that are difficult to handle alone (Biermann 2009, p. 8; Saab et al. 2013, p. 197). An example of this from Chios is when one of the coordinators for DIO an evening did not want their volunteers to cooperate with CESRT because of a small disagreement between the organizations. The argument for not cooperating was based on the rationale that by giving away part of the responsibility of a coordination job, such as coordinating cars to landing spots, the coordinator loses a part of the overall understanding of the situation on a daily basis (Interview DIO Hegna, p. 3). Even though DIO were lacking cars and volunteers to patrol the beaches, and many boats were

expected to arrive to the island, as the sea was calm, she was reluctant to cooperate. Later during that same evening she had to retract from her statement of not cooperating with CESRT, as there was a huge amount of boats coming to the island and DIO was not able to handle it by themselves. Volunteers in the field were forced to cooperate anyways due to the many boats and this ended with a positive result as all the boats that night were reached in time. In line with Biermanns argument, the incentives to cooperate grow when organizations are dealing with problems that are difficult to handle alone (Biermann 2009, p. 8).

7.3.3 Sharing of practices to ensure quality in the humanitarian work

Sharing of practices and experiences to ensure quality in the humanitarian work is the third cooperation strength outlined in inter-organizational theory. Exchanging experiences across organizational levels stimulates cooperation and one can find better solution for problem solving (ibid. p 44). The idea of using quality as an attribute to enhance performance is for organizations to learn from one's own and other's mistakes and best practices, and has according to Hilhorst become increasingly popular in the field of humanitarian assistance. However, Hilhorst also argues that there is no definite "blueprint" of going about quality in humanitarian aid (Hilhorst 2002, p. 198).

Even though sharing of best practices in theory is a good idea, it is not as simple as it sounds in the field. In this section we firstly elaborate on how sharing of best practices can enhance quality, and explain how UNHCR has tried to organize a beach working group to exchange ideas and improve the response on beach level. However, nothing yet has happened in this regard on Chios. Secondly, we elaborate on the importance of sharing best practices in order to professionalize and enhance the quality in the beach response, especially in regards to medical coverage. Thirdly, we argue that evaluation is an important tool to improve quality in humanitarian aid, and thereby encounter best practices in order to share the findings with other institutions.

7.3.3.1 Sharing of best practices

Kuper stated that there has not been enough sharing of good practices around the different islands (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 8). On Chios, migrants were able to come and leave the same day. It is due to the fact that the police innovated the registration process and made it

more efficient in cooperation with other humanitarian agencies, as well as they started to work on a 24 hours basis without being ordered to do so, which are the reasons for why Chios can have quite high arrivals (ibid.). In addition, normally the ferry has two departures a day, which is also a contributing factor for why UNHCR can manage to have quite high arrivals and low presence. This contrast with Samos, that has quite low arrivals, but high presence, which is because Samos has less boats and a slower registration process. If organizations working in the same emergency in different places, in this case the different islands in Greece, were better at cooperating and sharing best practices, Samos as well may have been able to achieve low presence, and therefore enhance quality in their work.

UNHCR has suggested to organize a beach level response group in order to be able to share practices, including the major humanitarian actors as well as smaller organizations based on volunteerism and civil society. Kuper states that the cooperation with the volunteers is a bit too loose, and therefore the coordination with the beach groups needs to be more organized, as Biermann also argues in inter-organizational theory, it is necessary for a productive cooperation (Biermann 2011; Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 2). This would entail having regular meetings with different actors on the beach in order to share information and communicate on what is going on, what the different volunteer organizations are doing, and also identify what their needs are. This would also be a way for the professional international actors to come in contact with the relevant people in the different sectors in the volunteer groups, in order for them to give advice on best practices and information on where their help might be needed or not needed. However, that has not been implemented, as some of the volunteer organizations were reluctant to the idea (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 2).

7.3.3.2 Professionalism to enhance quality

There is a need for sharing best practices in order to professionalize and enhance quality in the beach response, especially in terms of medical services and general care for the arriving migrants. The risks are high when the main actors in an emergency response are unqualified and unprofessional (Walker et al. 2010). When reviewing an episode that happened while working on Chios for DIO, the need for quality in emergency response becomes clearer.

21st of February this year a boat landed in the harbor of Agia Ermioni. At first, the situation seemed calm. The refugees and migrants sat quietly in the boat until the volunteers were able to direct the boat safely into the harbor, and then helped them on shore. Suddenly chaos broke out, as a two-year-old child was in need of CPR. It was speculated that he got stuck at the bottom of the boat under water. Two nurses from the organization BAAS were the ones who received the boy on shore, and were able to give him CPR until the ambulance arrived. The situation on the port continued to be chaotic as the family of the child were in a state of shock, especially the women, so the volunteers with help from the men in the family had to assist the women in order for them to calm down and ensure that they did not interrupt the CPR. The child was later declared dead at the local hospital.

In situations like this, it is important to recognize and value the importance of professionalism. There is a clear need for professional medical assistance at beach level, so the teams on shore are prepared for any situation. Volunteers with medical training, or volunteers able to perform CPR in chaotic situations, are not a given. Volunteers act by instinct, and not according to SOPs. All of the volunteers react differently, and are sometimes shocked by the chaotic situations, and they do not know how to handle the situation. One of the volunteers present that night was a nurse who said she was not willing to perform CPR if the situation needed it, even though she had the academic background and medical training. The point to be made is that volunteers are, even with the relevant background, not necessarily trained for emergency situations like this. Therefore, the response can become unstable and the risk of not being able to meet the necessary requirements in an emergency is high (ibid.).

In addition, it was observed that in such a chaotic setting there was no coordination at the scene. All of the volunteers present at the harbor that night did the best they could, but the situation was in clear need of a leader figure who could coordinate and delegate different tasks. In order to save time, in situations where a quick response is highly needed, the response of the volunteers could have been optimized and performed more efficiently if there were trained professional actors present. As there were more boats coming in that night, the two nurses from BAAS were there by luck. They could have been at any boat landing that evening, leaving the situation at the harbor even more chaotic. Although BAAS, as well as the other organizations, focus on recruiting people with medical backgrounds,

none have the capacity to be present at all of the boat landings on Chios. UNHCR is aware of this issue, as Kuper addressed the need for better medical coverage at beach level (Interview UNHCR Kuper, p. 3). Although acknowledging the issue, and claiming that this is a serious gap; nothing has been done about it. With all of that said, the event of 21st of February also illustrated the importance of the work of the volunteers, even though the response was not professionalized. Although the outcome was not as hoped for, if the volunteers had not been present at Agia Ermioni that night, a chaotic situation would have been even more dramatic. We can also be certain of the fact that the child in need of CPR, in this case, did receive assistance of high quality, as the nurse who performed the CPR worked in an Emergency Room at a hospital in Switzerland and is accustomed to severe medical cases where rapid action is required of her. We know that migrants' hope has no limits, and that they will do whatever they can to reach a better place for a safer future. Therefore, a dignified action for people fleeing war, forced to leave their homes and risking their lives and their own children's lives at sea, is required.

Linking the previous example to the importance of sharing best practices and experiences to ensure quality in humanitarian aid, illustrates that it is useful for smaller NGOs to receive inside tips from more experienced actors. Even though the major humanitarian actors do not have the necessary qualification to operate at beach level, it is certain they have many useful tools that could be applied at beach level. The coordinator for DIO, Arntzen, explained that when he experienced situations where he was in doubt, he often turned to his contacts in NRC. Even though they do not sit with a blueprint for every situation, the majority of the employees have experience and academic backgrounds enabling them to answer questions the volunteers with less experience do not possess (Interview DIO Arntzen, p. 4).

7.3.3.3 Evaluation

A second component in the argument of the importance of sharing practices to enhance cooperation and secure quality in humanitarian aid is in regards to evaluation. Currently the evaluation process of the humanitarian work is done after the termination of the activities, meaning that there is no evaluation during the implementation of the activities. It is important to evaluate the work during the implementation of the activity, in order to

understand and evaluate if the activities are serving the greater good or not (Griekspoor & Sondorp 2001, p. 198). This is why it is necessary for the major organizations to implement measurable indicators to monitor their work during the response, not after. It is also the reason for why evaluation is considered an important tool to improve quality in humanitarian aid, and thereby encounter best practices in order to share the findings with other institutions. Organizing a collective evaluation of the overall system-wide response to the emergency would also be a beneficial contribution to enhance quality and accountability in the humanitarian field (ibid. p 211).

Sharing of best practices and experiences is a valuable tool, and should be used more frequent on Chios, mainly because the major actors hold useful knowledge that should be shared with inexperienced volunteers. Vice versa, volunteers also have lot of information on what is happening at beach level, which again is helpful intelligence for the major actors.

Sub conclusion part three

Filling gaps, burden sharing and sharing of best practices and experiences to ensure quality in the humanitarian work are important strengths of cooperation in inter-organizationalism and should be used as a tool to improve the overall response on Chios to create a coherent response. We will now move on to the conclusion where we summarize our finding of our fieldwork on Chios.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, analyzing inter-organizationalism as presented by Biermann and quality and accountability theory as presented by Griekspoor, Sondorp and Hilhorst, the empirical material argue that the quality of humanitarian aid cannot be optimized unless all actors in the humanitarian field join forces. By answering our three sub questions we are now able to answer how the humanitarian actors can facilitate a coherent response to the refugee crisis on Chios in order to meet the needs of the migrants.

Through Biermann's theory of inter-organizationalism we were able to identify gaps, challenges and understanding the cooperation on Chios. New organizations have emerged

on Chios as new problems in regards to the refugee crisis have arrived, which stimulated the creation of new organizations and regimes. These organizations based on volunteerism and civil society have contributed with filling gaps in areas such as the beach level, food distribution, transportation and in the detention center Vial. However, there are different perspectives on who are actually filling the gap for whom. While Daridan from NRC is arguing that they are in fact filling the gap on Chios as they are coordinating the response, Kuper from UNHCR agrees with the volunteers and civil society that the newly established NGOs are the gap fillers. What is certain is that regardless of who is filling what gap for whom; it is essential to cooperate in an emergency in order to achieve an optimized and coherent humanitarian response.

Cooperation is not always a given in organizational interaction and culture, and has proven to be a difficult task for actors present on Chios. The use of approaches based on different rationale often leads to incompatibility and diversity in practice. Daridan from NRC emphasized this when he explained that when having different approaches on the island, inter-organizational cooperation would not work. Chazelle from NRC argued that it is necessary to have an understanding of which framework the different actors are working with, or else it will be complicated to work together. She suggests that by creating one standardized humanitarian framework, stakeholders will ensure better cooperation across organizational levels, and all gaps and needs will be filled, and their resources will be used more efficiently. However, according to Hilhorst it is unlikely that there can ever be one uniform sectorial approach to quality control. In the argumentation of using standards, the complexity of an emergency is a major obstacle for humanitarian organizations working on Chios. Utilizing standards may lead to too strict adherence and may even prevent relief workers from making necessary adjustments in complex emergencies. Standards should be used to improve practice, which is not suitable due to the rapidly changing circumstances, and it is feared that standards can hinder creativity and improvisation skills. What we witnessed on Chios is that there is a need to react quickly, and to adjust and adapt to the situation on a daily basis. Therefore, strict standards may lose its effect in an emergency setting, which is why NRC and UNHCR, compared to organizations based on volunteerism and civil society, are not able to respond to the emerging needs on Chios by filling gaps in the areas of beach level, food distribution, transportation and in the detention site Vial.

Based on our observations, because organizations derived from volunteerism and civil society they are not obliged to follow the same set of strict standards, the positive outcome is that these organizations are able to respond on beach level and in other identified gap areas in an innovative and flexible way. They have the personality to adapt to environments in constant change, which is a quality that is not possible for major humanitarian organizations to have due to their constraints in capacity, funding and competencies.

The relationship between the major and minor actors is interesting to study, as it reveals the complex nature of their cooperation. It is clear that the incentives to cooperate on Chios grow when organizations are dealing with problems that are difficult to handle alone. It is evident that the major actors can benefit from being connected to organizations working in the grey areas, as they provide solid information on timing and places of boat landings. As Biermann argues, there are challenges of inter-organizationalism, however if it is done right, it is possible to take advantage of overlaps in the field and therefore share the burden. It seems that the newly established NGOs on beach level are reluctant to cooperate with the major actors, and that they do not want any interference from them. This can be explained by the difficulties of bridging organizational culture, due to their differences in operational standards and procedures. As Toula argued, "You do your house, I do my house" (CESRT Pothiti Kitromilidi 2016), which basically means that the major actors have to fix their own problems before they can contribute to theirs.

The downside of using unqualified people to fill gaps are the risk of unprofessionalism, no continuity of the quality of the humanitarian aid given, lack of cooperation and communication with the humanitarian actors present on the island, and lack of standards and evaluation process of the relief work. Quality is an important factor in humanitarian assistance, and it is evident that there is a variation in the work of professionals and nonprofessionals when it comes to handling different situations that emerged while we were on Chios. The consequence is altogether that the humanitarian assistance from the volunteers and civil society is very much left up to chances and coincidences, as the evening of 21st of February is an example of. Gaps are filled randomly by organizations that have the ability to step in when situations occur.

That is why sharing of best practices and exchanging experiences across organizational levels is important on Chios. It contributes to ensure quality in the humanitarian work, as well as it stimulates cooperation and the present actors can find better solutions for problem solving. There has not been enough sharing of good practices on the different islands in Greece, Chios included. Sharing of best practice to enhance quality and professionalize the response on the island is highly necessary, especially in regards to medical services for arriving migrants. Lastly, better performance within evaluation should be a requirement in order to identify best practices, and to analyze activities while they are being implemented. This is a valuable tool that should be used in order to receive an understanding of the distributed assistance and if it is sufficient or not. Organizing a collective evaluation of the overall system-wide response to the emergency would also be a beneficial contribution to enhance quality and accountability in the humanitarian field.

There are many gaps in the cooperation between the actors on Chios, as they are operating in distinct ways with different standards, and they are not informing and communicating in an optimized way. Fighting over resources and the need for visibility can cause self-centeredness while cooperating, which is another identified challenge on Chios. Though the major humanitarian actors in collaboration with the authorities have build an effective registration system which enables the people of concern to arrive and leave the same day, the volunteers alongside civil society have assisted the majority of boat landings on beach level. If the volunteers were not present on Chios, the humanitarian situation would look a whole lot different.

We are well aware that this research project does not cover all the aspects related to this field of study, however that was never the intention of this thesis. The intention was to construct a dialogue about the work in the humanitarian world, using Chios as an interesting field of study due to their recent involvement in the refugee crisis.

Via the empirical material gathered during our fieldwork on Chios and the theoretical framework used in this research project it is evident that humanitarian organizations and teams present on Chios, on whatever level, are all restricted in their possibilities. It is important to keep in mind that this research project have not intended to dismiss the volunteer effort that is brought to the field everyday, or the work of the major

humanitarian actors per se, as it is admirable and heroic and has without hesitation saved lives. What is the main goal behind this thesis is shedding some light on the humanitarian situation on Chios, how humanitarian dynamic works and how one can learn from this situation by evaluating the work that is being done, and how it can change into a more effective response by all actors present so that the humanitarian aid delivered can serve the beneficiaries in an efficient and optimized manner. Even though standards have proven to be too rigid and hamper improvising skills, it is to some extent necessary to have standards for newly established actors in the humanitarian field. By adhering to a minimum standard it is possible to create more synergy and continuity in the humanitarian field. Thereby, it would be easier to cover all gaps and need on the island, and resources would be spent more efficiently.

The conclusion is in terms of gap filling that all actors are playing crucial roles. On the one hand, the NGOs on beach level are covering important gaps when the migrants arrive at shore distributing food, water, dry clothes and medical services when possible. On the other hand, the major international humanitarian organizations are filling gaps in areas such as legal assistance, camp site management and in the field of coordination in order to construct a single flow of refugees and migrants on the island. All of these gap fillings are identified as essential in order to respond to the migrants' needs when they arrive at Chios, and the actors are represented in relation to available resources, capacities and competencies. The key to achieve a coherent approach to the humanitarian crisis on Chios is that the organizations are in need of cooperating across organizational levels. The major humanitarian actors benefit from keeping their professional approach to emergencies, but need to be less rigid and adhere to standards in order to be more flexible and innovative in project implementation. The newly established NGOs should adapt to a set of minimum standards to follow as a guideline to ensure quality of the aid given, but without limiting themselves to the approach, ensuring better cooperation with the major actors, as well as more professionalized work standards. By strengthening cooperation across organizational levels, and by limiting the challenges encountered in this thesis, it is possible facilitate a more coherent approach to the refugee crisis to meet the needs of the migrants on Chios.

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10.0 Appendix

10.1 Mapping of different actors on Chios

The document below illustrates a detailed map of the different actors operating at beach level, at the registration site Vial, and the transit center Souda, as well at the organizations' different activities. The list is developed by NRC during our training program on Chios.

SEA/BEACH		VIAL		SOUDA	
Organization	Activities	Organization	Activities	Organization	Activities
WAHA, SMH, Coast Guard, FRONTX, Bouder Police	Rescue	Private bus company	Transportation	Norwegian Refugee Council (banners), Samaritan Purse	Information
Private bus company	Transportation	Norwegian Refugee Council, UNHCR, Metaction	Information	Samaritan Purse, Metadrasi	Translation
CESRT, Be Aware and Share, Drops in the Ocean, local volunteers	Shoring, Clothes, Tea Distribution, Cleaning	Norwegian Refugee Council, Metadrasi	Translation	Samaritan Purse	NFI Distribution of UNHCR, NRC and SP items
WAHA, SMH, Be aware and Share, CESRT, other volunteer groups upon capacities	Health	Norwegian Refugee Council, Samaritan Purse	NFI Distribution UNHCR, NRC and SP items	Doctors of the World, WAHA	Clothes Distribution
Local volunteer group, NRC, SP, UNHCR	Infrastructure	Norwegian Refugee Council	Clothes Distribution of volunteers and UNHCR items	People Street Kitchen, Drops in the Ocean, Be Aware and Share, APOSTOL (kit), Solidarity Kitchen, CERST	Food distribution
		Norwegian Refugee Council, Samaritan Purse	Flow management	Samaritan Purse	WASH, Cleaning and maintenance
		People Street Kitchen, Drops in the Ocean, Be Aware and Share, UNHCR (kit), Red Cross (kit), APOSTOL (kit), Solidarity Kitchen	Food distribution	Municipality	Security
		Save the Children, Praksis	Child Friendly Space and mother and baby area	Doctors of the World, WAHA, Red Cross	Health
		FRONTX	Screening	Praksis	Psychosocial support for children
		Police, port authority	Registration	UNHCR	Protection
		NRC	WASH and Cleaning	Municipality	Site Management
		Army	Maintenance		
		Army, Police	Security		
		WAHA, Doctors of the World, Red Cross, Greek Army	Health		
		FRS	Management		
		UNHCR, Praksis	Protection		
		Norwegian Refugee Council, Samaritan Purse	Accommodation		

10.2 Interview with Joseph Kuper from UNHCR

Use of signs:

- [...] Incomprehensible/Unintelligible sentences
- [] Comments, notes, or essential language clarifications
- () Unsure transcription, best guess
- ” ” Direct quotes – only used in transcription from notes
- ‘ ’ Demonstration of spoken word
- ABC* Words emphasized

Organization: UNHCR

Date: 01.03.2016

Place: Office UNHCR Chios

Interviewees: Joseph Kuper

Interviewers: I1 Myrvold, I2 Teigen

Duration: 39 min

Transcribed from: Recordings

Presentation: *Joseph Kuper is in charge of the UNHCR office on Chios. The interview began in a small meeting room in the UNHCR office with Joseph Kuper and we stayed there for approximately 40 minutes.*

[Joseph introduces himself and offers us water or coffee. General small talk before we start the interview]

I1: Can you just state your name, your organization and your role in the organisation, just first?

Joseph: Joe Kuper, and I am the team leader for UNHCR on Chios.

I1: Great, can you tell us a little bit more about what UNHCR are doing here in Chios?

Joseph: So, UNHCR has been in Chios for about five years, originally just with one Greek member staff providing legal information to migrants, because this has been going on for a long time, but just with a lot lower numbers. And then since October we got bigger and became more focused on kind of the emergency response. So we support the Greek government in response to the refugee crisis, so we helped build Souda for example, the accommodation site, and we deliver quite a lot of non food items through different partners like through Samaritan’s Purse, lots of blankets and water and food kits wheelchairs and that kind of stuff. But our core mandate activities here are providing legal information to migrants on, because it is a mixed flow here right, so some people are in need of international protection, so eligible for asylum, and others are not. So it is providing as we call it persons of concern, because we don’t know whether they would be refugees or not, so we provide information to persons of concern about the asylum process, how they should go about applying for asylum, what asylum is, and now we have added to that information about how they can apply for relocation, which is this European Union scheme to take asylum seekers from Greece and process them in different member states. And then we also

focus on protection, so focus on attention to vulnerable groups, and groups with special needs, so whether that is kind of youths, unaccompanied minors, women particular females head of households, elderly, disabled. So yes, a mix of legal information and case follow up are the kind [...]. And then at the same time, kind of support in coordination, infrastructure and goods.

I1: How is the cooperation between UNHCR and NRC for example, or other international actors here at Chios?

Joseph: The cooperation has been very good. It is an unusual coordination model, what we should have here is the refugee coordination model, but that kind of implies a set of coordination groups at national level, that is then replicated on island level, and that has not quite happened properly I think because the response on each of the islands evolved so quickly they kind of out phased the coordination mechanism on national level. So each island sort of developed its own coordination structure, so this is the one we got here is a bit of a hybrid, a bit kind of sectorial and site coordination, but it works pretty well. But where it does not work well is it is not properly linked into national level coordination. So if the medical group come up with a gap here, in theory they should be able to pas that gap to medical group at the national level and can then see how to fit it. But that link is not here.

I1: What about the cooperation between UNHCR and the smaller NGOs, the volunteers who are present on the beaches?

Joseph: You tell me.

I1: Do you have any cooperation at all? Do you have any kind of formal line of communication?

Joseph: Yes, well there is not formalized, I mean there has been talk, on and off talks of set up a beach response working group. But some of the volunteers have not been wanting that.

I2: What would that entail?

Joseph: So it involves regular a meeting with different actors on the beach and both can say what is going on and what they are doing, but also again say what their needs are. So kind of slightly more treating the beaches more like if it was a site and having coordination at the site level, at the beach level. But that does not exist so the coordination with the group, with the different groups at the beaches is more bilateral so when they have needed stuff they have contacted us, and we have sent particularly like blankets and clothes and food donations and stuff like that. And then on island level, there is you know, we sort of got not fully fledged, but at least some kind of volunteer coordination, so there is at the beach level "A drop in the ocean" and Toula for example the lead beach organizations, and the food it is "Aposterli" and [...], with clothes it is Maria from NRC so that is if people kind of want to work in those sectors we initially contact them with the person for that sector, you can give them just a bit of advice and where they might be needed or not needed. But it is a bit too loose, the coordination with the beach groups need to be a bit more organized.

I2: But do you provide food, no, non-food items to volunteer groups at the beach level? To Toula, or?

Joseph: Yes, we have done it. Toula actually got tonnes of stuff, so she actually, if anything she is actually offering it to us.

I2: Yes, that is what she said as well.

Joseph: Yes, but some other groups like those in Kataraktis, Nenita and Agia Ermioni we got some stuff too. But it is kind of, yes it is ad hoc, really. And should be a little bit less ad hoc I think, in particular with training as well. I am also just worried that, some of the groups have been going for a long time and probably are getting a bit tired.

I1: What do you think about non-professional actors are present at the beaches, like us for example, like A Drop in the Ocean, Toula's group, none of us are professional, would UNHCR like to be more present on the beaches, and take over that gap that the volunteers are kind of filling between the beach and the registration camp?

Joseph: I think in an ideal world, or I do not know. In an ideal world the whole thing would be professional. But that is just a huge amount of people who are required to do that. So A; none of the organizations have capacity to do it all professionally. But also, I mean volunteerism is a great thing, right, and it is lovely that people want to volunteer, also lovely to have an outlet to do it, you know, it would almost be a shame if the response here was professionalized to the point where if people wanted to come and help out there was no effort to do it. So, I do not know, the balance is different on different islands. I mean, you can debate on whether it is appropriate that the volunteers are providing all the food and hot spots. Should it be the state instead?

I2: But what is the reason that WFP is not being present here, because like Vial there they do not really have a kitchen there that is working and I am just thinking I have heard stories that the refugees do not, or the volunteers have to provide for the food. So I was thinking is there a reason for why WFP is not present?

Joseph: I think WFP does not, you have to ask them, but I do not think they do programing in Europe. I do not know, they are simply not active in this response, so I think, because there is not enough, you know WFP step in where there is food shortages, they are delivering food from America basically to other parts of the world, there is not a food shortage in Europe. So I do not know if it would even be appropriate for WFP to be here that is probably what they thought. The food is meant to being provided for by the army in the hot spots through a contractor, but that has just taken them quite a long time to fix. It should be done now by a contractor and it has not, and the volunteers have been happy to do it. If the volunteers had not been there then we would have found another solution by now.

I1: What if the volunteers would not be present at the beach, would UNHCR step in?

Joseph: I mean, then something else would happen. I mean, I think it is too much of an academic question. You could look at the different islands, you could see that the balance in each places are different, so the balance UNHCR is present around the clock on the beaches in Lesbos. That is just because of a bunch of factors that happened there, that did not happen here. I personally think it is probably not necessary to have UNHCR there around the clock. But in an ideal world it would be able if I had the people here so then we would too. So I do not know, I think if the volunteers had not done food in Vial by now, clearly by now, there would be another paid set up for food. And it probably would have taken a couple of days to sort it out during which time it would have been sandwiches and food kits and it would not have been great but we would have gotten it fixed. But the problem is that when we get gaps like this, people are not necessarily rushed to fill [...] if the gap is filled then people just leave it as it is. So the beach response here is being done by volunteerism, and because it is being done by volunteerism other organizations have not felt the need to step in instead, and the same with the food. But I do think other organizations could, we need to be more on the beaches just in terms of more structured support.

I1: Do you feel like the volunteers have control over what is happening on the beaches?

Joseph: Control over what?

I1: Or do you think they cover most of the refugees that come in, do you think they have control over or do you think there is another gap that needs to be filled by professional actors?

Joseph: My understanding on it is that the whole is filled, I think there is probably gaps in terms of medical coverage, there needs to be more on medical coverage, and I think transport has too often been too slow.

I2: What is the reason for not having free buses? Because I thought UNHCR was supposed to provide free buses for the refugees. It is just because when I was in Djibouti, UNHCR was providing buses from the port when the refugees arrived from Yemen to Djibouti, and then they transferred them directly to the camp.

Joseph: I do not think, as far as I know, there is no should, there is certainly no obligation, you do not have to look at Djibouti, look at Lesvos, transport is free, provided both by MSF and UNHCR. So you could say why is UNHCR paying for buses on Lesvos and why are they not paying for buses in Chios, which is a perfectly good question to ask. And again, the answer can only be the responses evolved differently and the both systems work. So I think there has been no organizations yet has taken the decision or actually they are about to an NGO is going to step forward from April to take over transport for free here. But up to this point then nobody has step forward to take that on, on the basis of the paid transport system is working and you know different people can argue this in different ways. On one level, refugees and people of concern and their actual lives/arrive [...] are detained, formally they are detained so you could say that in detention transportation should be free because it is a common [...] process and they will be [...] taken to the registration site. Or you could say that there are people who made the journey and they have paid a lot of money to cross from Turkey and they are about to pay a lot more to take the ferry to Athens, and they are about to pay a lot of money, so why not ask them to pay. I do not know, you could argue either way.

I2: I was just thinking that it is more easy that the refugees will spread out on the island and not find their way if they were not any buses provided. Because what we are seeing now is that because people are not getting on the buses because they do not have any money, and then they have to stand in the cold and freeze, but that is another topic.

Joseph: But have you guys actually seen people not getting on the bus?

I2: Yes.

Joseph: Okay.

I2: The bus has left and then we have had to call them back again.

I1: And then we have to stand and argue for 30 minutes, and then another volunteer organization have actually started to pay for the refugees now.

Joseph: Well they have actually been doing that for a while. I thought you guys were doing that. What we have finally done is that we have printed vouchers, so that is what Nicholas was just talking to me about now, so we got them ready now. So the idea is that, but again it is not for everybody. There are two ways to look at it. Either you say it should be free for everybody. Or you say, people that can pay should pay, but then there needs to be something in place for those who cannot. And so far the approach that we have taken so far on Chios is that approach, so we have food vouchers and we have not given food to everybody, but the volunteers have. If there is someone with no money and no food then we will give them food vouchers. So for the next month before this NGO starts free transport the idea is to do bus vouchers, but again not for everybody so you still have to sort of wait for most people to pay, and then there will be those three people left, instead of having to buy the ticket yourself, you give them the voucher. So that will happen this week.

I2: That is great.

I1: What do you think could be done to optimize the communication and coordination between the beach level and the camps, between the bigger international actors like UNHCR and A Drop in the Ocean and Toulas group for example?

Joseph: Having coordinators that stay around for a while is super important, I mean a minimum for a month, at least and preferably longer. I think even purely volunteer organizations if they can consider funding or just covering the costs of somebody to stay a bit longer is hugely valuable. Because at the end of the day it takes a long time for them to understand what is happening on the island and know all the different other actors and have peoples name and phone numbers. So you cannot, if that changes every two weeks, then it becomes very hard to coordinate. So one thing is for the coordinator to stick around for a while, the Whatsapp group is good, and then I think probably making, finding the time to do this weekly beach meeting, you know which it is a bita [...] of your time right, and you have to pick, sometimes everyone is going to be really busy, cause it is a busy day, but you know just to say that for an hour and a half each week everyone is going to meet in a certain one place and invite people like UNHCR, like NRC, like Samaritan's Purse, like you know getting the institutions along. And I think that is important, that has been lacking up to now, but like I said, not all the volunteer groups themselves have see the utility in that. Maybe we should have done more to convince them.

I1: Have you experienced any resistance from the smaller NGOs in terms of cooperation, have you experienced that, that people do not want to cooperate with you from other organizations?

Joseph: Not so much, not really no on Chios. But people are coming from a different angle, you know civil society is all of us, anybody can set up a volunteer organization and a new organization can have whatever respect it wants to have right, so that is how it works. But it is entirely legitimate and entirely to be expected that some civil society organizations like Vial and this thing, it is disgraceful. And that is the, they can take that point and you know we are working there and day to day and we are receiving money from the European Union to provide information on relocation there for example. What I mean is that everyone comes from a different site a different angle, you know so I am sure that we will see some criticism from operating there from certain groups. But I mean I do not think there has not been any kind of structivism here so far, in which I am grateful for, I mean you know I think a broad understanding that everyone is trying to achieve the same thing. Including the authorities, I mean you know. I think some of the kind of more radical European volunteers kind of come with a certain mindset about police because they bring it from G8 demonstrations and that is not how the police in Chios are like really. And you know again you need to have spent a little bit of time here to sort of see that.

I1: We definitely only have good experiences with the local police.

I2: Yes, and Frontex as well.

Joseph: Yes, the Dutch Frontex is nice.

I1: Always nice to have a chat with them during the night shift.

I2: Yes, very friendly.

Joseph: The border patrol guys?

I2: Yes, wonderful people.

I1: Yes, they are really cool people. But I guess, we have been here for a while though, so when you see them every night.

I2: Yes, you get to know each other. We have also seen the local police, jump into the water, the once who are with Frontex, if the Spanish are not there to take them into shore the

police will go into the water and actually help them and you know, it is good to see that if some people are lacking at the beaches they will step in and help, so I think it is wonderful.

I1: What do you feel is the biggest challenge with the work you are doing in Chios?

I2: And how long time do you think UNHCR will be here at Chios?

Joseph: As long as we have to be here.

I2: How long have you been here now?

Joseph: Since October.

I1: And do you think you are going to stay the whole?

Joseph: Forever [laughing].

I1: As long as UNHCR has to be here, until the end.

Joseph: No, I doubt it, I am tired.

I2: I have a question, do you think that it is convenient for UNHCR to let the volunteer groups be on shore, because they can sort of work in the grey areas?

Joseph: Like which?

I2: Because what we have sort of experienced is that some people have for example connections on the other side, so it seems that they can know when the boats are arriving. And I am thinking if UNHCR were the people who were at the beaches, you know it is hard to know where is the line where you can, what are people smuggling and what is assisting without any payments. Do you see what I am asking?

Joseph: Yes, kind of. Well, if we were more active on the beach reception we certainly would not get any phone calls from Turkey, I mean obviously. I do not think it is convenient, I think it has been, I think it has been, what has it been, it has been a combination of two capacities, a combination of our lack of capacity to do more than we are doing now, and it is combined with the significant demonstrative capacities of the different volunteer groups on shore. And like I say, you always find this natural equilibrium right, so the natural equilibrium we found on Chios is that the institutions are worrying about sites and processes and crowd management through the island, NFIs and the bolt stuff [...] and volunteers dealing with the reception site. And that equilibrium would have been different had the volunteers had less capacity or our organization had more capacity. But then after a while it becomes self petuating. But like I said, we need to be more on the beaches, not there 24 hours a day, but just there more regularly and at all times a day so that we can properly understand what is going on and see what the gaps are. So that is hopefully something that we will be doing soon. But you know we are hampered by staffing, by the time we are trying to do information provision between nine am and one in the morning in Vial, which is what we are trying to do, that is already six people only doing that. So you kind of have to pick places. But what I want from now on, at least for UNHCR is to, you know twice a week to visit each of the landing sites, you know hopefully once in the night and once in the day or something just so we can see it.

I2: And I am sorry the volunteer groups are not open to cooperating with you guys as well, if.

Joseph: We already do cooperate, I just think it is a case of, I am sure they would be open for us to be there more.

I1: What about the local authorities, do you have a good cooperation with them? Are they happy you are here to assist?

Joseph: Yes, again we have been lucky in Chios with the local authorities, they have been kind of proactive and human. It is tricky for them because none of them have the lead responsibility for this. A bunch of different authorities, each with their own role, and each with their own role to play when something like this happen, but none of them got written

in their functions what they should do about the refugees. And none of them got funding for it, or staffing for it, or well with the exception of the police for registration which is now sort of a set thing. But yes, it is difficult for them because they have a responsibility to the refugees, and they have the responsibility to their own communities, and then those of them who are elected to the officials also kind of have a need to win the elections. So that is a whole bunch of priorities to juggle. And then the burden is kind of overwhelmingly falling on the local authorities, when really it is really more of a national and European problem, so you know it falls on the region and the municipality and they quite rightly expect the central government to do more.

I1: Have you been to Lesbos?

Joseph: No.

I1: I was just going to ask if you could see any difference, but I guess.

I2: Is there someone who is sort main in charge of the response here, I guess it is the authorities, and then you have the UNHCR, but is there a hierarchy?

Joseph: No, nobody is in charge.

I2: Why is that?

Joseph: Because what I was saying about not being a part of any authority competencies. So the ministry of migration was talking about sending a coordinator per island to coordinate between the different authorities to take that lead role, but so far they have not materialized. So no, so far the island coordination has been shared, co-shared between UNHCR and the municipality. But that was something the municipality sort of stepped into out of goodwill really, they do not have to. It is also difficult for the local authorities, because none of them particularly want to assume [...] the responsibility for this, given that it is not their responsibility. And then equally none of them want particularly to be ordered around by any of the other ones because the hierarchy has not been established by law. So it is this kind of slightly ambiguous relationships where you just have to, it just depends really on goodwill and a general desire to do the right thing. But there is no, no one gives the order.

I2: But when we were at the training, they talked about that the system here works quite well. Because you get the refugees maybe in the morning and then they can leave the same day with the ferry to Athens so the flow is actually working quite well. So do you think this would be like, could be used as an example of for best practice?

Joseph: So one of the authorities who is doing a good job here is the police, and they kind of innovated with the registration process to organize it into a single line so that you, because back in October you got your, you got your name taken one place and then your photograph taken another place and then your fingerprints taken another place and each time people would actually have to turn up in the same order that they were on that list, so people got like letter combination written on their wrists, so they would get BV and it was just like this pandemonium. And the police organized themselves into a more organized thing where you could just start the process here and finish the process here where [...] and also began to work on a 24 hours basis, and I think without ordered to do so. So those two things have meant that we can have quite high arrivals here. And then we are also lucky with the boats, so generally speaking we have two departures a day. So the police process has been good, and there have been quite a lot of boats, and we have managed to have quite high arrivals and low presence, which contrasts with Samos which has quite low arrivals but quite high presence. And that is in parts because of those two things, less boats and slower registrations. And yes, there has not been enough sharing of good practices around the different islands.

I1: But UNHCR are present at Samos as well, and Lesbos?

Joseph: Yes.

I1: In Athens as well?

Joseph: Yes.

I1: What about Idomeni?

Joseph: Yes. And Leros, Kos, Rhodos and Thessaloniki. What is happening now of course is these sites are on the main land. If you ask my boss what he is thinking about I am sure it is not the islands anymore. He is thinking about the 20 000 people who are already building up in Greece and the 50 000 people who will probably build up in the coming weeks.

I1: I think we are all done.

I2: Thank you very much for meeting with us.

[Small break before a few more questions was asked]

I1: Fill the gaps, cause we have nurses, we have the medical team, we have the Basques, WAHA doctors are patrolling every night, so of course.

Joseph: We are funding WAHA.

I1: Yes, you are?

I2: You are funding the Baas?

Joseph: No, WAHA.

Joseph: Baas? You mean Be aware and share baas?

I2: Yes.

Joseph: I like those guys.

I2: They are nice.

I1: They are very nice. So I think everybody are going a great job like in the context that we are of course.

Joseph:

Yes.

I1: Would you like personally to be present on the beaches? Or do you like?

Joseph: I think we should visit each group twice a week, I mean it is just a kind of, you know, try to do a bit of night time monitoring as well as day time, I think we should.

I2: Most of the boats come during the night.

Joseph: In times of, yes, I mean, to be more present than that would be a fantasy, really.

I2: I sort of agree that overall in general it is sort of working, because the outcome is positive. People are arriving here safely, except from two incidents.

I1: And we get them to the buses and [...] to the registration camp other people have that covered so.

Joseph: I mean what we did in Tabakika, cause nobody was in charge but we had to, all the organizations were working together so developed these SOPs rights, standard operation procedures, and negotiate among ourselves. So nobody was in charge, but everyone agreed to the drafting of SOPs and then agreed to stick to them. I mean it is not something that would be doable at the beach level. I mean you are say that it would be great to have a standard, but why, what stopped A Drop in the Ocean from trying, or would you like us to try to facilitate that or would it be useful, would it be possible to get like a beach code of conduct with the six voluntary groups that says what, you know, do not grab babies and take stuff.

I1: The only thing I think would be, of course ideally that would be perfect, but I think the problem with this and what we, because you always have an attitude when you come here in this, like a master thesis process, you have like a question, then after a while we have been here, because our main question was why UNHCR, NRC and other humanitarian actors

were not present at the beach. But after a while here we can kind of really understand why, cause the dynamic that is going on now is actually working quite well, like we just talked about. And of course it would be good to have those standard operations, but I think the problematic thing with that would be that there are so many independent actors present at the beaches. They are not with an NGO, they are local Greeks boat hunting, going for the motors, and there is a lot of independent actors who kind of get in the way of that anyways. Cause there is certainly, we have a kind of a standard operation of what we do when we get there, and baas [Be aware and share] have it, and CESRT have it, but of course those will always be interfered with the two ladies coming in taking something for the babies and separating them from their families, and coming in grabbing food and clothes from our truck, just because they want to take a picture of, and they have a photographer with them, taking pictures and making sure they will get it on tape and then leave again, so I think there is always going to be.

I2: And also we got a quite high turnover, many people are just staying here for a week to assist and then they go back their normal life, so I think it would be difficult to implement a procedure, just because then you would have to train people and people are not staying here for a long time.

Joseph: So you would just be finding yourself constantly training people.

I1: Yes, definitely.

Joseph: And even then you would be finding yourself with a bunch of people who have never read them anyway and.

I2: And people are not professional either, so I think maybe it would be difficult to train some of the people who are coming, especially maybe older people, because they are not very [laughter].

I1: You are so negative to the older people.

I2: No, but it is true, they are just not very innovative and dynamic, like they, you do not agree?

I1: Yes, it is just funny when you are saying it out loud in front of people. No, but I think of course, we talked, when we went to the NRC training on Saturday, we could all agree that more communication is needed for everything to work as smoothly as possible and definitely I think a lot of the organizations should benefit from some kind of training, at least the coordinator I guess, the people who actually stay here for a while, would really benefit of having a meeting with UNHCR and NRC to kind of talk about each others expectations, and this is where we are at, and this is where you are at, and how can we kind of fill each others gaps and make this work as smoothly as possible. Cause overall we are all here for the same reasons. I do not have the answers, I do not know.

Joseph: I was not questioning. Okay.

I2: We are trying to figure it out, everything.

Joseph: Cheers, thanks a lot.

I1: Thank you so much.

I2: Yes, thank you very much. It was very nice to meet you.

Joseph: The same, cheers. So which, you are Julie?

I2: Yes, I am Julie.

I1: And Kamilla.

Joseph: A pleasure.

I1: Nice meeting you, bye bye.

10.3 Interview with Hans Christen Knævelsrud from NRC

- [...] Incomprehensible/Unintelligible sentences
- [] Comments, notes, or essential language clarifications
- () Unsure transcription, best guess
- ” ” Direct quotes – only used in transcription from notes
- ‘ ‘ Demonstration of spoken word
- ABC* Words emphasized

Organization: NRC

Date: 01.03.2016

Place: Office of Norwegian Refugee Council

Interviewees: Hans Christen Knævelsrud

Interviewers: I1 Myrvold, I2 Teigen

Duration: 1 hour and 9 min

Transcribed from: Recordings

Presentation: *Hans Knævelsrud is the program development Manager at Norwegian Refugee Council. The interview took place in his office on Chios and is conducted in his (and our) native language, Norwegian.*

I1: Innsikt i hva dere gjør så vi får litt mer oversikt over de større organisasjonene.

Hans: Helt greit.

I1: Er du klar?

I2: Jeg er klar.

I1: Kan du starte å fortelle litt om hva NRC gjør her på Chios?

Hans: Det kan jeg gjøre, altså, hvis jeg skal ta litt bakgrunn og når vi kom og sånt så blir det gjerne litt enklere?

I1: Ja, gjerne.

Hans: NRC kom hit 10 oktober etter at vi hadde foretatt en assesment både i Hellas og i Serbia og hvor vi bestemte at vi skulle være, både gjøre noe i Serbia og gjøre noe her. Og da tar vi utgangspunkt i noe som heter ”camp management”, jeg har en sånn manual som dette her, hvis dere ikke har sett den før?

I2: Den så vi på kurset.

I1: Vi var på kurset nå på lørdag

Hans: Så bra! Mens her har vi altså da, altså fordi i utgangspunktet så har vi ingen camps her, vi kaller det for site, og vi har omdøpt det da til site management support. Så det, veldig fortettet sier vi at NRC will provide a dignified response, including giving basic services and provide information so that the refugees can make a qualified decision or informed decision. Så hvis vi tar det om til vanlig norsk så er det sånn at vi har jobbet veldig mye med å få registeringsprosessen til å bli så effektiv, men samtidig verdig som mulig. Så når vi kom hit i begynnelsen av oktober, jeg kom hit i slutten av oktober, så var ventetiden for flyktninger fra de ankom til de dro et sted mellom fire og seks dager. Da kom alle til havnen,

det er en kontainer som er der, også alle bussene ble kjørt til havnen og når coast guarden kom altså flyktingene til havnen. Der ble de registrert av coast guard, det betyr at da ble det tatt et bilde av dem, og de ga noe informasjon om navnet sitt, navn og statsborgerskap og alt sånt. Og av og til kunne vi kanskje ha 200 til 300 mennesker som kom på en gang, det var ikke noe kø, eller det var ikke noe sånn struktur for kø, så da var det altså 300 stykker som prøvde å komme seg inn i den kontaineren på en gang og samtidig ikke noe mulighet for de som da var inni kontaineren å komme seg ut, så det var veldig ustrukturert. Sånn at det vi har gjort vi begynte med der og fortsatt er jo da rett og slett får laget altså det vi kaller for "Fence barrier", festivalsperrer hvis vi kan bruke det uttrykket og vi hadde ikke så veldig mange, og så tok vi bandt et tau fra en av de til en annen søppelkasse. Sånn at når det kom en ny ladning med, eller en ny busslast med flyktinger så gikk vi inn i bussen og sa er det noen som snakker engelsk her, og veldig ofte så er det jo det, og det har jo dere en del erfaring med, og fikk da altså oversatt dette med velkommen til Chios nå vil vi at når dere kommer ut så skal dere stå i kø i en linje. Og da var det blant annet sånn at hvis det er tauet [Hans demonstrer], så holder du der, og neste holder her, sånn at du lager en kø, og det gjorde at det ble litt verdigere. Altså for da visste alle hvem som var foran og bak i køen. Så når det var gjort så fikk de da skrevet på hånden et nummer som var helt ubegripelig, GR4, og neste kunne være Y5. Det var ett eller annet system som coast guard hadde, og neste gang de skulle registreres så var det kanskje to tre dager til og ingen visste når og hvor dette skulle være, så da var det å delta på møter om morgenen med kystvakten og noen andre for å vite hvilken gruppe skulle bli registrert av politiet den dagen. Da var det å løpe rundt, eller kjøre rundt og sette opp markører med hvilken gruppe som skulle tas den dagen. Og til slutt, og da igjen da var vi i Dipethe da var det også 200 til 300 mennesker som da stod og ventet på å komme inn en dør, så det var ikke noe sånn. Og til slutt så var det utdeling av dette her "cartia" på et tredje sted. Og da har vi, altså det vi har jobbet veldig mye med, sammen med myndigheter, er også få til at det var ett sted hvor alt gjordes. Og det var jo det som skjedde til slutt i Tabakika, hvor, og det er faktisk temmelig unikt for Chios, at hele prosessen går altså på en gang og at det også omfatter alle. Så til sammen så delte man flyktingene i syv, først en gruppe med syv nasjonaliteter, og så hadde de det som de kalte for "fast track", og så hadde de alle andre måtte vente mye lengre. Så det å jobbe med å få til en effektiv, men også verdig registreringsprosess har vært en viktig ting. Dere har jo også besøkt Tabakika mange ganger, og da har dere jo også besøkt Vial. Det er å få til et flytsystem hvor flyktinger kommer inn et sted og så kommer de og blir registert, sånn at de vet at nå er det, nå er jeg nummer, gruppe nummer fire, og det er gruppe nummer en som holder på å bli behandlet, ok, da vet jeg at jeg kan vente litt og jeg har trygghet på at ingen andre som sniker i køen. Og inni dette her så har vi jobbet med å, så da jobber vi med crowd management som vi sier, og i utgangspunktet så ønsker ikke vi å gjøre dette her, vi mener det er politiet sin oppgave, men så lenge politiet sier at de ikke har nok ressurser så har vi bidratt. Når vi da er inne så har du da sett at det er en god del informasjon som vi har laget og det har vært basert på hva har spørsmålene vært når flyktingene kommer til oss. Dere har også sett disse frequently asked questions som er basert på spørsmål som flyktingene har hatt. Og vi har hatt samarbeid med en organisasjon som Nethope og som har satt opp wifi. Det ble både satt opp på noe som heter XXini som nå er nedlagt, i Souda og i Tabakika. Der er det vi som har tatt ned utstyret i Tabakika og flyttet det opp til Vial. Vi har også satt opp wifi i port. Så det at de skal kunne selv få tak i informasjon er viktig. Har dere noen gang prøvd å åpne, altså bruke wifien i Vial eller i Tabakika?

I2: Nei.

Hans: Det som skjer da når de åpner det, så kommer åpningssiden, startssiden er noe som heter "refugeeinfo.eu". Dere har kanskje vært bort i den siden?

I1: Ja.

Hans: Og der har vi da informasjon om ulike øyer, den er drevet av IRC, International Rescue Commity, men da har vi vært hovedbidragsyter til hva informasjon som finnes om Chios. Også når du nå går inn så vil du faktisk også få en liten linje "har du lyst til å gi feedback" og da kommer de til et spørre skjema "hvordan synes du opplevelsen var, og det er for at det er viktig for oss at og for våre donorer at vi kan synliggjøre at vi har tatt de det kommer til gode, altså beneficiaries, at de er inkludert i den prosessen. Og når vi jobber med siter camper andre steder så er det ikke slik at vi gir det vi tror er best for flyktningene det er en prosess hvor vi informerer da flyktninger og IDPs i hva er det dere mener dere trenger. Og det går på accountability. Så det var på informasjon. Så har vi bidratt litt med å gi ulltepper og vann og hygiene kits, altså det består av et håndkle, tannbørste, tannkrem og også sånne bind til damer. Sånn at det er ulike poser. Det er på den biten så jobber vi veldig med koordinering, jeg vet ikke når dere var på det kurset om dere fikk litt koordinering. Sånn at veldig ofte så er det slik at folk som jobber med utdanning, folk som jobber med helse, de gjør en veldig god jobb, men de er veldig fokusert på helsebiten eller utdanningsbiten. Og hvis du da jobber i en større leir så kan du få det problemet at hvis du ikke har snakket sammen så kan det være slik at helseaktøren har besluttet at de skal ha et vaksineprogram og så sier de at de kommer til leirer, la oss si vi kommer til Vial på onsdag. Men hvis da de som jobber med matdistribusjon har besluttet at det skal være en matdistribusjon, og veldig ofte blir det på sånne steder ukentlige eller månedlig matdistribusjon. Hvis det faller på samme tidspunkt, så har du en familie, okay, skal vi ha maten vår, eller skal vi vaksinere barna våre. Da velger du matdistribusjon. Og det og da jobbe med koordinering det at det er noen som da ser, altså bruke et litt mer fugleperspektiv hvis jeg får lov til å bruke det uttrykket. Altså det er behov for å koordinere de enkelte sektorene i leiren, og der har vi også jobbet mye med og en, ha en workshop hvor vi inviterte alle aktører som jobbet på, ja jeg vet ikke om dere har sett den, altså dere var ikke her i desember, så dere ble ikke invitert, men Dråpen i Havet var inkludert i en workshop hvor vi hadde vel en 20-30 stykker fra alle aktører og vi så på hver enkelt site, eller aktørene definerte først hva er de ulike sitene og så så man på hvem er de sentrale aktører i hver site, og hva er behovene, hva er gapene, hva er veien fremover. Jeg kan sende den som et eksempel på et sånn arbeidsverktøy, og det er et viktig element av camp management, at du ser på hvordan, hvordan kan du sjekke, få en avklaring på roles and responsibilities, og gaps og overlaps, og hvilke sektorer som er viktige i den settingen. Det gjør også at når vi har snakket med andre sentrale aktører da er jeg unnskyldt, men da er ikke dere de, så har vi sett på hele, vi har igangsatt initiert mange møter hvor vi har sett på hele flyktningstrømmen på øyen i et overordnet perspektiv. Okay, hvordan ser den strømmen ut, og basert på innspill fra oss så har det også blitt laget et sånt power point presentasjon av UNHCR på hvordan strømmen er. Jeg vet ikke om dere har sett den, jeg kan vise den så kan du si om dere har sett den.

I2: Ja.

Hans: Men det er et eksempel på at man, istedenfor å fordype seg i detaljer, har sett på hvordan hele øyen fungerer. Og da tar man jo også og ser på okay hvor bør man gi ulike NFI non food items. Hvor bør vi gi mat, hvor bør vi gi hygiene kits, hvor bør vi gi tepper. Og grunnen til det er at vi skal passe på at alle skal få, i utgangspunktet så skal alle få samme service uansett om de kommer om dagen eller om de kommer om natten, det er en

utfordring. Vi skal også passe på at alle får ulltepper, men det er ingen som skal få to ulltepper. Så altså den biten der er viktig.

[Hans tar fram datamaskinen for å vise power point presentasjonen fra UNHCR]

Hans: Dere får unnskyldte at jeg klarer ikke både å snakke og finne.

I1: Det går veldig bra.

I2: Men vi setter veldig stor pris på å få tilsendt informasjonen som du har, så det er kjempefint.

Hans: Ja, da er jeg er litt i tvil om jeg har e-post adressen deres, men jo det har jeg jo. Jeg mener en av dere sendte meg.

I1: Snakket ikke du med han på mail?

I2: Jo, det gjorde jeg.

I1: Ja, jeg tror det var deg.

I2: Ja, det tror jeg også. Ja, det var Julie Teigen.

Hans: Når jeg tenker meg om så sendte dere om at det var okay eller det at det passet.

I2: Ja.

[Hans snakker med en kollega]

Hans: Så selv om det står UNHCR så har vi vært en sterk bidragsyter til den. Så da har vi at, altså at vi på en måte viser hvordan flyten er. Der er dere.

I1: Der er vi.

Hans: Blant annet, dere er flere steder.

I2: Beach level.

Hans: Ser du?

I2: Ja

Hans: Så, det som også Tabakika er jo nå Vial. Og der er det litt mer sånn beskrivelse av de ulike tingene med kapasitet og så videre. Altså når de er ferdig registert i Tabakika nå Vial, så er det Souda som er utgangspunktet hvis det er en vanlig flyt, og til ferjen. Og bare det å få alle aktører til å bli enige om at det faktisk er sånn det skal være er en jobb i seg selv. Det ser veldig enkelt ut nå, men det har vært mange møter for faktisk å bli enige om at det er sånn det er og det må jo også være i samarbeid med myndigheter og sånn. Så er det slik som dere vet at, det som er veldig, altså det skjer i de andre øyene og, men det er spesielt her, vi har veldig sånne høye, jeg vet ikke om dere har sett statistikk på.

I2: Ja, sånne peaks på når de kommer.

Hans: Ja, jeg vet ikke om dere har sett på de andre øyene åssen det er, men det er sånn at der er det mer jevnt, eller hvordan skal jeg si, det som har skjedd siden oktober så har antall flyktninger som har kommet gradvis gått nedover.

I2: Til Chios?

Hans: Nei, til Hellas som helhet. Hvis dere ikke har sett så kan jeg ta å vise dere etterpå. Og i en del av de andre stedene så er nedgangen mye sterkere, men også du har ikke disse heller veldig sterke toppene. Chios er veldig spesielt ved at vi har veldig store topper.

I2: Men er ikke det på grunn av vær og vind?

Hans: Jo, men la oss si, jo det er sannsynligvis på grunn av vær og vind, men vi vet heller ikke hva som skjer på den andre siden. Det er ingen andre steder altså bortsett fra Lesvos, så vi var, Chios var vel på fjerde femte øy når det gjaldt antall flyktninger som kom i oktober. Nå er vi øyen nummer to som får mest flyktninger så det har skjedd en endring. Sånn at vi har beholdt denne her veldig opp og ned. Sånn at hvis registrering i Vial er treg, så sendte vi folk til port, den der rub whole i port. Og når det da ble ledig kapasitet i Tabakika, nå Vial, så flyttet vi folk i fra port til registreringssenteret. I tillegg så hendte det også at vi måtte bruke Dipethe, dere har vært i alle de?

I1: Nei, ikke i Dipethe.

Hans: Nei, den ble åpnet nå, så jeg kan vise dere på et kart hvor hen det er, men det er rett i nærheten av parken. Dere har kanskje sett, har dere noen gang vært på, på holdt på å si ordføreren, eller på town hall?

I1: Ja, vi var i møte her forrige uke.

Hans: Så hvis dere da kjører to hundre meter lengre oppover akkurat der hvor veien begynner når man skal til Tabakika, på høyre side der så finnes det en bygning, eller det vil si at det er noen toaletter og sånn, og der er det en kommunal bygning hvor man kan ha cirka tohundre mennesker.

I2: Og det er Dipethe?

Hans: Det er Dipethe. Og i utgangspunktet så har både, altså det blir litt omstendig, men før vi hadde Souda, så hadde vi parken der så var det cirka tusen mennesker som bodde i telt. Så når da Souda ble etablert så ble parken stengt, eller teltene lagt ned og Souda overtok. Og da var egentlig både havna og Dipethe ment som å være en del av beredskapsplanen, det har også vært en del av vårt arbeid, å jobbe med beredskap å se hva skjer hvis vi får tusen mennesker mer enn det som er kapasiteten vår. Men det vil jeg også si er veldig spesifikt for oss, at det er veldig få som har reist den problemstillingen. Folk flest har bare vært mer opptatt av hvordan gjør vi det her og nå. Mens vi jobber med contingency planning. Og det er en av de oppgavene som blant annet som Jim der har [Jim er kollegaen til Hans som satt ved siden av han og arbeidet] å jobbe med contingency planning, og vi jobber nå med hvordan kan vi ha femtusen mennesker her på øyen. Og det ut i fra at, en, vi kan få flere flyktninger etter hvert som været blir bedre. To, vi har gjort det som kalles for scenario bygging, hvor vi har sett på okay hva er forventet scenarioer, og vi for tre uker siden hadde vi et sånt scenariomøte hvor vi mente at på kort sikt så ville den som vanlig være den mest sannsynlige, men på et sånt mellomlagsperspektiv, da snakker vi om tre måneder, så ville scenarioet stranded. Det vil si at grensene blir lukket og alle asylsøkere som har kommet hit, og som kom hit blir sittende fast her. Og det har jo nå skjedd fortere enn det vi egentlig. Og nå jobber jo da myndighetene i Athen med ulike, altså ulike måter å håndtere dette her på. Det ene er at de jobber med å flyktingleirer i nord i Hellas. Men også at de nå begynner å forsinke avgangen av flyktninger fra de ulike øyene. Sånn at registrering går litt saktere nå, ferjen har fått beskjed om at de må ikke selge så mange billetter, slik at vi får nå en opphopning av flyktninger.

I2: Ja, og det er for å redusere opphopningen i Athen og i Idomeni for eksempel?

Hans: Nettopp, og i den grad dere har vært og kikket på havnen, så er det nå en fin hvit båt der som heter Tera Line [den heter egentlig Tera Jet], den er sendt hit for å være et sånt avlastningsskip for enten transport, men også for midlertidig opphold.

I2: Men er det staten som har betalt for dette?

Hans: Ja, men der har vi en utfordring i den forstand at når borgemesteren fikk se det skipet så ønsker han ikke å åpne Tabakika igjen. Mens det som har skjedd er at, staten er et mangelvesen for å si det sånn, eller mange ulike departementer. Sånn at det er en avdeling som har bestilt skipet til å komme hit, men det er en annen avdeling som skal gjøre en kontrakt med å bruke skipet enten som hotell eller til å frakte, og den avtalen er ikke gjort. Så den er bare for pynt foreløpig.

I2: Når er det at det forventes at det kan bli brukt?

Hans: Vi har vært i kontakt med alle mulige myndigheter, og vi fortsetter å gjøre det, så vi har ikke noe scenario på når det blir. Men utgangspunktet for alt det vi snakket om var jo at vi jobber med beredskap. Så disse stedene her var egentlig ment som beredskapsplan, altså plan B. Men det vi har gjort er jo at vi har brukt opp plan B og plan C [ler] og så videre da.

I2: Ja.

Hans: Så dette her er hvis vi får veldig mange inn og at registreringen går saktere. Tilsvarende, og i tillegg også, så har vi også brukt Souda, altså at vi har rett og slett da har gjort en avtale med de som driver Souda at da blir en av rub wholesene tømt for folk, og så tar man altså da å sender folk som ikke er registrert der, ikke registrert der også. Og det er faktisk, det er litt sånn trafikkonstabel å ordne den flyten der, det er det vi som gjør.

I2: Ja, for da er det kun de som ikke er registrerte som er i Souda, dere blander ikke de som er registrerte og de som ikke er registrerte?

Hans: Vi prøver å la være og blande. I utgangspunktet er det bare registrerte som skal være i Souda, men la oss si at Souda var nesten tom når det kommer 2000 mennesker til øyen, da bruker vi blant annet også en rub whole eller mer iso da [...] Samme opplegget er hvis registrering er ferdig, men det er så mange som har kommet, at en, ferjene kan ikke ta av, altså ferjene som kommer hit de har også vært på Lesvos. Så la oss si at vi har 1500 mennesker her, men det er bare 300 billetter igjen, og vi stadig får nye mennesker som gjør at det hopper seg opp. Så dermed så blir det også både Dipethe og port brukt som et sted for folk som er ferdig registrert kan bo til ferjen går. Vi har jo også dessverre hatt flere sånne ferjestreiker. Så vi har hatt over 3000 mennesker på øyen som har vært ferdigregistrerte, og hvor gjør man av dem. Jobbing, altså sånn jeg vil kalle det for sånn overordnet jobbing, er en av de tingene vi jobber med. Så har du også sett at det er disse her festivalarmbåndene, det har de på seg som bestilte de. Men vi har jo da jobbet med et system slik at for Tabakika så hadde vi noe som het SOPs, standard operation procedures, den tror jeg kanskje dere har vært bort i, eller?

I2: Jeg tror ikke vi har vært bort i den.

Hans: Nei, men jeg kan også sende mail, men da må jeg skrive ned.

I2: Ja, det er sikkert greit.

Hans: En var denne her workshopen [Hans skriver ned]. Den som et sånt eksempel på hvordan man jobber med både flyt, men også contingency planning. Og det tredje var SOP for Tabakika. Nå er vi akkurat i oppstarten med Vial og skal gjøre det samme, og når jeg sier SOP for Tabakika, så var det en måte å få et transparent, altså et verktøy sånn at alle som skulle jobbe der visste hva andre gjorde. Og når da eventuelt dere for eksempel kommer og jobber som frivillige inn der så var det også en rutine på hvordan skal ting gjøres inni denne her boutiqueen. Altså nå sier vi at det skal være minimum tre stykker og det er noe rutiner for hvem som bør få tøy først og hvor mye tøy man kan få. Det er en rutine på hvem er det som faktisk har ansvaret for at festivalarmbåndet blir satt på. Det er en beskrivelse av medisinske tjenester, at vi sier okay, i Tabakika så er det Spanish Red Cross sammen med noen andre som har vakt fra da til da hvis noe skjer utenom den tiden, ring det nummeret. Så det er en sånn manual for hvordan drive Tabakika. Og det har vi også vært pådriver med å jobbe for dette, men dette har vi altså da gjort sammen med UNHCR og deres implementing partners. Beklager det blir litt sånn norsk engelsk.

I2: Ja, men det blir det for oss også [ler].

Hans: Og denne jobben med site management eller koordinasjon som det pleier å hete, det er en utfordrende oppgave for i mange tilfeller, det er ingen som har gitt NRC mandatet til at det er dere som skal gjøre det, så vi må si at vi mener det er en god ide å gjøre sånn og sånn, er dere enige det. Og så da bygger du allianser, og bygger konsensus på at ja, dette er en god ide. Så i kraft av den jobben vi gjør så får vi etter hvert en legitimitet som gjør at for eksempel politiet ba NRC og UNHCR om å lage rutiner på hvordan politiet skulle jobbe i Souda og Tabakika.

I2: Hvem er de største aktørene her? Er det UNHCR og dere?

Hans: Når det gjelder antall så er kanskje SP [Samaritan's Purse] den største aktøren. Så er det NRC og så er det vel UNHCR.

I1: Du har nevnt at dere samarbeider ganske tett med UNHCR, hvordan er samarbeidet deres med de frivillige eller mindre organisasjonene som for eksempel jobber på strendene. Føler dere at dere har et tett samarbeid?

Hans: Der kunne dere kanskje ha svart like bra som meg, men først og fremst så vil jeg si at vårt hovedfokus har vært på registreringscenteret, og på altså det som skjer etter at de har ankommet strendene. De frivillige som dere har da tettet et gap som vi og andre ikke har dekket, på samme måte som også frivillige har dekket det å gi mat. Om jeg synes samarbeidet er bra, jeg ville vel si at vi synes at samarbeidet ikke var bra nok og det var derfor vi ansatte en egen frivillighetskoordinator, Maria Zoumidi som jeg tror dere har truffet?

I2: Ja.

Hans: Både for at, altså vi ser dere som en ressurs, frivillige som en ressurs, vi er ikke i stand til å gjøre det vi gjør eller det vi gjorde i Tabakika uten deres hjelp, samtidig så finnes det frivillige og frivillige. Det har sikkert også dere vært utsatt for, at det er noen som er frivillige som ser en nytte i å samarbeide, mens andre som ikke ser den nytten på samme måte. Vi så at det også var viktig at det var en viss form for forventingsavklaring mellom frivillige oss, altså vi har hatt konfrontasjoner med Dråpen i Havet, og med andre, i begynnelsen fordi vi hadde et visst system, og så kom frivillige og der er det igjen en eller som kunne se ut som ikke hadde et ullteppe, jeg vil ha et ullteppe å gi det til den personen det gjelder, eller gikk inn i, som ikke visste at det fantes noen rutiner. Altså det kan godt være at noen av de rutinene var feil eller ikke var godt nok utviklet, men det at frivillige kom inn uten å forholde seg til hva som var kallet strukturen, så gjorde de skade. Det er jo et sånt begrep som sier "do no harm", jeg vet ikke om dere har vært borti det?

I2: Ja, vi har hørt det.

Hans: Og det er med, at man med gode intensjoner ønsker å gjøre noe, men det og faktisk gjøre det man gjør, så kan man skade den som mottar hjelpen. Enten den enkelte personen eller at det er gruppen som helhet som blir skadet. Så for eksempel, vi har hatt heldigvis få eksempler på at det har vært noen frivillige som har delt ut mat og folk har fått diare etterpå. Det er noen som har ønsket å gi morsmelkerstatning, og da ikke har hatt nok, da har de vært mer fokusert på bare å få varmet opp vann, og da ullteppe [...] uten å ta høyde for at det da enten flasken ikke er sterilisert sånn at du faktisk da skader den som tar den. Og så ser vi at det har vært også en del tilfeller hvor vi har hatt frivillige som ønsker å hjelpe, og så har vi ikke hatt gode arbeidsoppgaver, og det har også vært igjen en av arbeidsoppgavene til Maria Zoumidi, også få en oversikt over hvor er det behov for hjelp, og da også få, når da frivillige kommer og sier vi vil hjelpe, så okay her trenger vi hjelp og så få en innføring. Og vi er sikkert ikke flinke nok til det, jeg tror mange av frivillige har kommet til å hjelpe enten i Tabakika eller Souda og så liksom følt at det har vært litt meningsløst det man har gjort eller man har opplevd at, jammen de har ikke bruk for oss allikevel. Jeg vet ikke om dere har hatt den opplevelsen?

I1: Nei, de fleste gangene når vi har vært her og reist dit så har vi jo mest vært der for å gi ut litt sånn småsjokolader til barn og bare leke med de, så vi har liksom ikke vært der for en spesifikk arbeidsoppgave.

I2: Nei, også er det litt for å hilse på de vi møtte dagen før.

I1: Har tatt imot, ja.

Hans: Okay, yes.

I2: Men føler du da at det er litt forstyrrende kanskje, når frivillige aktører kommer inn, for eksempel i campen, og leverer ulltepper, bare sånn dere sier at dere har et visst system at de skal ikke få to ulltepper, at det kan være litt.

Hans: Det kan absolutt være veldig forstyrrende, altså la oss bruke et eksempel hvor dere ikke er involvert. Politi, altså Tabakika, fremste målet med Tabakika er å få registrert flyktingene så raskt som mulig. Og en tilleggs ting, vi er her for å støtte myndighetenes arbeid, det betyr at hvis vi ser at det er en grå, at det er menneskerettighetsbrudd så vil ikke vi bidra til det og vi vil også gjøre oppmerksom på det, men gitt det så er det sånn at vi er her for å støtte myndighetene, og myndighetene ønsker at man skal bli registrert så fort som mulig, det er også det som er av interesse for flyktingene. Da har vi av tilfelle hvor noen frivillige har kommet med mat og gått inn i Tabakika og satt i gang en matdistribusjon som har hatt den konsekvensen at én, folk som har stått i registreringskø har forlatt køen, så de har da egentlig stoppet opp registreringsarbeidet. Vi har hatt sikkerhetsmessig uheldige situasjoner hvor vi har hatt veldig mange i Tabakika og hvor vi har hatt en strøm med nye folk som skulle komme inn og bli registrert, samtidig så er det da sagt at det skal være matregistrering, så da er det den strømmen med folk som vil ut. En del av de som var nykommere gikk heller og fikk mat og da vet vi ikke om de har vært registrerte eller ei, og det skaper problemer i ettertid. Vi har hatt frivillige som er uenige i den politikken som skjer under når det gjelder Schengen, så de har fortalt flyktinger at de må ikke si at de er fra Afghanistan, si at dere er fra Syria. Og en del av de har faktisk da fulgt det rådet. Men problemet er at når de da kommer inn i den der første screaningen med Frontex, så blir de spurt om okay hvis du sier at du er afghaner, men da er, eller hvis du er syrer, hva er syrisk nasjonalsang, hvor kommer du ifra, hva er nærmeste, hva heter det bakeriet i det området du kommer fra, så kan de ikke svare på det.

I2: Nei, ikke sant.

Hans: Det betyr at registrering skjer mye senere, det er en ting, og hvis de faktisk klarer å lure Frontex første gang, så får de problemer når de kommer til grensen. Sånn at intensjonen var sikkert positiv av en eller annen måte, men konsekvensene har ikke vært gode nok. Vi har hatt tilfeller med frivillige som har sett at det er en person som er våt, og så har de gått inn og sagt at jeg vil, gi meg de klærne for jeg skal gi de til den. Og da kan det være sånn at, på godt og vondt sånn som dere vet, at det er veldig mange som kommer på en gang, som kan ta kanskje den distribusjonssenteret for klær vært stengt fordi man har, driver og fyller opp klær. Og vi har av erfaring sagt at vi skal være tre stykker tilstede for at vi skal få en god registrering. Jeg vet ikke om noen, hvis dere har vært der, så har det vært lang stor kø utenfor, og hvis du faktisk bare har en person der inne så er det både en sikkerhetsrisiko for flyktingen, og for den. Og da igjen, den enkelte frivillig som da ser en som fryser og tenker at ja, men du skal få med en gang, [...] nå vedkommende venter. Den forståelsen er ikke alltid tilstede, men det er en balansegang. Altså vi lager strukturer, og noen ganger så er kanskje de strukturene og rutinefeil, og det varme bankende hjerte hos den frivillige som vil løse det enkelte problemet med en gang, ser at av og til at det faktisk skaper problemer for helheten da.

I1: Når det gjelder altså strandnivå, nå har jo dere utrolig mye å gjøre på registreringscampene, hvordan tror du det ville sett ut hvis de frivillige ikke hadde fylt det gapet som du nevnte på strendene og fram til registreringen? Hvem tror du ville tatt over den jobben? Har NRC for eksempel man power til å ta den jobben?

Hans: Nei, vi har ikke man power til, altså kan jeg omformulere det på den måten at, flyktinghjelpen begynte arbeidet sitt her med TV, med midler fra TV aksjonen. Men det som vanligvis skjer når det gjelder med flyktinghjelpen og de aller fleste organisasjonene

er at vi har en donor, enten da altså, enten er det UD (utenriksdepartementet), eller så kan det være EKO [...], NORAD, nei eller NORAD lignende, men andre organisasjoner, og det som skjer da er at vi skriver et forslag et concept note, og at vi ser at det er de og de gapene. Når vi da får eventuelt et positivt svar på at ja, det er greit da er vi låst på de arbeidsoppgavene. Vi kan ha en dialog med donorene i ettertid, men veldig ofte er det sånn at det blir nesten sett på som dårlig håndtverk hvis ikke du har, altså hvis du endrer fokus eller prioritering over tid, som absolutt synes jeg er naturlig, så er det en motstand til det. Så her og nå vil ikke vi være i stand til å ta over det. Fordi en, vi har ikke egne frie midler til det og de arbeidsoppgavene vi nå gjør er ut i fra hva donorene har sagt at de er villige til å betale for. Hvis ikke dere hadde vært tilstede, så tror jeg at det hadde vært, at lokalbefolkningen hadde gjort, jeg vet ikke om jeg skal si mer, fordi de gjør allerede veldig mye. Så jeg tror i utgangspunktet så vil det være flere av båtene som ikke vil få noe hjelp når de kommer til land å må finne veien selv til en eller annen vei hvor da lokalbefolkningen vil se at det er noen der og vil ringe.

I1: Føler du at de frivillige, eller de mindre organisasjonene, har kontroll over hva som skjer, for vi er jo ikke profesjonelle aktører, men mener du fortsatt at strendene er godt dekket av de menneskene som er der?

Hans: Nei, jeg mener ikke at det er godt dekket. Satt på spissen så ville jeg sagt at, og det er ikke til forkleinelse for dere, men de spanske livredderne, altså jeg husker ikke.

I1: Ja, de er Basque, men vi kaller dem også for Spanish.

Hans: Ja, men tilsvarende, altså at det er, unnskyld meg, på samme måte som i Norge hvis en båt går på grunn så er det redningsselskapet som har, folk som har det som en, altså profesjonelle aktører med en relevant utdanning er livreddere, har både utstyr og klær som er relevante, altså jeg tenker at det må da være situasjoner hvor dere eller noen av deres kollegaer har gått ut i vannet og du har 50 traumatiserte eller hvertfall noen ganger panikk, altså da er livstruende situasjoner, som ikke dere er trent for. Og hvis flyktninghjelpen skulle gjort noe sånt så måtte vi, altså vi har et HMS [helse, miljø og sikkerhet] ansvar å sikre at de av våre ansatte som, uansett hva de gjør er kompetente og sikre i den jobben de gjør, så det ville vært et helt annet apparat.

I2: Men tror du det ville vært vanskelig å få de personale sikret også? Fordi du vet jo aldri hvilke mennesker som kommer til å komme over med båt. Menneskesmuglerne har jo også noen ganger hatt med seg våpen har jeg også hørt, så hva tenker du om det?

Hans: Jeg synes at det spørsmålet er vanskelig i den forstand at primært så kan vel jeg svare på hva flyktninghjelpen har bestemt at de vil gjøre. Og flyktninghjelpen har det vi kaller for seks kjernekompetanser, altså vi har sagt dette er vi gode på det er dette vi vil gjøre. Og på den måten har vi samtidig sagt at vi, livredning og sjøteneste er ikke vår kjernekompetanse og sånn at derfor kommer vi heller ikke til å gjøre det. Det er derfor det er litt vanskeligere å svare på hva vi synes om det, for vi har sagt at vi mener at vi er kompetente til å gjøre visse arbeidsoppgaver og det er det vi gjør. Og selv om det da finnes et gap på andre områder så kommer ikke vi til å ta over det. Fordi vi da mener at vi ikke er kompetente til det.

I2: Men du har fått inntrykk av at det, av at the Spanish er for eksempel, eller at de er forstyrrende elementer i coast guard sitt arbeid?

Hans: Nei, jeg vet ikke hvordan den, jeg sa heller motsatt. Jeg oppfatter de som kompetente.

I2: Ja, okay jeg forstår.

Hans: Sorry, jeg oppfatter de som kompetente i den jobben de gjør.

I2: De er jo også profesjonelle i sitt arbeid, i motsetning til de som er frivillige.

Hans: Ja. Slik at hvis vi skulle gått inn, noe vi ikke gjør, så ville det vært på samme måte. Og da ikke til forkleinelse for dere, men likevel kompetente mennesker som har blitt trent til å redde liv i strandsonen.

I1: Hva mener du er den største utfordringen med å jobbe, altså med humanitært arbeid her på Chios?

Hans: Største utfordringen er at det har vært en, vi kaller det for permanent emergency, altså at rammebetingelsene har endret seg hele tiden. Altså vi har alle vår hovedbase i port, vi flyttet derfra til Tabakika, vi har flyttet fra Tabakika til Vial, situasjonen i Vial er ikke klar, sånn at. Ja, altså alle rammene endret seg hele tiden. Det er problematisk med myndighetene at det er, vi forholder oss til, eller før så forholdt vi oss til fire ulike myndigheter. Det er altså prefectives som er nærmest fylkesnivå, municipality. police, og coast guard, og nå har vi i tillegg fått FRS First Reception Service, og vi har fått asylum service, og vi har fått hæren som også er en aktør. Og det er ingen av de som har et overordnet ansvar, alle har en del av et ansvar, og det ser ikke ut som at det er noen som har verken mandat, men heller ikke vilje til å ta det fulle ansvaret. Når vi har snakket om det så får vi, det er ingen som hadde lyst til å ta ansvar fordi da får de også belastningen med når ting ikke skjer, eller altså når ting ikke skjer som det skulle ha gjort. Jeg har aldri vært, nå har jeg vært her i fire måneder, over fire måneder, jeg har aldri vært på et møte hvor alle autoriteter har vært der tilstede samtidig. Så det er utrolig vanskelig å få til et samordnet, samlet arbeid, det hele tiden er en eller to aktører som mangler, så vi må doble møter å gå tilbake til det forrige møtet fordi man ble ikke enige i det ene møtet. Tredje utfordring det er at, dere vet om, at det er flyktning kommer her hele døgnet selv om de i hoved, veldig mange kommer om natten eller tidlig om morgenen, så må vi ha personell 24 timer i døgnet, som dere også gjør sånn sett da, men det betyr at for å dekke en stilling så må vi ha, så må vi ansette fem personer. Altså hvis vi skal ha en person på et skift så trenger vi fem personer, fordi en, vi har tre skift, også skal de ha, må vi forholde oss til gresk arbeidsrett lov, så da skal de ha et visst, og det er vi helt komfortable med, bare sånn for forklaring, de skal ha seks eller femdagers uker, de skal ha ferie, og alt dette gjør at du må gange det med fem. Så det og rett og slett ansette så mange er en utfordring. Det at det er sånne bølger, eller topper, gjør at vi har ansatt en viss mengde mennesker for å håndtere minimumsbemanning, og da er jo den hjelpen som de frivillige kan gi er jo veldig viktig for oss for vi klarer ikke å dekke behovet når det er topper. Og så er det en utfordring at det er veldig få av de vi har ansatt, har jobbet med internasjonalt arbeid, hjelpearbeid, før. Sånn at det er et stort behov for trening, og det har jo da dere deltatt på [referer til workshop vi var med på med NRC] hvor flyktningshjelpen har en policy, særlig når det gjelder camp management når man samler ulike aktører. Altså hvis vi bare hadde trent våre, så tror vi at resultatet hadde vært dårligere enn det resultatet vi har når vi samler flere aktører på sammen. For det bidrar til slik vi ser det en større forståelse for andres arbeid. Både fra våre ansatte, men jeg tror også at, nå vet jeg ikke hva som har skjedd inni hodene deres, men jeg tror at vi har hatt en trening sammen med andre så har det også gitt en innsikt og forståelse i hva som har vært målet for de andre. Jeg vet ikke om dere vil dele noe av det.

I1: Tenker du treningen vi var på på lørdag?

Hans: Ja.

I1: Jeg synes det var kjempenyttig.

I2: Ja.

I1: Det var jo utrolig, vi var jo veldig glade for at vi fikk lov til å være med. Det var utrolig nyttig å vite hva de forskjellige aktørene faktisk gjør. For når man jobber på så mange

forskjellige nivåer kan kommunikasjonen gå veldig forbi hverandre, altså på mye av tidspunktene [...]

Hans: Vil dere ha vann?

I1: Ja, gjerne.

Hans: Jeg kjenner at jeg stokker så mye at jeg trenger noe [alle ler]

I1: Og så har vi jo snakket veldig mye om hvor viktig det er å kommunisere, når man alle, tusen hjertelig takk [Kamilla tar imot vann], når man er her av samme grunn da.

Hans: Ja, og som de sier på Sørlandet, ikkje for kyret [...]

I2: Takk [Tar imot vann]

Hans: Men det var en av de som var der tidligst som satte i gang den Whatsapp gruppen. Så det å jobbe med, verktøy for å kunne jobbe på tvers er veldig viktig.

I1: Ja, absolutt.

I2: Jeg tror også det er veldig nyttig for de som ikke kan så mye om de lovlige rammene rundt dette. Altså vi har jo studert flyktningstudier så vi har jo hatt et fag om lover og regler, og det var også noe hun koordinatoren vår sa at det var veldig nyttig for hennes del at hun fikk innsikt i rett og slett det lovlige rammeverket.

Hans: Ja.

I1: Jeg tror ikke vi har noen flere holdt på å si offisielle spørsmål, jeg synes du har dekket det viktigste.

I2: Jeg har bare en ting jeg lurer på som er den nederste, det vi, dette er bare noe som vi, kan du holde den [prater til I1] som, det er independent, altså CESRT shore gruppen, du vet Toula.

Hans: Ja.

I2: En av hennes ansatte hadde sett på Facebook, dette er sikkert ikke noe du kan svare på engang for det er veldig spesifikt, men de hadde tydeligvis, tydeligvis hadde det kommet en gruppe med flyktninger til Nenita. De hadde stått og ventet i ti timer eller noe, ja, for å få, at bussen skulle komme, og da hadde de visst byttet på klær og gjort dem tørre og diapers og sånne ting. Og så hadde hun sett at NRC hadde posted en kommentar på Facebook om at de hadde hjulpet denne familien her da. Og så lurte vi på, i forhold til informasjonsformidling, vet du noen ting om dette, hva som kan være årsaken til at Toula sin gruppe har gjort noe arbeid og så skriver NRC om det på siden.

Hans: Altså først og fremst så kjenner jeg ikke til det, og hvis det stemmer så er det beklagelig. To, jeg må jo også bare si at nå har både så vidt jeg har forstått flytninghjelpen, dere har hatt visse ting med Toula, men altså igjen, hvis det stemmer spesifikt så er det uheldig. Det som vi har hatt er at er at vi har hatt en kommunikasjonsrådgiver, Tiril, jeg vet ikke om dere traff henne?

I1: Ja, vi traff henne.

Hans: Hun har vært her nede to ganger og da har hun intervjuet folk når de har vært i Tabakika. Og hun vil ikke ha hatt noe kjennskap til hva som var skjedd på stranden eller noe sånt. Så det hun ville kunne se er hva som har blitt gjort i Tabakika.

I2: Men det skal jo sies at vi vet jo ikke om det hun her har skrevet er sant, det hun fra independent, og vi vet jo heller ikke, altså jeg føler at vi har jo ikke noe sikre kilder for den måten.

I1: Jeg tror det var mer sånn med tanke på samarbeid og informasjonsflyt på tvers av de forskjellige aktørene som er her da.

I2: For det må jo ha skjedd en misforståelse ett eller annet sted, hvis Toula sin gruppe tenker at dette var noe arbeid de gjorde, og NRC eventuelt tenkte at det var dette arbeidet

de gjorde, det er jo et eller annet kommunikasjonsproblemer som har gjort at det har skjedd en misforståelse.

Hans: Ja, men bare sånn for altså, det jeg leser her, står det ikke noe om at de faktisk har fått noe hjelp fra oss, her står det bare at de er, jeg må bare lese, at de er en del av de som har kommet, og så, vent litt, jo her står det [Hans leser et bilde av artikkelen på telefonen til Julie] Så det eneste jeg kan si er at i den grad det, først og fremst så kan vi finne ut hvem som har lagt det ut, men da i den grad det ble gitt noe inni Tabakika så kunne det stemme, men hvis det har skjedd før så vil det være helt feil.

I1: Jeg tror det var mer, det var ikke for å peke finger, det var mer et oppklarende spørsmål og det har jo vært veldig mye snakk om kommunikasjon på tvers av.

Hans: Men først og fremst så må jeg bare være åpen på at vi har hatt utfordringen med, etter at, jeg vet ikke om dette er riktig, men så vidt jeg har forstått, dere eller Dråpen i Havet bodde hos eller Toula brukte det pensjonatet. Og etter at dere flyttet ut så kom det mere independent volunteers og en del av de var ikke så interessert i å jobbe i Tabakika under de vilkårene som politiet hadde satt og som vi også var en del av med disse her SOPs som jeg snakket om. Og i den forbindelse så hadde vi konfrontasjoner ved at en del av disse independents mente at den måten NRC, eller som representant for systemet, at ikke vi var smidige nok når det gjaldt å gi ulltepper fort nok, at jeg nevnte dette her med at den her distribusjonssenter for klær var stengt eller at de holdt på, men de ville at dem skulle få nå. Men den der situasjonen kjenner jeg dessverre ikke til.

I1: Men det går veldig fint. [I1 og I2 ler] Har du et til?

I2: Nei, jeg har ingen spørsmål. Jeg synes det var kjempe.

I1: Ja. Så vi har ikke noe sånt helt klart research spørsmål, nå har vi jo fått masse, vi har jo samlet data nå i fire uker, så nå har vi masse vi er nødt til å gå gjennom.

Hans: Men jeg tror altså for vår del, så er det jo også snakk om begrensede ressurser, det jeg begynte med, altså hva kan vi gjøre basert på at vi har en, vi kunne begynne å jobbe på grunn av TV aksjonsmidlene med det som ikke er vår kjernekompetanse. Samtidig så har det vært paradoksalt nok vanskelig å få midler til å jobbe i Hellas, for Hellas er en del av Europa, og som oftest alle de pengene som er tilgjengelig for nødhjelp og utviklingsarbeid er basert på at det har vært et vedtak blant annet i regjeringen og UD, at de bevilger så så mye penger til neste års budsjett. Og da er stort sett midlene basert på at her skal man hjelpe, eller redusere kriser i steder man allerede eller mer eller mindre vet hva som skjer for eksempel Sør Sudan. Før jeg var her så var jeg i Sør Sudan. Og da blir det også en sånn diskusjon, okay hvis du har en krone til, hvor vil du bruke pengene. Og det kan høres kynisk ut, men her i Hellas så er det ingen som dør av sult, det er ingen som dør av medisinmangel, og det er ingen som dør av vannmangel. Mens i Sør Sudan så har du alle tre sakene. Og da blir det også en diskusjon hvor vil du bruke penger. Så det har vært en mye større eller lengre vei å gå for å få tak i penger til å jobbe i Hellas enn når det har vært for eksempel Sør Sudan. Eller for å bruke et annet eksempel, Norge har visse interesser når det gjelder forhold til Russland, sånn at det å sette i gang et program i Ukraina har vist jeg å ha vært lettere enn andre steder. Så det er også en av grunnene, altså hvorfor er det behov for frivillige.

I1: Ja, absolutt.

I2: Det blir jo litt sånn hvor er nøden størst, hvem er det som trenger det mest.

Hans: Ja, men problemet er at egentlig så bør man være alle steder.

I2: Men det er jo begrensinger i kapasitet og ressurser.

Hans: Og selv om vi er en profesjonell aktør, så mener aller, altså grunntanken jeg vet ikke om det kom opp i kurset, er jo at uansett hvor det er en krise, så er det myndighetene som

har ansvaret. Hvis de da enten ikke har kapasitet og da spør om hjelp, at man da kommer inn å hjelper som en da aktør som NRC. Eller at du kan også ha dessverre en del totalitære stater som da selv er ansvarlige for at folk blir hjemløse, altså IDPs internal displaced people, da er det jo også ofte et internasjonalt press som gjør at selv om myndighetene ikke er så glad for det så må de godta at det kommer aktører inn og hjelper. Men igjen så er det da en, myndighetenes ansvar og derfor må vi også se hvordan kan vi støtte dem, og to, den hjelpen som lokalbefolkningen gir er også veldig viktig i alle kriser, altså det sivile samfunnet. Derfor så prøver vi å hjelpe litt bedre, blant annet en med, det er ikke så mye vi kunne få gjort, men det var på bakgrunn av den forespørselen fra, en kombinasjon av, ja det var ikke Dråpen i Havet, men det var, jeg husker ikke hva hennes navn, en norsk dame som var gift med en greker som når vi var i Agia Ermioni sa "vi har behov for toaletter".

I2: Ja, Sølvi.

Hans: Ja, det vi gjorde da, og det er liksom [...] du har nå skal ikke, da sa ikke vi ja. Det vi gjorde var at vi tok og kontaktet borgemesteren, viseborgermesteren, og sa at vi har vært på besøk vi fikk en forespørsel om å plassere toaletter på det området, hva mener borgevisemester, hvor er behovet størst. Så fikk vi en liste over et visst antall steder hvor det var behov, og så gjorde vi da en koordinerte vi det sammen med Samaritan's Purse, det var bare Samaritan's Purse og NRC som er WASH aktører, og ble enige om hvor vi skulle plassere.

I2: Så det er dere som har satt opp disse toalettene.

Hans: Så Samaritan's Purse har i Karfas. Vi har i Agia Ermioni, vi har nå et annet sted, men det på en måte viser det at du, det kunne være at det var et veldig dårlig sted å, selv om da Sølvi synes det var veldig bra ide, så kunne det vært at det faktisk var en dårlig ide hvis man ikke visste godt nok om. Så dette var å samarbeide med myndigheter er viktig, og det er også viktig å ha et samarbeid mellom ulike aktører sånn at vi ikke får det sånn som det er en del andre steder, at vi ville ha konkurrert at, okay så du kunne hatt det sånn at, både Samaritan's Purse og vi satt inn en tosetende toaletter i Karfas for eksempel, og ingen i Agia Ermioni, fordi av en eller annen grunn så mente vi at det var det mest synlige eller det mest populære eller, så det å ha en arbeidsfordeling og en koordinering er også veldig viktig.

I1 & I2: Ja, men tusen takk for hjelpen.

10.4 Interview with Hans Christen Knævelsrud from NRC

- [...] Incomprehensible/Unintelligible sentences
- [] Comments, notes, or essential language clarifications
- () Unsure transcription, best guess
- ”” Direct quotes – only used in transcription from notes
- ‘‘ Demonstration of spoken word
- ABC* Words emphasized

Organization: Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)

Date: 29.02.2016

Place: Local bakery shop

Interviewees: Sebastian Daridan & Edith Chazelle

Interviewers: I1 Teigen, I2 Myrvold

Duration: 37 min

Transcribed from: Recording

Presentation: *The interviewees are employees of NRC and have been on the island for a while. Before the interview we showed them around the different look-out points at beach level and explained a little bit about the work the volunteers do, before we sat down at a local bakery shop for the interview.*

I1: Could you please state the name and organization and your role in the organization?

Sebastian: I am Sebastian Daridan and I am the area manager for NRC in Greece.

Edith: Myself, I am Edith Chazelle and I am the camp manager coordinator for NRC, and basically I was the focal point for NRC for the former registration center in Tabakika, I am now also the leader for all humanitarian agencies there, and now we move to Vial where I am also the focal point for NRC along with [...] coordinator.

Sebastian: And what is your role?

Edith: And what is my role? Basically we have 25 staff as programmed working in the field, so I am the staff manager doing flow in charge of the general flow management on the island, and making sure that there is a smooth registration process in place, so favorized access to information to the refugees, distribution of clothes, water and blankets, and also information about flow where people are going and after etc. In addition of that, I am also doing capacity building for our staff and for our actors. And yes, that is it.

I1: Thank you.

I2: That is a lot.

I1: Can you tell us a little bit more about the work NRC are doing here on Chios?

Sebastian: Yes, since we are here in Chios, NRC has an objective to create all the different stakeholders [...] one single flow from the beach to the ferry. So meaning that when refugees arrive at the beach level they need to be transported to one of the reception facilities, either to sleep or to receive any humanitarian services or to one of the reception facilities where they can be registered. So the idea is to make sure that they will know

where to go and when to go to a specific reception center or reception facility. And this needs to be done in a coordinated way with all the different stakeholders, so it includes volunteers; it includes the police, the army, Frontex, and all the different humanitarian actors. And this is quite specific, this is not happening, or maybe it is happening now, but since October, this is what we have tried to advocate at authorities level to make sure that we have only one single flow in the island and that refugees will be registered in one place and not in three places the way they were registered in August, September, October, in order, well, if the flow is one and the flow is well organized then things can happen in the calm and everyone will be comfortable about, so in a way this protects people in need, this will protect refugees, this will reduce tension between refugees, this will reduce tension between refugees and the host community, refugees and the police. So if a system is in place, in order for refugees to be registered, because this is something that will give them rights here in Greece and maybe in Europe, at least here in Greece, which is the most important thing for them not to be illegal in order to be protected. So this needs just to be organized.

Edith: May I add, what we have tried to do is to bring this camp management approach, which is a comprehensive approach, all actors and all the system happening on the island, so what we try to look at is not to look at separate places or separate actors, but to bring people together and look at the flow as one flow and one big way of communicating with refugees. And we have done it, and we are continuing to do it for coordination. And yes, workshop bringing people together and making sure roles and responsibilities are clear for everybody in the island, because it will allow also better understanding from the refugee of what is happening.

Sebastian: Okay, so to summarize, it is to create a single flow of migrants, refugees, asylum seekers in the island to participate to this creation and set up, playing a kind of integrated camp management or site management support multi-sectorial approach, although it is all together we can manage it, if it is sectorial approach it is more complicated. If it is an authority approach, volunteer group approach, an NGO approach, if you have different approaches in one island, it will not work. So we are all different, we have different mandates, some are paid, some are not, some have a lot of experience in dealing with refugees some are not, this can be combined in one organization like in NRC, I mean I have a bit of experience in working with and for refugees, some most of our Greek colleagues they do not have at all any experience, so it is a good mix of human being we need to understand in which framework we are working and without this it is complicated to work together.

I1: Thank you. Do you have any numbers on how many people you have assisted so far?

Sebastian: Well if the we is the us meaning all the different stakeholders, because this is extremely important, I mean it is not NRC blankets that will be distributed to Mr. X or Y. It is Chios blanket that has been purchased by someone, one of the organizations or donated by someone that will be given to one specific family, or one specific individual. So since October, I think it is around 85 000 arrivals here in Chios that we have all assisted. But the idea was to avoid that they will receive several times the same assistance rather than receiving one time, or having access one time to different types of assistance available on the island. That is what could have happened and still happening in other islands and other entry points where refugees will receive five pair of boots and five blankets and then they cannot take with them everything so there is a huge pollution and then everything has to be cleaned up. This does not happen in Chios, and I think it is because we have created, and we again is all of us including A Drop in the Ocean, we have created one single flow of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants on the island.

I1: How is the cooperation between NRC and the volunteer groups here at Chios?

Edith: I mean we, I mean NRC, is not present on the beach, however we have developed a volunteer coordinator position, I do not know if you know her, there are two people, and basically we are trying to coordinate better between the reception centers and the camp and what is happening at the beach with the volunteers. So what we are trying to do is as coordination tool, we have developed a web site to make sure that you guys are aware of what are the needs and where you can be useful also, because we know that sometimes before or prior to arrival to the island or when you are in the island, and especially individuals volunteers who have no part of the group know what is happening where they can be useful and what they can do when. So this has been developed we have also developed packages, welcome packages, code of conduct for volunteers and also doing presentation, more for the local authorities but also individual and the host community in the island. We are trying to emphasize our coordination with volunteers because we think that we can do a great job all together. Yes, do you want to add anything?

Sebastian: What is a volunteer? That is the first question. Define the volunteers.

I1: We are thinking mainly about, for example A Drop in the Ocean, Be aware and share, all the volunteers who are here as a group on the island, but also the local community are participating, and some individuals as well, some individuals just come to the island.

Sebastian: But how do you differentiate me as a humanitarian worker versus you as a volunteer what are the criteria? Why I am not a volunteer?

I1: Because you are paid.

Sebastian: Because I am paid.

I1: Is that not the distinction, you have a job description, you are hired based on your background. We are not hired based on our backgrounds. We are all different people coming together for one purpose, there is no criteria you just have to come here and pay yourself everything, your tickets, your hotel and...

I2: [...] and help them off the boats.

I1: So I think that is the distinction between the volunteers and you. And also you are professional compared to us, we do not have any experience.

Sebastian: That is a big question [...] Okay, so in that sense you have volunteers from Greece, volunteers who are organized in groups, volunteers who are coming from all over the world mainly Europe, and in all the different crisis we are working the host community was doing a lot, they were the first responders, always. Always it is the host community doing the first response when there is a crisis. So and the capacity of the host community or the civil society will always depend on their wealth, either they have, it has happened in a very poor country so then they have some difficulties, and they will even themselves be poorer and poorer because of the crisis meaning that the NGOs will have to support as well the host community to regain what they have used to support people that were obliged to displace themselves, or sometimes, and this is what is happening in Europe, and that was the same during the war in the Balkan, you have the European Union, civil society or the European civil society which is very strong, which is also a first responder which is sometimes stronger than any NGO, A Drop in the Ocean is 30 000 followers, so potentially 30 000 who can join the group. And NRC all over the world, it is 10 000 colleagues. And NGO and when you speak about the capacity to react it is also the capacity of these organizations to not only to raise funds, but also to identify good human resources. So we need, it is difficult to compare. I think we have to gain a lot from you and if possible you can also receive some experience from us. It is not that easy because, yes we are paid to do what we are doing, not you but, this is our choice to be paid and this is your choice not to be paid.

And we have already recruited some Greek, we have new Greek colleagues which were before volunteers. I have been myself a volunteer a long time ago, as well as volunteering for different organizations so, we cannot oppose them those different people. How can we work together? I think it is in respecting the role of everyone. What volunteers are doing has to be done according to the best interest of the refugees and what an NGO is supposed to do is exactly the same, so we have the same objective. And then the best interest of the refugees will be to make sure that the families will not be separated, that they will be registered, but then we also have to take it to consideration the best interest of the host community including the environment etc. So as long as that we can do this together well we can work together. So yes, it is, the idea is to create a forum of discussions and be confident that NRC or any international NGO wants to do what you are doing or wants to step in because that is not at all what an NGO like NRC is willing to do, but on the contrary NRC has always is willing to exit as soon as possible and handover what we are doing to someone it could be to the civil society, it is not a problem, but that could be the possibility of having the civil society to whom we can handover what we are doing one day.

I1: So your objective of being here is more to coordinate and surveille the situation and guide the local community?

Sebastian: Guide, I would not say to guide. I would say to exchange experience. We have to be context specific so Greek volunteers and the host communities they will know much better than us the situation. Us we can bring our experience that we have manage to be all over the world, plus some principles the humanitarian activities it is not a world angle people, it is a world of people which are willing to do something but we also have the capacity to harm in doing what we are doing. So there is one principle, which is do no harm, so yes it is more of a mixture of experience rather than anything else. And then if it is accepted then we can move ahead and it comes with, yes again we need to agree on forum of discussion, agree that what we say in those forums of coordination, if there is a decision then let us apply and implement this decision, and then of course we need to know as well in which framework we can work, we will develop SOPs, well standard operation procedures, to make sure that we have an objective and we have a plan. So that is something that we can support, definitely. In adding also a bit of support when it comes to access to water, running water, access to drinkable water, running water, electricity, connectivity, information, blankets, food, transportation and etc.

I1: And how is the cooperation between the other international actors such as UNHCR, Red Cross, the more [...]

Sebastian: I would say exactly the same than with the volunteers. It is depending again on the different mandates of the different organizations, about the way that they want to work, some will say we do not want to work during the night, that is a decision. Some will say we need to make sure that we will deliver the same quality of services during the day and during the night. NRC we do things and it is a 24/7 operation, we are working also during the night. I personally do not make any, and NRC does not make any difference between the different organizations, humanitarian organizations, humanitarian actors, and the volunteers. That is exactly the same. You are also a part of the humanitarian actors, you know, we do not have a label NRC five star humanitarian actor, no NRC is a part of the humanitarian actor but the volunteers too.

I1: What do you think, how do you think the situation would be if the volunteers were not here? Filling the gap between the refugee's need when they come to shore and you know being at the registration points.

Sebastian: I am not sure that the volunteers are filling the gap [...], it is us which are filling a gap because of the magnitude of the crisis and the civil society and the authorities in Europe and in Greece cannot manage to provide the necessary support but an NGO will not do something else and covering gaps, so it is really completely the different of what you are saying. Because that is how it has to be, I mean we are not here to take responsibilities, to take over things, which are working; it is not our role at all.

I2: Would you have the manpower, would you like to be at on beaches, to work on the beaches? Or do you think your role that you have the best manpower or you do the best job at the registration camp? Could you send volunteers from your organization to the beaches or would that [...]

Sebastian: So first we are not only working at the registration center, and the registration center is one of the reception facilities here in Chios. Before we are the no reception facility as such now we have six registration, six reception facilities, which are, well if you count at the beaches even seven, so the beaches even eight beaches the all the different groups which are doing rescue at sea level, then you have Tabakika, then you have Vial, then you have Dipethe, you have the ports and now you have the Tera Jet boat, okay so it is seven different reception facilities. We are working in three out of seven and we are working even in four out of seven, even in Souda so we are a bit everywhere but we do not provide the same type of services. When it comes to the first reception of volunteers at beach level or at sea level, NRC we are not, we do not know how to do it at sea level, so this is not one of our core competencies. So to develop this knowledge our HQ will decide to be involved in such thing. We can participate, but we will not develop an activity such as rescue at sea level. The same apply when it comes to what is happening at the beach level. We have no knowledge about that, so it is quite specific. Now yes we can definitely support what is happening at beach level, but again so far we have not identified gaps into this response. For us we identify gaps not for NRC but for all humanitarian actors, including the volunteers and some authorities will be to organize meetings, coordination meetings, for this first reception activities and for the different actors we identify if there are gaps or not. I have requested this several times NRC and other humanitarian actors also requested it and so far for different reasons there is no coordination as such at the different beach level where minutes are public. So you have meetings, definitely, but minutes are not public and then we cannot see if there are gaps or needs in order to facilitate a bit of coordination. But we have no power to say this is what you should do. But we have, what we can say is, well this is the way we are working together we do share minutes of meetings happening in Souda, the global coordination meeting, Vial meetings and etc. We have pushed authorities to make sure that the civil society and the volunteers will have the authorization to work in Vial and the hot spots. Then if the civil society does not feel there is a need to communicate about coordination, gaps and needs, well I cannot really answer to your question. It is, people need to say we have needs because of this and this and this, and we need to have the means first verify if yes, assist and support in order to cover the need, and some time to time it is not only a question of knowledge or money, it could be also a question of coordination.

I1: Do you have the impression that the volunteers here and the civil society are in control of what is happening on the beaches, on beach level?

Sebastian: This is what is happening, yes. This is what is happening, and it is maybe a sensitive issue in a way that again it is a question of confidence. I mean today it was the first time that I was discussing with you two, and Christen [...] was also in a meeting today with Trude Jacobsen in order to, and that was not the first time, in order to speak about what is going on and on how we are working together. You need, and volunteers need to domestic

NRC and as the same, we need again to have confidence in order to speak about gaps and needs. I cannot force anyone to say yes I need this and this and this, so if there is no one saying there are needs, how do you want us to identify it. Of course we can definitely check, and this is what we have discussed this morning between when boats are arriving and when people arrive at different reception facilities to check how long it takes. To improve this, so the delay could happen because the information is not transferred quickly enough to the tour guides [...], that is the bus company, that is a possibility. That transportation is not, means of transportations are not enough to then discrete delays. That the information between the coast guard and the bus companies is not working very well and etc. So this weekend we work on that together, but then, and we can also ask refugees if things have been well organized at beach level, but then the quality of the information that we will get is, you know they want to be registered, they want to proceed, they do not want to speak about what was happening at beach level, except if there are protection issues. So that will be the most, and this is the most complicated thing to capture, protection issues. So far we do things that are working well, but again that is my, it is not NRC, it is Sebastian, apparently working well, no one is complaining about what is happening. Yes, there are tensions between the different humanitarian actors, and I think that a coordination approach is there really to break the ice and to make sure that the communication will be free. It is not a hundred per cent free, but it is working. So we can improve, there is still some room for improvements.

I1: But you in general, you think it is working well, the system?

Sebastian: In general I think it is working, well or not, I think it is working. And again we always have rooms to improve the system. It is on daily basis that we have to adapt ourselves. Yesterday night, well since Friday night, we are ready to have, to activate a contingency plan in order to accommodate refugees in those five reception facilities. Since Friday we are like okay we will do it, we do it, no yes, and then the last result will be Tera Jet, the white boat. We have never activated a congruency plan, and this morning we are willing to accommodate people in Tabakika, and the major said, first you have to accommodate people on the boat level, so why not. The only thing is that we need to adapt by ourselves, and some days it will work well, and some days it will not work. I think we do not take enough time to analyze the reason over our success and the reasons of our failures. Again because there is not that much, not enough forum of discussion, where people are comfortable to speak about the day-to-day activities. And we should definitely make sure that when there is something, which is not working well, we should not put pressure on the people, which are trying to do something. Because there is no one pierce which is willing not to do things properly. But to record it, document it and the day after and the day after that discuss and say this is what we are seeing, how can we improve the situation. Because if you put pressure on people which are trying to do something, even if it is not good, of course if you have someone who is trying to hang a refugee, no then please react. But if you are in front of someone which is struggling but not really harming someone, or not in the process of doing it, then the best is to document it and then you can discuss either with this person or with the person who is managing this person etc. We should not and never underestimate the stress that this crisis generates the emotion that this crisis generates and the fact that it is new to everyone. Even if some of us we are called professionals.

I1: But what do you think are the main challenges of doing humanitarian work in Chios?

Sebastian: The main challenges remains coordination, still.

Edith: I think in difference to any other places, here the main challenges is that you have no power to know how long it is going to last, what is the flow, when people will arrive at the

water. I mean it has been very different, many many crisis you know that there is a big displacement and then it stops and then you can implement routines and daily activities. Here it is continuous emergency everyday you need to rethink, every morning, evening or every night you need to have a plan because the previous one is not working anymore. So it is constant creativity and constant coordination and constant adaptation. And I think this has been the main challenge for an organization like NRC was a lot of personal experience that have never 24/7 operation it is totally new for us also, how to manage a team 24/7, how to make sure that the communication between the teams is going well and between the managers also but the overall humanitarian community as we see some are working at night and some are not working at night, there are shifts, people changing, so yes this is definitely a challenge, not to know what is going to happen, even tomorrow. If they close completely the borders like it is happening now for how long are we going to have refugees on the island. Last week it was not a question and now it one, and it is the main one on the table. So every week, every day we need to come up with a new plan and a new agenda. And I think that has been the most challenge.

I1: Is that a way for NRC to be innovative? Because I did see in the training program that it was one of the main values.

Edith: I think we are innovating here at least, we are trying to think about [...] We are adapting, for example camp management there are a lot of tools existing but are more adaptive to regular camps or camp place settings. Here we are already finding all the tools we are usually using, because the situation is something that has never been seen before. The same for WASH and the same for shelter activities, we are adapting all of our tools, we are already adapted the way we are thinking also to adapt to the crisis. And this, I mean to make people understand at HQ level that it is not a normal operation is also one of our challenges.

Sebastian: Yes, and one of the main challenges is to keep the achievements like all those coordination forums which have been created. One which is the general coordination meeting where we attend their needs, the first reception services, the ministry of interior, police, the municipalities, sometimes the region, and all humanitarian actors, and yes we have to go, so hopefully such a forum will continue to have it, you know. It is not granted, people could decide not to join, so the good thing is that everyone is invited so let us continue to have this. And one of the challenges is today that we can communicate together with the different humanitarian actors, we can communicate with the different authorities including Frontex, and having the feeling that you work for the best interest of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. We since six months we can see what they are doing and how they are doing it. This is not what is happening in other entry points. So we are quite lucky. But things can change, so how do we make sure that we do not undermine this relationship. So it is continuing to discuss together the same way that we are discussing together, but then we should not be naïve and then there are violations of human rights, then we have to make sure that we will be capable to react and advocate [...] Meaning that we could continue to have good relationship, but we have to make sure that the authorities will take measures to make sure that those violations of human rights will stop. But this applies as well for NRC, we can also harm people, the volunteers can harm people, humanitarian organizations can harm people etc. So it is important to make sure that all together we are looking for each other without trying to control each other, in order to make sure that we have all one, we have the same objectives, the same aim, which is do not harm, and again create a single flow which is respecting the best interest of the refugees.

I1: Thank you very much.

10.5 Interview with Toula from CESRT

Use of signs:

- [...] Incomprehensible/Unintelligible sentences
- [] Comments, notes, or essential language clarifications
- () Unsure transcription, best guess
- ” ” Direct quotes – only used in transcription from notes
- ‘ ’ Demonstration of spoken word
- ABC* Words emphasized

Organization: Chios Eastern Shore Rescue Team (CESRT)

Date: 01.03.2016

Place: Apartment of Toula, Mega Liminionas Beach

Interviewees: Pothiti Kitromilidi (Toula)

Interviewers: I1 Teigen, I2 Myrvold

Duration: 35 min

Transcribed from: Recording

Presentation: *Toula is a Chios local and the team leader of CESRT. She runs and owns a hotel at Mega Liminionas beach, where the headquarter of CESRT is.*

I1: Can you please state the name, and the name of your organization?

Toula: My name is Toul [...], I'm a local and the name of the team that we are is Chios Eastern Shore Rescue Team.

I1: Thank you. How has it been to be the leader figure for your organization?

Toula: Yes. It's not an easy job. But, with all the help. I'm not alone in this job. I have a next to me very capable persons that help me also. But I'm the contact for Chios for the independent volunteers, so the first talk is with me. And yes, it is not easy, but I like it because we all help together for the refugees.

I2: And what is the role of your organization? What kind of work do you do?

Toula: We are from, we are in the first people that meet the refugees in the beaches. And last when they are leaving departing from Pireaus. I can tell you what we do, ok? So the first thing is that we're patrolling the beaches and we are cleaning the beaches. We provide clothes and food, and snacks to the refugees when they arrive to our island. With help also with A drop in the Ocean, we work together. And then we have many projects, after that. We have the laundry, rescue laundry, that we recycle clothes from the refugees. We have a house with laundry. And another project is that we are in the orphanage, the arc of the world. We are inside of this orphanage with our translators helping the minors, because when unaccompanied children are coming to the island they go first to the police for a few days to do tests and then they transfer them to this orphanage. And then we have the translators to help the children, the procedure with the papers, and then we provide them also with what they need with clothes, and everything that they need for the trip because they are going to leave anyway in a few days from the island, to go to Athens. We have the

port project. The port project means that when the refugees are departure to Pireaus Athens we go there and we distribute again clothes and some snack again and other things that they need. We are there until the boat, the ferry, departure, so in any case that they have problems, any problem that they have. Like the other day when we had the someone broke his leg, we immediately brought the Spanish team, the Basque to transfer them to the hospital. We are there until they will leave. Yes. And now we accept to cleaning the beaches, we little bit extend our limit. We are going to cleaning [...] it's another island. We took the license from the military and the port authorities, so from tomorrow Wednesday start cleaning the [...] is going to be very bad if we don't interfere, because for eight months nobody cleaned the beaches there. So last week we went there, our team, to see what is happening and we are very happy that we took the license so from tomorrow we will start cleaning also [...] and also Pasas, it is another island. That they only the military is there, and we are very happy about that because it's going to be a disaster if we leave the wests, the plastic boats the garbage that the refugees leave. And also our volunteers are in the camps. So far Tabakika in Chios, the registration was open, every night we were there helping the refugees with distributing the clothes with the big NGO. I believe that the Drops did it many times too in Tabakika and now we are also going to Souda, another camp. The only place we haven't been, is the new place Vial, the new hot spot in Chios. Yes.

I1: and why is that?

Toula: Why is that? Because only the big NGO can be inside and the military is in charge with the police. So, and I learned that at the end not even the NGO can be there. Slowly slowly only the military and the police will take place there. Yes, we are a team and not an NGO. Though we see that the needs are so many, and we will do the papers so that we will be an official organization in a few days.

I1: so you will register?

Toula: Yes we register. We are near to the police. We register the volunteers; all to the police like all the teams are doing it. But the we feel the need that we have to do something more, so we will do, we are speaking with the lawyers now, we will have an organization this is going to be more easy for everything. Yes.

I2: That's good!

I1: And what do you think about the refugee situation here on Chios?

Toula: Yes it is difficult. It starting as nothing and think it started from June, in 2015. There are coming by thousands, and the local, and the community, and the locals especially are, the truth is that they are getting tired. So that's why when I realized this is happening I, we were needed emergency people coming to help and that was made from individual volunteers. Or from other organizations like A drop in the ocean. Yes, it is. The locals are tired of this. And off course they appreciate the volunteers that are helping so much. Because if the volunteers wasn't here, it would be like [...] a disaster.

I1: so how did your organization start? Like how did CERST, how do you say it, how did the team start to work?

Toula: yeah. First of all I started to work like a volunteer by myself, because I'm very near to the beach. Mega Limionas, my house is very near to the beach. So I was thinking about going to help them. And after I started to work with Agia Erimione, there is a team also, a local team. And I started to working like that. But in the meanwhile I realized that this is not enough because the refugees was so big numbers coming. So we did the document in Facebook that was asking volunteers all over the world to come. And in the meanwhile A drop of the ocean approached me, and we started working together from October. So, and, yes we cooperate together. But then again I told you we had this document, and we had to

organize like a team. Any other organization has their own rules and so I felt the need to act with all the other locals, we are together. And we started like that. We have very good connections in Zurich, in Switzerland. We bring supplies, we had so far five containers, ten trucks, hundreds of pallets and that's why I'm telling you that I'm not alone. And our team started, when we started the containers, we start to distribute clothes to all the organizations, to all the teams that was working in the island. Even the camps, even NRC, the big NGO's, NRC, UNHCR distribute all the supplies that the refugees need. And also we have the Ninita group, the Kataraktis group, we provide them also, two months also laundry and dryer and these things. So they can recycle also clothes. So we are working all together close.

I1: So you have teams in those places? In Ninita and Kataraktis?

Toula: Yeah. They are locals. They are, yes. They have their own name. But we cooperate like it's our team. It is the cooperation.

I1: yes. How is the cooperation between the local community here?

Toula: like a group for example, let's say Ninita. We were four people and we spoke together, we were working for the same reasons, we are patrolling, we met them. And then we asked them if they need supplies. We provide them supplies, food, clothes, everything that they need. And we are paying also the, specially in Ninita the rent for the warehouse. It is very important to have a warehouse in Ninita, we have many landings. And for one, two cars in the night it's never enough when we have so many landings there. So we have the cooperation, the locals and the independent volunteers, and the drop of the ocean. Is very good result.

I1: and how do you think the cooperation is between the volunteers and the more major humanitarian actors such as NRC and UNHCR?

Toula: Yes. This is a difficult question. Because we started to work with them in Tabakika in the registration area. And especially in the nights when the NRC, let's say didn't have enough of staff, not enough people to work for the needs, because you have five hundred people in two hours and you only have two people to work. Normally it's five people was in Tabakika, from Samaritan Purse and UNHCR, and NRC. So it was five people to serve five hundred, one thousands people sometimes. Because all the people, all the refugees, were transferring in Tabakika for the registration. And so it was difficult for them, and they accept our help. Sometimes we off course have some disagreements about the distribution. To make distribution, is when the needed. The NRC for example have some strict rules. "We don't distribute blankets before nine". Nine in the night. So we've had refugees that is from the morning, until the night and they didn't take blankets and we were asking for blankets. So that was a rule that we didn't like, because when you are children who are shivering and people are asking for supplies, it was a little bit annoyed for us. Because all the volunteers that are coming in the island, they don't take money like we are and you are. You are coming with your own expenses, your own hotel. To do that means you are deeply humanitarian. It is not just one work like other people have. So, yes. But we were trying to cooperate. It was difficult, but we were trying. Yeah.

I2: Who do you believe is responsible of doing the job? Do you think it's right that smaller NGO's and teams like you and A drop in the ocean have to be on the beaches? Or who do you feel should actually do the job?

Toula: I believe that there is no other any choice. Like I said to the other NRC, they asked me to help them in the beaches, and the UNHCR, and I just told them in the meeting, in the coordinator meeting that you have to see what is happening in Tabakika. First solve these things, and then you can go to the beach. Because the beach, I believe we are doing in a good

way. We are, I believe that at least 70-80% of the boats we receive so. We don't let people going wet in the registration area. So first they have to fix that, and then they can be occupied with the beaches. So I don't believe that they are in the position to do that. The normal thing was that they had to be here. But, if they cannot fix their own places how they will be here? So I don't know if UNHCR and NRC would have to bring more, not volunteers, but workers because they are working. They are working, staff. And all this need about when the beaches start, when the weather became cold, because before all the refugees was moving wet to the registration area. But it was summer. So when the locals realized that we can not have happen that. We started the action in these places. I don't want to think what was going to happen if the volunteers from all over the world weren't here, in this winter in these islands. Yes. It's precious vulnerable people.

I1: do you feel like you are in control over the situation? The landings here? And that you are covering it?

Toula: always we need to fix something. But, there to be. Nobody is an expert. We, nobody is expert. And to change volunteers every fifteen days. And this is also difficult, that's why we want long-term volunteers. So when they will learn the job, they will continue doing it and we don't have to do introduction every three four days one week. But I believe that we are in a good position with the cooperation we do with the drops. Yeah, I'm satisfied. We can do better and we are trying, everyday we are trying to do better. But, nobody from us started about this situation. Yes.

I1: What are the main challenges to be a volunteer organization in the humanitarian field?

Toula: I don't understand that.

I1: No. What do you feel is the main challenges of your work?

Toula: The vulnerable people, the refugees. The children, the women, the pregnant women, the people that are sick with disabilities. That is the most difficult for us. Yes. Because the people are coming, stressed, by a trip for three hours four hours in the boat. And also at least twenty days after they leave from Syria ending in Turkey. In Cesme. And so this is the most big challenge that we have. The emergency cases, and we are very lucky that in our team that we cooperate with the SMH, the Basque team, that they have their rescue team, trying to be inside the water with two boats. And they have two ambulance. Because in the island we only have one ambulance for the island, because we don't have drivers. So that's made difficult all this. So with the help of the SMH we can transfer as soon as possible the people in the hospital. So, we are good yes. We've only had two cases where the last weeks with two children that died, one already came dead from Cesme and the other died here, we don't know the reason. We helped also the second child to help the family and what their needs, the funeral. That was a difficult moment, I believe for all the volunteers to leave this situation. For us this was the first time, in Chios, normally we don't have this stuff. In Lesvos it's everyday, but here no. Again, the volunteers passed two weeks very bad actually.

I2: On the beaches there's a lot of actors right. There is your team, there is a drop in the ocean, there is BAAS and there is also a lot of independent people. Do you see any challenges with all the people that are working along the coast?

Toula: Yes, the last month we've had some problems with the some of the independent volunteers. First of all our team, and a drop of the ocean are registered with the police. And we want to work next to the police, not opposite of the police. This problem started one month ago. We've had volunteers that are not registered, we heard word about that, we have speak about our concerns to the police. To have unregistered people without having not even the basics. Just holding the children and taking them out of the boat they don't even have the skills to do that. And we are really worried about that. We have already spoke

with the police as I told you about that. Because you can not, it is dark you now, you can not touch children and vulnerable people so we are worried about that. I hope the police will soon this problem as soon as possible. Yes.

I1: how do you think they can solve the problem? Do you know?

Toula: I believe that the police will have to interfere. The people that are registered they have to be in sort. If they are not register, they have to register at least. At least. Or I don't know. Or they will have to find the solution. We are worried. They are worried also. But it is so much work. They have to do the police and all the authorizes, that they don't have the time. But, it is important.

I1: how do you think the volunteers can optimize their work? How can we get better?

Toula: yes. Look, all our volunteers and the volunteers of a drop in the ocean coming here they really want to do it. I wish that they could have more time. If the volunteers could have more time because you always moving with experience. Even if I would explain it now in the beginning in the paper, or just talking, if you don't see it really happening it is not easy. I wish to have a little bit more volunteers so we will others will learn behind them if you understand what I mean. But that is you can not always, you can not control many volunteers. That why slowly slowly we go. But I believe also that almost everybody is happy that we are here and doing the job. That we cooperate between the teams on the ground and patrolling.

I1: so you think the communication between the different volunteers are working ok? And I'm specially thinking about the during the night for example when we are patrolling, do you think the communication flow is good?

Toula: in our team we started two months ago working with alpha phone. That is someone who know really good the areas and we know who with all the teams, we know where the cars, how many cars we have and we are trying to improve that at this moment. Yes it is I believe it is good working like that. And as I'm speaking with Lesvos they don't have this system. Everybody is working independent, but like yesterday we had a meeting with a drop in the ocean and we talk about alpha phone. So, I believe we will continue with doing that. We will improve. Everyday we will be better. Again I have to say that we are not people experienced in this crisis, and but we are doing our best.

I2: Your volunteers, how long are they staying in average?

Toula: average fifteen days. We have a average of fifteen days. Yes. But we have also long term volunteers. Three months, four months. And these volunteers became coordinators if they want off course. Because their experience is important.

I1: when boats are coming. How do you know when the boats are coming? Do you have any contacts on the other side?

Toula: yes. Sometimes we have some contacts with some people that are working in these areas. But most of the we found the boats by patrolling.

I1: So what do you think is the best solution here in Chios? For all the humanitarian actors, NRC, UNHCR, us, the police, the community? Do you think it is working well like it is now, or do you think there should be any changes? Sort of changes?

Toula: Look, I believe very clear that if everybody doing good their jobs we will have perfect solution, perfect results. If NRC are focus to the registration area, doing well, distribute the clothes, there is no need for us to be in the camps. If they have enough translators for example. In all the hot spots, there is no need for us. So we can be in the beaches, and we can also extend the north. That we though we are working six months it is not always easy having the patrolling in the north. Covering from the airport mostly. Covering from the port, from the city of Chios. And the last is Vokaria and Ninita. It is not easy. It is a big area. All

though we want, but I believe that everybody do what they came here to do. Everything is going to be better. Yes, I mean. If they organize more. The big NGO, sometimes they don't know what they have. So in the middle of the night we have to run for clothes, we have to run for socks, we have to run for baby milk. I mean is some things that are important. To know at least your stock. To know what you have. If you know that you are not supposed to run to the camps for spending there ten, fifteen hours. It is very pressure that we help the refugees, but if we have all our power in the beaches, I believe that it would be more good results then now. That's why sometimes we have thirty volunteers for example, and then ten in the night are in the camps. So that means a lot as you understand.

I1: How do you see this organization in the future? Do you think you will continue being present here as long as the crisis is here?

Toula: Yes, we have already discussed this for months. We will be here until the last refugee will leave from the island. And this our team, now that it is going to be an official organization it will be not stop only for the refugees. All the people that need it. Also the locals. And this is the one month now, we started silence to distribute clothes and supplies. Also to Greek families that they need. Because we are in a crisis, everybody know. So our target is to help when it is needed. Wherever it is.

I2: How do you, because you have started a lot of projects, and you have a very good team, what was your motivation? Are you from Chios?

Toula: Yes, I'm from Chios. Motivation?

I2: Did you see, when the problems started, did you feel that you had to?

Toula: yes, I feel like I had the need to help people. That is the reason. Very simple. Humanitarian reasons. Simple. Yeah. Everyday that pass I'm more inside, more inside. And now we came to be at least eighteen hours a day working only for the. I don't see my friends anymore, I don't see my family. Yeah, I just work about this.

I1: and how do you get the funding to proceed?

Toula: Okey, about the containers and all the things that I told you. We have the (...name...) in Zurich that is helping us giving us the supplies. And we communicate everyday with her. She is now on the grounds, she came to see the situation. She called me five months ago, she found me on Facebook, she said I want to help your team. And from since that we start about that. And all the volunteers that are coming to Chios and working with us, have money from their families, they see what they are doing, and they go and buy things that we need. Food, clothes. We don't buy anymore clothes, because we stopped. We don't need anymore. We have enough. We are at the point where we don't buy anymore clothes. But, we have other needs like food, supplies for the team. So, the volunteers bring money, they buy things. They see where it is going. It is very clear the situation. And then one other thing, very important. When these volunteers go back and explain the situation, trying to find raising money, they give to the team again for their needs. For the needs of the refugees. So far we don't have any bank account. So if someone wants to send money, send money straight away to the supplier for example. To his bank account. Not to our account. And two weeks ago we bought two toilets for Vokaria. We bought them, and again the donor from England gave the money straight away to the person who sells the toilet. So we are not seeing actually money in front of us. Everybody have. Also we are working with a good NGO, the Kalsas Aid, and they are here with us for one month. They came to the island, they saw what was needed, and the end here, they want to help us. They want to help so much the refugees. It is unbelievable what they do. Every night that Kalsas Aid is out when they are out with volunteers, like this week, they pay all the expenses for the buses. Because you know that the refugees pay, this is very important also. This is something I have asked

for the UNHCR for six months to do that. That will be more easy. All the procedures will be more easy with the refugees, it is very difficult. Some people don't have money, aid, it is called. So if they have free tickets it is going to be most easy for them. And for us at the end.

I1: How is for example the process when you are buying the toilets and putting them up in Vokaria? Do you ask the mayor?

Toula: Yes, of course I ask the president of the Ninita. And they give the permission. We are going to be in charge, we are going to pay and clean every once a week the toilets or more. We will see. We just want to help, it is nothing else. And now we will, we took also the license, next to Vokaria, in the port, there is a container, small open. We went there, and fixed little. So we can also change the refugees inside there. Or in case for raining, everybody can go inside. Yes, we try. It is just to, we took the license. We don't do things without license, without the police knowing, the mayor. We are next to them. Not opposite of them.

I1: And you mentioned that people are paying directly to the supplier? Do you mean? What kind of supplier is it?

Toula: Yeah, food for example. We need food for the port project. There are people who are sending straight away to the supplier. To the grocery. I don't know, my English is not so good.

I2: No, it is good.

Toula: So they just put their money straight away to them. And yes. It is going like that. To cover the project, it is not an easy project. Because imagine that you will meet, all the refugees that are leaving from the island. That means three thousand people left. Three thousand food packs you have to have. That means we can't, and approximately it was two thousands euros per month. We need only food, water and juice for the refugees for the port project. Yes, this is a big project actually. I really hope people keep fundraising us and giving us money for this project, everybody is very happy. Especially the children.

I1: do you have any idea about how many people you have helped?

Toula: You mean our team?

I1: Yes, your team? You don't have any numbers?

Toula: No, I don't have any numbers. I know that I've met more than seven hundred volunteers, that's for sure. I met more than seven hundred volunteers.

I2: Only from your team?

Toula: No no, from all the teams. Yeah. But it is thousands. We can't say the number. It is so many people. But now that we are the first and the last, you can just measure how many people are coming, you can realize that.

I1: And what do you think about the spirit, the sort of the encouragement from the local community during this refugee crisis? Do you feel like you have been really open?

Toula: me personal or the volunteers?

I2: the local community. What is their attitude towards the crisis? Do you feel like they are open for helping?

Toula: All the locals start the help. It is many months this is happening. We have emptied all our houses for clothes. But now that the number are so many, it is not enough. So this thing is happening for eight, nine months. You can imagine even if you want to give, at one point during a crisis you can not give anymore. So that is why we need the volunteers from all over the world. Yeah.

I2: I've been so impressed by being in Chios, because I feel like the Greek community has been so open and so welcoming to everyone that is coming.

Toula: Yes, we appreciate. Always, as I say, only a local can appreciate the volunteers. Only a local. Because maybe sometimes you don't understand how vulnerable you are. It is amazing.

I2: I was in Athens last year, and I felt like the spirit was totally different.

Toula: Yes, here in the small islands it is, we are like a family with everybody. And I believe you feel that too.

I1: Definitely. We have always felt very welcoming.

I2: It is a cooperation between everyone.

I1: Do you cooperate with the pirates?

Toula: Yes, we cooperate with them. We start together. Yes. But, now we are not together anymore.

I2: Are they from Chios?

Toula: Yes, they are from Chios. So we started together with the pirates. Yes.

10.6 Interview with Trude Jacobsen from A Drop in the Ocean

- [...] Incomprehensible/Unintelligible sentences
- [] Comments, notes, or essential language clarifications
- () Unsure transcription, best guess
- ” ” Direct quotes – only used in transcription from notes
- ‘ ‘ Demonstration of spoken word
- ABC* Words emphasized

Organization: A Drop in the Ocean (DIO)

Date: 02.03.2016

Place: DIO Headquarters

Interviewees: Trude Jacobsen

Interviewers: I1 Teigen, I2 Myrvold

Duration: 33 min

Transcribed from: Recording

Presentation: *Trude Jacobsen is the founder of DIO. Usually she works in the main office in Oslo, but visited Chios for a few days to see how everything was. The interview is conducted in her (and our) native language, Norwegian.*

I1: Skal vi sette på varmen eller?

I2: Allerede gjort det.

I1: Å ja. Så bra.

I2: Yes, I'm prepared.

I1: Da er den på?

I2: Ja, den er på.

I1: Ok. Ja, hvorfor følte du at det var nødvendig å starte Dråpen i Havet?

Trude: Jeg følte vel at det var nødvendig etter at jeg hadde vært ute å reist første gang. Fordi før jeg reiste hadde jeg ingen plan om å starte en organisasjon. Så, når jeg reiste så var det egentlig bare. Jeg hadde hørt at det var ekstremt mange flyktninger som kom til de greske øyene, og jeg ville se hvordan de ble tatt imot. Og det var vel egentlig for det meste ut av sympati for det greske folk. Jeg ønsket å reise nedover for å se hvordan de håndterte det. Også kom jeg til Lesvos i slutten av august, og så at det ikke var en eneste hjelpeorganisasjon på plass. Så de dagene jeg var der, kjørte jeg rundt helt alene og tok imot båter helt alene. Hele tiden. Og da kom det jo rundt to tusen hver dag, inntil akkurat denne kyststrekningen. Så jeg følte veldig på det når jeg kom hjem, altså jeg reiste hjem og lurte på hva som skjedde. Det er fortsatt ingen her. Så jeg følte et behov for å gjøre noe. Jeg fikk jo også samtidig veldig mange henvendelser fra folk som ville hjelpe til, så jeg måtte jo bare ta imot det. Og få sendt så mange som mulig ned for å hjelpe til.

I1: Det hele startet med en Facebook gruppe? Var det ikke det?

Trude: Altså, når jeg skulle reise ned de dagene i August startet jeg en Facebook gruppe. Egentlig bare for at familien og venner, de jeg kjenner skulle få følge med på hvordan det

var der. Også tok det jo helt av. Så, den økte jo til elleve tusen medlemmer de dagene jeg var borte.

I1: Det er jo helt utrolig.

Trude: Så da var det jo selvfølgelig utenfor mine venner og familie. Ja, det var helt ekstremt. Virkelig. Traff et eller annet hos folk som bare gjorde at de følte at de måtte hjelpe. Eller de så vel at det var mulig. Det var egentlig ganske lett for oss å gjøre noe. Tror det var det som traff.

I1: Og hva er ditt hovedansvar i organisasjonen?

Trude: Nå er det jo helt, alt daglig administrasjon. Planlegging, jeg blir generalsekretær fra første april. Men nå er jeg daglig leder. Og styreleder. Frem til i går.

I2: Ja, det så jeg.

Trude: Så, det er veldig mye sånn. Jeg får ekstremt mye henvendelser, både fra folk som vil reise og presse og samarbeidspartnere. Så nå er det veldig sånn for å få ting til å fungere på de stedene jeg er. Sørge for at det er nok folk på alle stedene. Men også det å tenke fremover og se at vi klarer å snu oss fort rundt hvis behovene endrer seg, og det gjør de jo hele tiden her. Så, ja. Det er veldig sånn. Økonomi også selvfølgelig. Også har vi en del arrangementer hjemme som jeg også holder i. Nå har vi arabisk kurs som starter i dag, så har vi et integreringsprosjekt som vi skal kjøre en pilot på.

I1: I Norge?

Trude: Ja, i Norge.

I1: Så spennende!

Trude: Så jeg er jo involvert i alt, men jeg har jo også en del som hjelper til. Så jeg gjør jo ikke alt selv.

I1: Dette integreringsprogrammet, hva er det det går ut på?

Trude: Det er et, det skal bli et møtepunkt mellom gjerne tidligere frivillige og flyktninger som har kommet til Norge hvor vi setter sammen i grupper, hvor de møtes tre ganger sammen med en fasilitator i gruppen. Med et ulikt tema for hver gang. For å bli kjent. Det er bli kjent grupper. Også er planen at de også kan fortsette å treffes også etterpå, utenfor vår side. Også håper jeg de har lyst til å møtes. For det handler egentlig bare om å bli kjent med hverandre, jeg tror det er det integrering handler om. Så da er det alltid mye lettere hvis man først blir kjent med noen, så begynner ballen å rulle litt. Da er man med i et miljø.

I1: Er dette i Oslo?

Trude: Vi begynner i Oslo, med pilotprosjekt. Og hvis det blir en suksess så tenker vi at vi får bruke samme konseptet andre steder.

I1: Og hva er årsaken til at DIO bestemte seg for å etablere seg her på Chios?

Trude: Chios er jo den øyen hvor det kommer nest flest flyktninger inn. Så det var liksom naturlig å starte opp her i Oktober, når vi så vi hadde god tilgang på frivillige som ville reise, så var det det naturlige stedet egentlig, etter Lesvos. Også bistå. Så, det var grunnen.

I1: Hvordan syntes du at samarbeidet mellom DIO og de lokale er på Chios?

Trude: Jeg syns det er litt sånn litt svingende. Stort sett så syns jeg vi har blitt veldig godt mottatt og blitt satt veldig stor pris på. Vi vant jo også en pris her på Chios i, rett før jul var det vel. I samarbeid med UNHCR og University of [...] som delte ute en pris for den beste frivillige gruppen, og den vant DIO. Så jeg vet de setter veldig pris på det, jeg vet de lokale tar oss veldig godt imot og er veldig takknemlig for at vi her er. Så jeg syns samarbeidet fungerer stort sett bra, også er det av og til litt sånn småting, men det er ikke, litt det er mer personavhengig, at det er litt personer som ikke har en god kjemi og at det kan bli litt sånn betent. Men stort sett bra.

I1: Hvordan syns du samarbeidet er mellom DIO og de internasjonale aktørene som UNHCR, NRC?

Trude: Vi har grei kommunikasjon. Vi har vel ikke helt funnet ut hvordan, vi gjør våre ting og de gjør sine ting, også blander man seg ikke så veldig mye opp i det. Og det fungerer jo på vis, men vi mangler kanskje den helt direkte linken på hva vi gjør. Men jeg føler jo at de setter stor pris på at vi tar den jobben vi gjør på strendene, for det har jo ikke de ressurser til og det prioriterer ikke de. Så, her på Chios syns jeg det fungerer bra. Vi hadde møte med NRC i går og de er for så vidt interessert i et enda mer, enda tettere samarbeid, så det er jo noe vi kommer til å se på nå. Det kan godt tenkes at vi kommer til å være til stede med faste skift inne i campene for eksempel, så det er.

I1: Er det noen spesifikke ting UNHCR og NRC har gjort for å tilrettelegge DIO sitt arbeid her? Eller assistere?

Trude: Nei, jeg vet ikke om de har gjort noe spesielt for å tilrettelegge det. Ikke noe spesielt her. Det er også veldig forskjellig fra øy til øy. Men hvis vi snakker spesielt om Chios, så er det ikke noe spesielt jeg kommer på. På Lesvos så er det jo litt annerledes igjen, der har vi fått UNHCR til å sette opp skifte telt på strendene, som vi bemanner. Men det tok lang tid altså. Det ble vi lovt i mange mange måneder før det kom, så det går ikke så fort.

I1: hvordan syns du samarbeidet fungerer mellom de andre frivillige aktørene her på Chios?

Trude: Det som er veldig greit her er at det ikke er så veldig mange. Ulike grupperinger. Andre steder er det jo ekstremt mange og det er vanskelig og egentlig ha noe samarbeid når man er såpass mange også, men i og med at vi er såpass få så fungerer jo samarbeidet nå når det gjelder patruljering, det syns jeg kanskje er det aller aller viktigste. Også fungerer det ikke når det gjelder lager, det fungerer ikke i det hele tatt. Det har vi gjort forsøk på over lang tid, uten å få det til. Men det er egentlig helt greit fordi at det blir fort når man skal ha et felles lager og veldig mange ulike som kommer dit. For det første så krever det veldig mye logistikk å ha et lager, så det er egentlig bedre nesten av hver gruppe har sine ting, så det at vi ikke har noe felles samarbeid syns jeg faktisk er, det er faktisk en fordel nå. Vi har forsøkt som sagt. Det funket ikke.

I1: vi har sett at det har vært en del individuelle personer som ikke hører til en frivillig gruppe, men som opererer på strendene. Hva er ditt synspunkt på disse personene?

Trude: Jeg syns det er litt skummelt for man vet ikke hvem man skal kontakte om man ser noe som ikke er som det skal. Og det er ikke noe tvil om at i sånne type kriser så tiltrekker det seg mange forskjellige mennesker som kanskje har uærlige hensikter også. Så jeg hadde ønsket at det hadde vært et krav fra myndighetene å tilhøre en gruppe for å hjelpe til. Altså vi registrerer alle frivillige med oss til myndighetene her hele tiden og det syns jeg egentlig burde vært et minimumskrav da. For å hjelpe til. Disse er sårbare.

I2: Har du personlig hatt noen negative opplevelser tidligere med disse frivillige aktørene som kommer inn?

Trude: Jeg har sett, ikke med disse independent, men jeg har sett folk som jeg syns har håndtert situasjoner dårlig. For eksempel laget mye mer drama ut av en situasjon enn det det egentlig er. Det er ikke noe vits å hoppe, skrike, hoie og kaste seg ut i vannet og alt mulig sann når båten kommer seg helt greit inn til land. Og da blir jo de om bord bare mye mer redde. Og jeg har også sett noen av disse som har tatt med seg de små barna og løper av gårde opp til en sykebil, når det ikke er noen grunn til det. Og mødrene løper etter og skriker "my baby, my baby". Det som er så bra er at jeg ser at dråpene håndterer disse situasjonene så rolig. Og det bidrar jo også til at flyktningene også holder seg rolig også. Så det er jo det eneste negative jeg har sett, at de stresser opp situasjonen av og til.

I1: Hva er ditt synspunkt på at DIO må fylle det gapet mellom flyktningenes behov på strendene og registreringscenteret?

Trude: Jeg tenker at nå som vi er en registrert organisasjon som gjør den jobben der, så tenker jeg at det er helt greit. Jeg syns det ikke var greit i sommer når jeg kom å så at det ikke var noen der i det hele tatt. Men, sånn som det er nå så har jo vi veldig tilgang på frivillige som ønsker å bidra og hjelpe til og gjør at vi har muligheten til å gjøre dette her. Fordi det har noe med at når man har hatt rundt åtte hundre frivillige ute nå i løpet av seks måneder og alle disse tar meg seg tilbake som er verdifullt. Det er holdninger som er endret. Man har lært at disse flyktningene, altså, vi har mange felles ting vi kan snakke med de om. Så jeg tenker at jeg ikke har noe ønske om at en av disse store organisasjonene skal si at nå tar vi hele øya og alt som er av hjelpearbeid. Jeg ser jo også at vi har folk som vil bidra.

I1: Og det blir jo en slags spill-over effekt på de i Norge.

Trude: Det er kanskje er noe av det viktigste.

I1: Og det tror jeg er kjempe verdifullt. Og jeg tenker også at det at DIO, bare at du fikk elleve tusen likes i begynnelsen viser jo bare det at det er veldig mange i Norge som vil hjelpe. Og som har ressurser til å hjelpe. Så det er jo en fantastisk vinn-vinn situasjon.

Trude: Ja, jeg tenker også det så.

I2: Når du kjørte rundt på disse strendene alene, hva var det du gjorde? Var det samme responsen som vi har nå med mat og klær?

Trude: Jeg hadde, det var i sommer i slutten av august så det var jo mye varmere, det var jo over 30 grader, og varmt i vannet. Så de trengte ikke så mye klær. Men det jeg hadde med i bilen var solcapser, vann. Vann var kjempe viktig. Det gikk masse vann og bleier, våtservietter og bæreseler. Det var liksom det. Jeg hadde ikke så mye klær og sko. Jeg hadde noe sko, men prioriterte ikke det. Så vann og solcapser var det viktigste.

I2: Disse teltene som UNHCR satt opp. I teorien når man tenker over det, så burde det ikke være så vanskelig å sette opp et telt på en strand. Hvorfor tror du det tar så lang tid før de reagerer på den måten?

Trude: På Lesvos så var, er det litt annerledes i forhold til lokale myndigheter og godkjenninger og sånn. De sliter veldig mye med det. Det er mye mer motstand mot hele situasjonen på Lesvos.

I1: Så du føler det er mye mer åpenhet her blant lokalbefolkningen?

Trude: Ja, lokalbefolkningen her er mye mer hjelpsomme. De er jo like hardt rammet, men de har liksom en helt annen innstilling altså.

I1: Hva tror du er grunnen til det?

Trude: En av grunnene er nok av at det er et fascistisk parti som står ganske sterkt på Lesvos, så det er litt sånn selv om man ikke selv er medlem av det partiet, så er man redd for at man kan få trusler og sånn. Koordinatoren blant annet på Lesvos fikk dekkene kuttet opp på bilen, begge dekkene på ja.

I2: Er dette partiet Golden Dawn?

Trude: Ja, det er Golden Dawn. Så det er liksom en annen innstilling til det.

I1: En annen atmosfære.

Trude: og når jeg var der i august så, da mente de at hvis det kom folk og hjalp til deg så kom det bare til å komme flere flyktninger. Så de tenkte at det var frivillige sin skyld.

I1: Hva tenker du er den beste løsningen for at de frivillige aktørene skal kunne samarbeide mer med de internasjonale aktørene? Er det noen spesielt du tror kan være nyttig?

Trude: Jeg tror jo på det å bruke felles verktøy, og vi gjør jo det til en viss grad i forhold til rapportering av flyktninger som kommer inn og som må hentes og sånn. Jeg tenker også kanskje at vi kan bli enda bedre. At man kan ha verktøy som fungerer enda bedre i forhold

til å melde fra om båter som kommer inn. Per i dag så er det ingen automatikk i at de får, de organisasjonene som driver campene, at de får en melding inn. Så hvis man hadde fått en fellesløsning der, så kunne det hjulpet veldig mye.

I1: det var noe de også sa på treningen vår også. At de kan mye bedre planlegge hva som kommer til å skje i registreringen og i campene hvis de får på forhånd vite hvor mange som kommer. Eller rett og slett vite hvor mange som kommer.

Trude: Nemlig. For nå får de jo ikke det før bussen er der.

I1: Ja, ikke sant. Også plutselig står de der, og kanskje de kunne spart førtifem minutter på logistikken. Så. Det tror jeg du har helt rett i.

Trude: Vi har jo faktisk utviklet en app som er nesten ferdig. Eller, altså, den har vært ferdig siden jul omtrent men har ikke hatt tid til å promotere den. Men vi har jo tenkt at det skal bli et sånt verktøy.

I1: og det har DIO gjort?

Trude: Ja. Så vi har fått noen til å gjøre det for oss da. Så, den har vi fått tatt opp igjen, da vi ikke har hatt tid, men nå har vi liksom sagt at nå må vi få den på plass, og det blir Chios som første sted å etablere den. Så kanskje vi kan overlevere den til de andre store om å bruke den.

I2: Ja, se hvordan vi gjøre det.

I1: Er det på noen som helst måte du føler at de frivillige aktørene kan gjøre samarbeide bedre? Hvordan kan vi optimalisere det arbeidet vi gjør?

Trude: Tja. Jeg er ikke helt sikker. Jeg har hatt litt få dager her. Jeg har hørt at det kanskje har vært litt noen som har ment at det ikke har fungert så greit, hvertfall før jeg kom ned da. Men disse dagene jeg har vært her, så syns jeg det har fungert bra å ha en felles telefon som man melder fra til. Så alt avhenger jo av at den blir brukt på en god måte.

I1: Det skal jo sies at vi hadde to eller tre netter hvor det fungerte kjempe bra med alpha. Det kom så mange båter og vi fikk tatt alle. Og det var veldig god organisering på det hele. Men så har jeg følt at andre netter, så fungerer det kanskje ikke så bra.

Trude: Er det personavhengig da? Hvem som har telefonen?

I2: Jeg tror det er veldig personavhengig også tror jeg det har så mye med at det er så høy turn over her, og det er jo klart at vi som har vært her nå i fire uker, og man blir jo varmere i trøya av å være her en stund.

Trude: Ja, man blir jo erfaren.

I2: Mens de som har vært her i to dager, og det er alpha og hvem er det som er alpha, så det er jo klart at det er jo mye som påvirker dette samarbeidet også. Men det er jo klart at det et system må jo prøves ut for å funke. Så det er jo bare å optimalisere det best mulig.

I1: hva føler du er den største utfordringen å arbeide som en frivillig organisasjon på et humanitært område? Dette er jo enkelt et humanitarian field hvor vi opererer som frivillige.

Trude: Jeg tenker at det er jo en forskjell på disse humanitære kriseområder. Noen steder er du midt opp i det hvor folk omtrent dør av sult i armene dine, eller det er bomber som smeller rett ved siden av deg og det krever jo mer erfaring og logistikk og alt sånn. Men jeg tenker at her, så er det jo et humanitært område, hvor det vi tilbyr i førstelinje der er omsorg og at de skal få troen på at det finnes mennesker som ikke er her for å utnytte deg. Gi de litt troen på menneskeheten igjen, for den har de kanskje ikke sett på flere år mange av de. Så da trenger man ikke en veldig lang utdanning for humanitært arbeid for å være et medmenneske. Det syns jeg hvertfall 99.9% av de frivillige vi har hatt klarer å utføre. Så det er veldig stor forskjell på sånne humanitære krise områder, men at her så syns jeg at det vi kan tilby er greit nok. Men jeg syns at det som er utfordrende, det er jo turn-overen. At folk

kommer for en kortere periode. For det tar jo litt tid å komme inn i et system og bli effektiv. Så det er jo klart at jo flere som kan være her i minst to uker, jo bedre er det.

I1: så hva er det, de utfordringene dere har, er det?

Trude: Det er dette med den turn-overen. Når man først har blitt utlært så må man reise hjem, ikke sant. Det er jo en utfordring. Det har jo til tider vært, altså jeg syns det er viktig å ha koordinatorene som, at man har en viss kontinuitet. I den biten der. Og det vokser jo ikke på trær og finne dyktige ledere som har muligheten til å være borte i måneder. Så det har jo vært litt utfordrende. Ikke her, men særlig når vi har hatt koordinatorene over tid, men som kanskje ikke har funket så bra, så blir det nesten enda verre. For man ser at de kanskje burde bli byttet ut, men man har ikke et alternativ. Ikke sant?

I1: Hva skjer? Hvordan blir det da hvis du skal bytte ut en koordinator som ønsker å være der frivillig? Kan man si det til frivillige at nå må du dra hjem?

Trude: Ja, og det har vi jo også sagt. Vi har jo også sagt, eller tenkt, at sånn fem uker maks, så bør man ta en pause. For det har jo noe med at de også trenger, de lever jo også under ganske høyt stress. Man kan ikke ha en fridag eller to. Så de trenger jo også å hvile seg litt. Og det er jo ofte den hvileperioden, så finner man ut at man enten vil tilbake og har ny giv, eller at man kanskje skal gjøre noe annet. Men vi har jo hatt koordinatorene hvor vi har sagt det var det liksom.

I1: for det er ingen som er betalte?

Trude: Nei, det er det ikke. For koordinatorene så dekker vi jo oppholdet. Men de har jo ikke lønn. De har dekket bil, og reise og sånn.

I1: Hva er de langsiktige planene for DIO på Chios? Og de andre stedene?

Trude: Det er å fortsatt. Nå er vi tilstede på tre øyer og Idomeni på mandag, med 13. Med dere så er vi 13. Det blir kjempe bra. Og så ønsker vi også å få etablert oss i Athen. Vi har også vurdert litt andre steder, om vi skal gå inn i Tyrkia og Libanon og sånn. Det har vi egentlig lagt litt på is, fant ut at vi holder oss til Hellas så lenge det er et såpass stort behov som det er nå. Så, er det liksom bedre å ikke være så veldig mange land. Men å være bra der vi er. Så det er jo å fortsette å utvikle oss videre og bli en anerkjent organisasjon blant de andre som har flere år på baken. Så det er jo liksom det vi tenker ut. Og fortsatt å bygge relasjoner og få til gode avtaler de stedene vi er på, men også å jobbe hjemme. For det er jo noe med at man kommer hjem så vil man da fortsette å hjelpe til og det er ikke alle som har muligheten til å reise hele tiden, så det tror jeg blir veldig godt mottatt. At man får muligheten til å gjøre noe når man er hjemme også.

I1: det kjenner vi jo også på selv. At vi har jo lyst til å, vi snakket om det i dag, at vi har lyst til å fortsette. Det har jo blitt etablert et asylsenter på Lysaker.

Trude: Ja, jeg var der på sånn informasjonsmøte for to uker siden. Det var flere dråper som var der, så det var kjempe gøy. Det var veldig rart å komme dit. Man ser jo akkurat de samme menneskene, ikke sant. Det er jo et helt annet klima.

I1: Ja, jeg kjenner jo litt på det når vi for eksempel er i Souda og går rundt og hilser på folk. At man skulle kanskje ha litt mer kontakt med dem og fulgt dem litt mer opp, men man får jo ikke gjort det for de drar jo videre til Athen. Så for mange dråper er det jo kjempe flott å kunne dra hjem å bidra videre.

Trude: Dere kan jo risikere å møte de samme her i Idomeni. For nå er det jo så få båter som går herifra.

I2: Jeg tror det er et par mennesker vi bare virkelig vil se igjen. Noen som setter igjen et ekstra inntrykk. Så man da håper man kan følge opp litt.

Trude: det er jo veldig ulikt det der, som vi så på møtet på Lysaker, at de sier at man ikke skal involvere seg personlig og ikke gi telefon nummer, og det er jo kanskje greit nok på et

sånt sted, men jeg tenker litt annerledes på det. Hvorfor ikke få noen venner som man kan ha kontakt med.

I2: Ja, hva er det man er så redd for?

Trude: for meg har det vært veldig fint. Jeg fikk blant annet en melding på whatsapp gruppen, som jeg ikke hadde vært på whatsapp hele høsten. Jeg tenkte at når jeg ikke var her nede, så behøvde jeg ikke å gå så mye inn i det også var det ved juletider når jeg var der inne for å sjekke noe, så var det noen meldinger jeg ikke hadde lest. Og det var fra en fyr som het Omar og han ville bare takke meg for at han hadde fått sekken min på Lesvos i august. Og vi har hatt masse kontakt etterpå. Han hadde funnet navnet mitt, jeg hadde jo med meg masse bagasje ikke sant. Så jeg hadde jo delt ut alt av sekker og bager og sånn. Også hadde den taggen fra flyplassen med navn og telefon nummer hadde hengt igjen. Så da gikk jeg inn å så på Facebook profilen hans litt tilbake i tid, og da hadde han jo skrevet navnet mitt på den dagen han hadde gått i land og skrevet takk min engel og navnet mitt. På arabisk da, så jeg måtte bare ta en sånn oversettelse. Men det er jo sånn, hvorfor ikke holde litt kontakt med noen av de man treffer og høre hvordan det går med de og. Det er jo klart at man ikke kan ha kontakt med alle, for man treffer jo så mange, men er det noen som fester seg så herlighet. Del telefon nummer og følg med.

I1: For å være helt ærlig så syns jeg det er litt merkelig at de sier det.

Trude: for et sånt sted så kan man sikkert oppleve det som urettferdig for de som ikke får det samme personlige kontakten. Det er jo litt annerledes fra her ikke sant.

I1: har du et inntrykk over hvor mange personer du har assistert gjennom DIO? Har du noen tall på det?

Trude: Jeg vet at det er ca åtte hundre som har reist som frivillige. Men så mange flyktninger? Nei, det har jeg ingen anelse om.

I1: Jeg tror nok tallet er veldig høyt.

Trude: Ja, jeg tror også det.

I1: Har du inntrykk over at de frivillige har kontroll på det arbeide som blir gjort på stranden?

Trude: Jeg føler at de har overaskende god kontroll egentlig. Vi har hatt et par tilfeller, ikke herifra, men på Lesvos da, hvor det var litt uheldige ting som skjedde fra våre frivillige. Men det var jo en enkelthendelse, en enkelt person. Jeg føler at vi har overaskende god kontroll. Vi har jo hatt frivillige som har tatt imot en baby som ble født på stranden som ikke har. Det er noe med at man håndterer ofte situasjoner overaskende bra. Det er liksom enten eller, men det er få som har fått panikk og rømt av gårde.

I1: men det var altså en person fra DIO som ikke har noen erfaring fra å ta imot et barn?

Trude: ja, hun fant denne kvinnen som var i fødsel, så da tok hun imot. Så var navlestrengen så kort at hun måtte holde barnet, hun fikk liksom ikke lagt det opp til mor heller. Med en gang, så hun måtte sitte å holde barnet ganske lenge, med sånne emergency blankets rundt også. Også kom det etter noen minutter fra oss til, som er ambulanse personell, så hun visste jo hva man måtte gjøre. Men hun hadde jo ikke noe utstyr. Så hun fikk tatt en skalpell og fikk knytt denne navlestrengen med en skolisse som hun steriliserte og kuttet den. Så det gikk jo kjempe fint. Så denne familien, hun som tok imot babyen, har jo god kontakt med de.

I1: Ja, det skjønner jeg godt. Det blir jo utrolig spesielt.

I2: utrolig hvordan man jobber på innstinkt og bare vet hva man skal gjøre altså. Hva er kanskje det mest positive du tar med deg ut av alt det her?

Trude: det er nok engasjementet fra de frivillige, det å se, det gir meg håp. Det å se at det er så mange som vil hjelpe til. Fra politisk side så syns jeg det er ekstremt negativt, veldig uheldig måten vi bare stenger grensen og overlater alt ansvar til alle andre. Så jeg syns jo

ikke noe særlig om det. Så da er det veldig fint å se alle de frivillige engasjementet som driter i hva politikerne sier, vi skal hjelpe til. Så det er utrolig sterkt å se, og oppleve og se når jeg reiser nedover å ser. Da kommer jeg jo veldig tett på. Så jeg blir bare utrolig rørt.

I1: Så, for å avslutte det siste spørsmålet her. Mener du at de frivillige aktørene burde fortsette å være på strendene, eller synes du at de store humanitære organisasjonene burde overta?

Trude: Jeg tenker at de frivillige gjerne kan gjøre det. Men det bør være frivillige organisasjoner som gjerne har kontroll. Som er registrert. Som har opplæring som har kontroll på sine folk i felt. Som vet hva de har med seg. Så synes jeg heller de store organisasjonene kan gå inn i de litt større farligere områdene som ikke vi bør bevege oss. De har jo ikke ubegrenset med ressurser de heller når det gjelder mennesker, så sånn som det er nå så er det jo så stor krise, det er jo så mange land som trenger hjelp. Så da foretrekker jeg heller at de går inn i Syria og får gitt hjelp til de som trenger det der, for det har de en helt annen kompetanse på. Så jeg tenker at det er en helt grei fordeling.

I1: men føler du et stort ansvar for de personene som drar ned og hjelper? Tenker du på en måte at DIO er ansvarlig for det de opplever der?

Trude: jeg tenker jo at det er deres valg og, men samtidig så føler vi jo ansvar hvis vi hører om folk som sliter. Da ønsker vi jo å gjøre det vi kan for å hjelpe de. Vi ønsker jo å gjøre det vi kan for at de skal føle seg forberedte før de drar på hva de kan møte. Så, altså hører vi om noen som kommer tilbake og har det vanskelig så vil vi kontakte de, og tilby den hjelpen vi kan. Selv om det kanskje ikke rettslig er vårt ansvar, men det vil vi gjøre altså.

I1: Har dere noen advokat hjelp?

Trude: Ja, vi har en advokat i styret. Også har vi utarbeidet en ganske så profesjonell beredskapsplan også hvis noe skal skje. Birgit, hun som er her nå, og jeg også for så vidt har en bachelor i krise håndtering på reisedestinasjoner og hun har skrevet mye om beredskap og sånn, så vi tenker veldig sånn worst case scenario, hvis noe skjer – hva gjør vi? Selv om vi ikke har det ansvaret siden vi ikke er en arbeidsgiver, så vil vi prøve å bidra og bistå hvis det er noe som skjer.

I1: Så du har altså en bachelor i?

Trude: Katastrofehåndtering på reiselivsdestinasjoner [ler].

I1: Det har jeg aldri hørt om.

Trude: Altså, det var oppgaven min. Det var ikke det jeg studerte. Det var relasjonsledelse. Reiseliv og relasjonsledelse.

10.7 Interview with Bjørn Arntzen from A Drop in the Ocean

- [...] Incomprehensible/Unintelligible sentences
- [] Comments, notes, or essential language clarifications
- () Unsure transcription, best guess
- ” ” Direct quotes – only used in transcription from notes
- ‘ ‘ Demonstration of spoken word
- ABC* Words emphasized

Organization: A Drop in the Ocean (DIO)

Date: 04.03.2016

Place: DIO Headquarters

Interviewees: Bjørn Arntzen

Interviewers: I1 Myrvold, I2 Teigen

Duration: 32 min

Transcribed from: Recording

Presentation: *Bjørn Arntzen is the coordinator for DIO. The interview was conducted in his (and our) native language, Norwegian.*

I1: Da bare setter jeg på opptak jeg. Supert.

Bjørn: take one.

I2: [ler] Ja.

I1: Okei, da starter vi. Hva slags rolle har du her som koordinator på Chios?

Bjørn: hva jeg gjør? Hvilken jobb jeg har?

I1: Mhm.

Bjørn: det er jo først og fremst å tilrettelegge for dråpene at de skal kunne gjøre den jobben de skal kunne gjøre. Så, jeg henter de fleste dråpene på flyplassen og jeg har opplæring. Sånn som nå i morgen med Kristin, så starter vi kl 09.00 med den teoretiske delen av opplæringen. Hva er det som skjer på stranden? Og ja all den informasjonen de trenger for at de skal kunne ta imot båtene. Og så oppdaterer jeg Facebook og har mye kommunikasjon med de som kommer. De får jo informasjon før de kommer. Så får de den informasjonsfolderen. Også hjelper jeg de med. Så hvis de trenger bil, eller hotellbestilling eller praktiske ting. Så hjelper jeg de med det. Også rapporterer jeg hva som har skjedd i løpet av dagen, rapporterer jeg til Trude. Også har vi jo ti-møte, også fem-møtet. Så har vi fordeling av arbeidsoppgaver, fordeling av skiftet som vi har i løpet av natten. Men alt dette vet dere jo [ler].

I1: hvordan syntes du det har vært å være koordinator?

Bjørn: veldig spennende og lærerikt. Altså, i min vanlige jobb, eller frem til nå, så har det vært mer en kontorjobb, selv om jeg også der jeg har vært, jeg har vært leder, så har det ikke vært så tett på personer i det daglige. Så, det har vært veldig fint å være mye tettere på mennesker rett og slett. Og det er jo en, det er jo veldig spesielt her nede, fordi alle er jo her for en grunn. Og det er liksom ikke noe behov som leder å motivere, den motivasjonen er jo så grunnleggende som drivkraft i hver enkelt person som kommer hit. Alle er jo her for en

grunn. Det er jo nesten litt mer sånn at man må holde igjen folk, fordi at de ikke skal brenne ut. Og dere er jo eksempler på det. Og det å se om noen trenger litt ekstra støtte. Altså for eksempel Isabell var jo oppe i en spesiell situasjon med det barnet som døde. Da trengte hun å snakke litt og ja. Og nå i dag så var det Nadia, hun er jo tolk, eller kan jo farsi og kommer mye tettere på enkeltskjebner enn det vi gjør, selv om vi og dere er i leirene så får vi også en del av enkeltskjebner, men hun får det så mye tettere som kan språket. For eksempel i dag hadde hun en familie som var, eller kona og mor, mannen hadde blitt halshugget av Taliban, hun hadde tre kulehull og ikke noe penger, og fire barn. Altså det var veldig desperat situasjon. Også står Nadia oppe i det hele og spør "hva kan jeg gjøre?". Så hun får det så mye tettere. Så har vi hatt en liten samtale om dette. Og, så ja det er også en del av oppgaven.

I1: hva syns du om samarbeidet mellom Dråpen i Havet og de større internasjonale aktørene som er her på øya?

Bjørn: altså, jeg opplever egentlig at det er todelt. Noen organisasjoner, for eksempel NRC, opplever jeg som veldig, de ønsker et samarbeid. Og de syns det er fint at vi gjør den jobben vi gjør. Samtidig så, skal vi se, så har de en viss grad av markedsføring av sin organisasjon gjennom oss. Altså at de delvis tar vår jobb som inntekt for deres jobb. Men, jeg tenker at det går litt begge veier at vi kan også nyte godt av det samarbeidet. For eksempel han Hans Christen som dere kjenner, han gir meg veldig mye nyttig input på hvem jeg skal snakke med, for eksempel nå Redd Barna og Røde Kors, skal vi prøve å få til et samarbeid hvor vi kan komme i leirene og ha en skiftordning. Også, vi snakker om å få ned sykehusklover for å jobbe i både Vial og Souda. Og få innpass til de rette personene, har da NRC vært veldig gode på. Pluss at, dere som også var med på dette seminaret, hjelper oss til å få oversikt over hvilke aktører er det egentlig som jobber her, så det opplever jeg som bra. Også er det selvfølgelig den andre siden hvor det er flere organisasjoner som jobber parallelt. Og som alle har et behov og et ønske om å være synlige. Det kan handle om donasjoner, altså ikke sant. De vil gjerne være synlige for sine donorer om hva de gjør. Så de er ikke så interessert i en koordinering hvor de er en del av en annens jobb. For da er de ikke så synlige. Og et eksempel på det er jo Eastern Shore Rescue Team, BAAS og oss, hvor det beste ville vært at alle tre ville jobbet under en koordinator, men alle tre har et behov for å være synlig utad. Og det ser vi jo også på de andre NGOéne, der vel fem organisasjoner som jobber innenfor medic. Hvertfall tre som jobber med mat. Og alt det her er det jo behov for, men sånn ressursmessig ville det vært mye bedre, altså man ville fått mer igjen for pengene om de hadde jobbet sammen.

I2: Det er et godt poeng!

I1: Hva med de mindre, du nevnte jo BAAS og CERST, hvordan syns du egentlig samarbeidet er mellom de frivillige aktørene som er på stranden?

Bjørn: Jeg syns jo at, altså frem til et par uker siden så hadde vi et godt samarbeid også på lager-situasjonen. Litt utfordring har jo det vært med tanke på at, hvem har bidratt mest til dette lageret. Det er jo et kostnadsspørsmål og et administrasjonsspørsmål og nå også. Vi har jo et samarbeid på skiftordningene på natta og i praksis så fungerer jo det bra. Med at vi har en nattskift koordinator, som da gjør det sånn at det ikke. Sånn som tidligere jobbet vi sånn at vi og dem helt parallelt. Og da risikerte vi at vi var to eller tre biler på en båt. Mens den andre mistet vi noen båter, så det at vi nå har utkikksposter og at vi er, har delt inn i soner, og at det er en person som administrerer hvor bilene skal kjøre og som får informasjon fra bilene om at her har det kommet en båt, det er jo et eksempel på at samarbeidet fungerer bra. Men igjen så handler det om synliggjøring, jeg har jo et ønske om at vi også kan bidra som Alpha, men det har ikke CERST ønsket. Så de vil holde hand i det.

Og vi har også sett eksempler på at når det har vært behov for. Et eksempel på at man gjør en innsats, eller har et prosjekt som man ikke forteller hverandre om, fordi man ønsker å ta æren for det prosjektet. Eksempelvis strandryddingen på Oynyses eller hvor det var.

I2: Ja, på den øya.

Bjørn: som det kanskje ville vært naturlig at den andre gruppen ville spurt om vi ville være med på det, eller når da ja "harbour project" var et eksempel på det hvor man setter i gang et prosjekt og ønsker å ta æren for det. På den ene siden er det bra at det blir gjort, på den andre siden er det et eksempel på en rivalisering som bidrar til. Eller, man kan tenke seg at hadde det vært et godt samarbeid på alle ledd, så ville det vært mer jobb igjen per ressurs.

I1: Nå har du nevnt, eller snakket litt om det med en koordinator osv, men hva tror du kunne blitt gjort for å optimalisere samarbeidet med de forskjellige aktørene her på stranden?

Bjørn: Ja, det ligger egentlig litt implisitt i det jeg sier. Det om man ikke hadde hatt det behovet for synliggjøring på grunn av donasjoner, så ville det vært enklere å bli enig om en felles koordinering. Det er vel egentlig det. Og hvordan man kan oppnå det, altså hvordan kan man tvinge gjennom en bedre koordinering, det ville vel for eksempel være at man blir sertifisert. At alt av frivillig arbeid skal på en eller annen måte sertifiseres, at NRC eller UNHCR hadde hatt en slags koordineringsrolle på toppen. Og at de ja, godkjente hvem som har mat, hvem er det som har safe place for children, hvem er det som har WASH, hvem er det som har beach. Og at okei, nå er det dere som har den oppgaven og da må vi vite at dere kan gjøre den oppgaven på sikt. Det kan ikke være sånn den uken også har dere ikke mer ressurser. Så da må man forplikte seg til at dette er en oppgave man må forplikte seg til og håndtere, både over tid og i forhold til kapasitet. Med tanke på antall flyktninger som kommer og går. Så det ville jo da, hvis man da har en større forpliktelse, så ville man også luke bort de useriøse for å si det sånn. For i tillegg til de som dere vet jobber på beach, har det jo vært noen voluntører som har jobbet litt mer som cowboyer, og det er jo ikke, hva er det det heter, sustainable?

I2: Ja, bærekraftig.

I1: Hva tror du er den største utfordringen med å jobbe i det humanitære feltet som en frivillig organisasjon?

Bjørn: Oi. Den største utfordringen. Jeg vet ikke. Det er jo litt med det uforutsigbare. Altså, man kan jo ja. Altså vi ble jo for så vidt ganske godt forberedt før vi dro ned. Hva man kan oppleve. Men likevel er det kanskje vanskelig å være forberedt på hva som skjer. Så man er jo mennesker, man kommer ut for situasjoner, altså nå snakker jeg om oss i Dråpen i Havet. Vi er jo ikke profesjonelle på noe vis. At vi har ikke noe, de fleste av oss har jo ingen utdanning innenfor dette, ingen erfaring med det. Kommer midt opp i en "war zone" og skal håndtere mennesker i en veldig sårbar situasjon. Så, det har jo vært reist spørsmål ved om vår type volunteer work, altså er det riktig at man sender unge mennesker inn i en sånn sårbar situasjon? Så jeg tenker at det er kanskje en av de største utfordringene. Igjen, det handler kanskje litt igjen om sertifisering. At man må ha en slags kvalitetssikring på den opplæringen man får, før man blir sendt inn i en sånn situasjon.

I1: Du nevnte jo litt nå at vi ikke er profesjonelle aktører. Mener du, eller føler du at de frivillige aktørene på stranden har kontroll over situasjonen?

Bjørn: Ja og nei. Altså, noen har det og noen har det ikke. Og jeg har jo fått tilbakemeldinger fra noen om at den eller de ikke fungerer. Altså, at man er for stresset, for oppkavet. At man ikke har organisert, at det ikke er helt som det skal være da. Så det kan jo handle om opplæringen som er gitt og det kan handle om at man ikke er egnet til den type jobb, som dette er. Så, i og med at folk drar hit frivillig, så er det på en måte ikke noe som man kan.

Altså, på sett og vis så kan man sette noe krav ettersom man bærer vesten og da representerer man Dråpen i Havet. Og da må man kunne sette noen minimumskrav, og det har vi gjort i forhold til alder. Men det kan også hende at man, jeg vet ikke jeg, på en eller annen måte ha en slags test eller eksamen om man er egnet for det. Det handler også om hvordan man går sammen i bilen, altså i teamet. Rent sånn kjemi messig, når man er så tett som dere har vært over så lang tid, så det kan være utfordrende for den jobben man skal gjøre hvis man ikke passer sammen. Og her kommer det også personer alene ikke sant, som da må, sånn som nå, nå har vi tre personer som er, nei fire, som har kommet alene, og som vi må prøve å matche. Og det er jo apropos, hva min oppgave er her, og det er jo å finne de som matcher hverandre. Og det kan jo hende at det rett og slett ikke går. Og det blir jo en utfordring for den jobben som skal gjøres ute.

I1: Mener du at det er frivillig aktører som burde være på stranden? Eller burde de internasjonale aktørene steppe inn og ta over?

Bjørn: Altså. Du har jo, hvis vi tar NRC så har jo de i sine [...] sagt at de skal være spesialister på A, B, C, D, E. Og beach work er ikke en av de kjerneområdene som de jobber med. Så vidt jeg vet, så er det ingen andre NGO's som har det som sin kjernevirksomhet, som har det som sine oppgaver, og da kommer vi som gap-fillere inn. Og ikke bare vi, men også de lokale. Når nøden banker på døren, så må man ta imot den. Da kan man ikke sette krav til om man er kompetent eller ikke. Det skjer, man må bare gjøre det. Så det tenker jeg at det vil alltid være et behov for en gap-filler funksjon. Men så kan man tenke seg at, det er en sånn første linje, en first response. Men når en situasjon har vedvart over tid, så er det en mer normal flow, så bør egentlig storsamfunnet gå inn og sikre alle deler av den kjeden. For det kan bli for tilfeldig, og som vi snakket om nettopp at det kan bli, altså hvis man ikke er utdannet til å gjøre det, så kan man faktisk i noen tilfeller gjøre vondt verre. Ideelt sett, JA, så burde det være en profesjonell organisasjon som gjorde det. Men så tenker jeg at vi som Dråpen i Havet kan jo vokse til å bli en enda mer profesjonell organisasjon som kan ha dette som sitt kjerneområde, kjernevirksomhet. Og da kan jo en Dråpe skole, en Drop school.

I1: [ler]. Ja, der ser du. Det er en jobb det.

Bjørn: Ja, der har dere noe å gjøre.

I2: [ler]. Ja det har vi.

Bjørn: Så det hadde egentlig vært ganske bra. Rett og slett litt hands on training, en uke med. Men det er jo klart, en del av utfordringen er jo at de fleste dråpene er i en utdanningssituasjon, eller i en jobb. Eller må ta av ferien sin. Så lenge man baserer seg på frivillighet, så er det jo egentlig ikke så lett å profesjonalisere jobben man gjør. Så det er en utfordring da. Men kanskje man i hvertfall skulle ha profesjonalisert koordinator rollen. Sånn at man hvertfall hadde sikret at den alltid hadde vært i henhold til visse rammer.

I1: Ja, ikke sant.

Bjørn: Og at koordinatoren i større grad hadde hatt en, altså den opplæringen som koordinatoren gir er kvalitetsmessig god.

I1: Du var her før jul, var du ikke det?

Bjørn: Jo.

I1: Har du sett en stor forandring fra når du var her før jul og til nå?

Bjørn: Hvis en tenker på flyktnings situasjonen så har den åpenbart forandret seg i den retning av mange flere barn og mødre. Altså nå er det jo kvinner og barn. Før jul, september, oktober og november var det altså en av ti barn, nå er en av tre barn. Det er mange flere funksjonshemmede, det er flere eldre. Så det er mer krevende å ta imot båtene. Det er en endring. Den andre endringen er at vår organisasjon har blitt mer profesjonell. Da jeg var her i Desember, jeg var jo på et introduksjonsmøte på Skøyen, så jeg fikk jo informasjon.

Men den informasjonen som nå blir gitt ut skriftlig, og en sånn sjekk liste på opplæringen har blitt mye bedre. Så vi har blitt mer profesjonelle i informasjonen til nye dråper. Det som fremdeles kan bli bedre er at vi sikrer at alle koordinatorene gjør ting likt. For det opplever jeg vel at det er litt forskjell fra person til person, hvordan man i praksis utfører opplæringen og i praksis hvordan man utfører rollen som koordinator. Det kan være sånne praktiske enkle ting, som skift ordning. At vi klokken fem setter opp skiftlisten for natten, mens andre kanskje ønsker en mer forutsigbarhet. Men der er mennesker forskjellig.

I1: Hva med på frivillighetsbasis? Mener du at det er flere frivillige her nå enn det var før jul?

Bjørn: det er nok mer avhengig av årstid, eller ferietid. Det var jo mange her da jeg var her under jul og nyttår. Også har det vært mange her i vinterferie ukene, også kommer det mange i påsken. Men akkurat nå mellom vinterferie og påske, så er vi nede i tre skift. Seks, syv personer. Så nå er vi på, i og med at dere vet at vi er fem skift til nå, og nå mangler vi noen til å ta åtte til to skiftet i morgen. Så det er jeg fremdeles en jobb å gjøre på. Skal dere være her lenge?

I1: [ler]

I2: [ler] er det da slik at dere samarbeider med independent (CERST) for å fylle det gapet, eller gjør dere ikke det?

Bjørn: Jo, det gjør vi. Også, begge veier. Så for eksempel det skiftet vi har på watch tower, for altså tidligere så hadde jo de den oppgaven å ta watch tower. Men nå har jo vi ett skift da. To til fire skiftet på watch tower. Men det er klart nå vi ikke har personell til å ta skiftet fra åtte til to i morgen, så må jeg få en av de til å gjøre det.

I1: Hvis vi går litt tilbake til de cowboyene som er her på stranden. Hva tenker du egentlig om det? Har du møtt på noen store problemer med å jobbe side og side med de veldig selvstendige aktørene?

Bjørn: Altså, da jeg var her i Desember, så var jeg her stort sett som egen dråpe og koordinator de siste dagene, og da opplevde jeg ikke det som et problem. Og nå har jeg ikke vært ute å hatt egne skift annet enn watch tower og da har jeg ikke selv opplevd noe problemer med det. Så det er jo egentlig bare tilbakemeldinger fra dere og andre som gir meg den informasjonen om at vi har hatt eksempler på at noen grupper har bidratt til å separere barn og foreldre fordi man i en litt opphetet situasjon, man får et barn fra båten og det blir bare gitt videre i kjeden oppover og forsvinner et eller annet sted oppover i lia, mens foreldrene er igjen. Og det andre eksempelet hvor man har kjørt videre for å jakte på neste båt og lar flyktningene som kom med foregående båt stå alene og vente på bussen, hvor det kan risikeres at en ny patruljebil kommer å begynner på kles og matutdeling på nytt igjen. Da er ikke det noen krise i seg selv, men hvis de nå begynner å bli usikre på hva som skjer, og om det kommer noen buss, så begynner de kanskje å gå. Og det er jo ikke så greit å finne frem til Vial for eksempel.

I2: Nei.

I1: Nei. Absolutt ikke. Hva er det, hvis vi går litt over på den positive siden, hva er det beste du tar ut av den situasjonen du har vært oppe i nå en stund?

Bjørn: Det er helt klart, det ligger jo i navnet Dråpen i Havet. Altså, det er klart at de dråpene man putter i havet gjør en forskjell for de som drikker den dråpen for å si det sånn. Det er jo ikke sånn at, ingen kan gjøre noe for alle, men alle kan gjøre noe for noen. Og hvis en tenker sånn personlig så har det forandret meg i den grad, der hvor jeg tidligere stort sett aldri har gitt noe til tiggere. Så har jeg begynt å gjøre det. Blant annet så sitter det ei utenfor Lidl som har fått litt i koppen når jeg har gått forbi. Selv om man kan si at det er kyniske bakmenn eller hva det nå enn er for noe, så er det likevel åpenbart at de har det ikke så bra. Jeg har

nok blitt litt. Rett og slett begynt å tenke mer og være mindre egoistisk. Ja, jeg har begynt å se litt mer utenfor min egen verden. Og se at vi er en del av noe mer og vi har et ansvar for hverandre.

I1: Nå vet jeg at du skal hjem å jobbe, men kunne du tenkt deg å reise tilbake å gjøre det samme igjen?

Bjørn: Absolutt! Ja, definitivt. Det er veldig meningsfullt. Og så er det det samholdet, den gjengen som er her. Og ja, selv om jeg, som koordinator så blir man ikke like personlig engasjert med hver enkelt som man gjør når man er i team i bilen. Når jeg var her i Desember så kom jeg veldig tett på May Britt som min kompis het da. Og det var veldig spesiell situasjon, hvor vi på to korte uker følte vel at vi kjente hverandre bedre enn vi kjenner de fleste andre. Så det er litt spesielt da.

I2: Har dere fortsatt kontakt i dag?

Bjørn: Nei, altså ja. På facebook. Ikke noe mer. Vi liker hverandres greier og sånn. Og nå skal det være sånn reunion, det får jeg ikke vært med på, det er nå den femte mars. Det er vel i morgen. Så da er det reunion for de som har vært på Chios, jeg tror alle er invitert jeg. Men det ble hvertfall iverksatt av en som var her da jeg var her. Så man har vel fått, om ikke akkurat bestisser eller bestevenner for livet, så har jeg hvertfall fått utvidet bekjentskapskretsen i stor grad. Og, også horisonten er utvidet. Hvor man treffer nye interessante mennesker som har interessante vinklinger og som har ulike erfaringer. Så det har vært kjempe spennende. Man kommer, man er i en boble her nede, og man er i en boble i sitt normale liv hjemme, men den boblen hjemme har blitt større.

I1: har du noe å skyte inn med?

I2: Ja

I1: Ja, værsegod.

I2: Hva slags conncections, hva heter det på norsk?

I1: Kontakter?

I2: Kontakter har dråpen i havet på den andre siden?

Bjørn: på Tyrkisk side?

I2: Ja.

Bjørn: ingen som jeg vet om.

I2: Nei, det var Simon eller noe?

Bjørn: Ja, altså. Men han poster jo på den eastern shore gruppen. Så jeg kjenner ikke han. Jeg bare følger med på den whatsapp gruppen også ser jeg at noe av det kan være interessant å dele med vår gruppe. Det er jo ikke alle som er på den, annet enn når man er på vakt. Og jeg vet ikke om de vakttelefonene er på den eastern shore gruppen.

I1: Jo, jeg tror det.

I2: mhm.

Bjørn: Så da har man jo muligheten til å følge med når man er på vakt, men sånn som ja det bildet jeg la ut i dag med de redningsvestene, kan jo være litt ålreit for. Det delte jeg jo på messenger, som er vår kommunikasjonskanal. Men jeg, altså, det er jo kontakter, men hvor offisielle de er vet jeg ikke. Det finnes jo en sånn Eastern, nei Chios alert group, vet ikke om dere kanskje har sett den eller hørt om den?

I2: mhm.

Bjørn: Så det, det er noen som har en kontakt med noen. Men det er ingen offisiell kontakt mellom dråpen i havet og noen på den andre siden av sundet her. Men at det er sånn via via, det kan nok hende. Og det virker jo også som at gruppen til Toula, eastern shore, har god kontroll på når det kommer båter. Piratene har jo en sjette sans for det.

I2: Ja. Men i forhold til det med koordinator jobben. Det har til tider vært to koordinatore her også har det vært en koordinator her. Hva tror du er det beste for dråpen? Er det å ha en eller to koordinatore?

Bjørn: En! Definitivt. For det handler om hvem som er kommunikasjonsbæreren. Med to koordinatore, hvis man skal dele oppgavene på et eller annet vis så må man, så vil det alltid være sånn at en vil ha noe informasjon, mens den andre har noe informasjon og litt avhengig av hvordan man samarbeider. Men dere hadde nok fungert godt som koordinatore, fordi det handler om informasjonsdeling og samarbeid. Og da må det være en god kjemi mellom koordinatorene. Men, i mitt tilfelle nå så har det vært en utfordring å være to koordinatore. Så jeg kommer jo med en forventning om at det kun skulle være et par dagers overlapping, også skulle jeg gå inn som koordinator også ble jo det en annen situasjon av ulike grunner.

I1: Litt sånn morsomt spørsmål. For jeg føler det har vært veldig kvinne-dominert her. Hva syns du om det? Hvordan har du overlevd alle disse ukene med disse damene susende rundt deg?

Bjørn: Du, jeg har faktisk ikke tenkt på det før noen. Før jeg pratet med min særboer, om dette. Og hvor hun spurte om det var mange menn osv. Og da tenkte jeg nei, det er faktisk ikke det. Men jeg har faktisk ikke tenkt på det som noe verken problem eller noe som helst. Folk er folk tenker jeg. Men at det er sånn, om det er et omsorgs gen som trer i kraft. Jeg vet ikke. Kan det hende, det blir jo bare sånn gjetning, kan det hende at menn drar hit mer av sånn eventyrlyst? Og kvinner kanskje mer av omsorgsårsaker. Det blir bare spekulasjoner. Men, det er hvertfall et faktum at det er mer kvinner enn menn. Også er det et faktum at det er mange rundt, tyveårene, også er det mange gamlinger.

I1: [ler]

Bjørn: Så det er jo klart at de midt i mellom som har familie og småbarn, altså man har ikke muligheten til å dra. Så, det er vel de trekkene man kan se.

I1: Så bra. Nei, men da er vi ferdig da.

10.8 Interview with Janne Hegna from A Drop in the Ocean

- [...] Incomprehensible/Unintelligible sentences
- [] Comments, notes, or essential language clarifications
- () Unsure transcription, best guess
- ” ” Direct quotes – only used in transcription from notes
- ‘ ‘ Demonstration of spoken word
- ABC* Words emphasized

Organization: A Drop in the Ocean (DIO)

Date: 29.02.2016

Place: Dimitris Place (one of the look-out points)

Interviewees: Janne Hegna

Interviewers: I1 Myrvold, I2 Teigen

Duration: 30 min

Transcribed from: Recordings

Presentation: *Janne Hegna is one of the coordinators from DIO on Chios. She is planning on staying for 6 months. The interview is conducted in her (and our) native language, Norwegian.*

I1: Shoot. Question number one.

I2: Jeg har startet.

I1: Ja. Kan du starte med å fortelle hva slags rolle du har som koordinator her på Chios?

Janne: Ja. Min rolle den er å koordinere de frivillige i Dråpen i Havet. Og det som jeg syntes er veldig viktig som koordinator er at jeg har respekt for at de som reiser ned her som frivillige har betalt både reise og opphold selv. Sånn at jeg har en tanke om at hvis, for å sette det litt på spissen, for hvis de har lyst til å sole seg en dag så er på måte de i sin fulle rett til å gjøre det. Sånn at jeg tenker at jeg har en rolle som en budbringer av at, av å bringe til torgs at oppgaver som jeg ser burde vært gjort. Også må de frivillige da selv vurdere hva de ønsker å gjøre. Og hvordan de ønsker å benytte sin tid her nede. Og så har man jo også selvfølgelig vaktordningen som må, altså jeg må ha folk på tjuefire timer i døgnet. Så det kan jo av og til være et puslespill. Men jeg tror at det å ha en sånn tilnærming til oppgavene, så opplever hvertfall jeg at folk er veldig veldig positive og spiller opp.

I1: Hvordan syntes du det har vært å være koordinator på Chios? Hva er opplevelsen din av det?

Janne: Jeg syns det er utrolig spennende, fordi at. Altså jeg har vært leder i veldig mange år og det er en ting å ha ansatte som har en stillingsbeskrivelse å forholde seg til, som jeg også kan henvende meg til hvis det er ting jeg vil eller ser at bør endres på. Eller forandres. Mens her så har man frivillige og det er ingen stillingsbeskrivelse annet enn at vi møtes fordi vi vil flyktingene det beste. Og det som jeg syns er interessant det er det fellesskapet, det gjør at vi også så utrolig fort blir en sammensveiset gjeng fordi om vi har en stor turnover, så blir vi veldig fort en sammensveiset gjeng. Og det er veldig stemning for å at alle hjelper alle. Og at her skal vi stå på sammen og sammen skal vi fikse dette her. Og sammen skal vi få til det

beste for flyktingene. Det syns jeg er utrolig interessant at, på en måte det blir en drive i gruppen som, ja til det beste for flyktingene.

I2: syntes du det selv er vanskelig å ikke ha en stillingsbeskrivelse til tider?

Janne: Nei, jeg syns ikke egentlig det. Jeg syns egentlig oppgavene er så klart definerte. Så jeg tenker at det ikke egentlig behøves, for det er så selvsagt. Eller i hvertfall, det er mulig jeg tar helt feil altså, men jeg opplever selv at det er så klart definert. Du skal dekke vaktene, til det beste for flyktingene. Du skal rydde strendene. Og vi skal resirkulere og da de forefallende oppgavene som kommer i løpet av en dag. Så jeg syns egentlig at mandatet ligger i det som Trude har satt som fundamentet.

I2: men du som koordinator har også en del møter, hvem er det du har møter med?

Janne: Ja, det er egentlig litt interessant at du spør om fordi at. Jeg valgte jo å bli koordinator for Dråpen i Havet fordi jeg ville være på førstelinjen. Jeg ville være på stranden. Jeg ville ikke sitte bak en dør inne på et kontor og jobbe med flyktinger. Så det var et helt bevisst valg. Men det som jeg ser nå etter å ha vært her i seks uker, det er det at jeg ser jo også viktigheten av at vi koordinerer mer enn det jeg har sett har vært behovet for med NRC og Røde Kors og UNHCR og Samaritan Purse og disse organisasjonene fordi at jeg ser at de har veldig mye av den lukkede dørs politikk. Så jeg ser at vi trengs på arenaer hvor det er andre organisasjoner som man kanskje har tror at tar seg av flyktingene, mens så viser det seg at når vi går inn der, så gjør de ikke det, på en måte som vi syns er grei da. Så jeg tenker at det er viktig for oss å være med for å kunne bidra å gjøre livet så greit som mulig for flyktingen mens de er på Chios.

I1: Da går vi litt over på det med samarbeid. Hvordan syns du samarbeidet mellom Dråpen i Havet og de store internasjonale aktørene som UNHCR og NRC er?

Janne: Det er også egentlig et veldig interessant spørsmål fordi at jeg opplever at de store internasjonale organisasjonene de kan jo drive sitt arbeid og få penger for å drive sitt arbeid fordi at vi tar imot flyktingene på stranden. Og de har nok en litt annen tanke om det samarbeidet enn det vi har. Fordi når vi er på møter, eller på ekskursjoner med donorer og sånn, så er min opplevelse av at de kanskje har en noe bredere forståelse for vårt samarbeid enn det kanskje jeg opplever.

I1: hva med de andre frivillige organisasjonene? Hvordan syntes du samarbeidet er med dem?

Janne: Ja, det er veldig person avhengig dessverre, fordi at i og med at man har så stor turnover, så vil man ikke kunne etablere noe stabilt samarbeid. Slik at man kan ha en koordinator for en gruppe som er veldig positiv til samarbeid også man kan få inn en ny koordinator som ikke er så positiv til samarbeid. Men vi har jo opparbeidet et veldig godt samarbeid med Toula sine folk nå. Og det som er utfordringen er at man baserer seg og blir enig om et samarbeid og så er dette såpass unge og uerfarne ledere at det ikke til en hver tid fungerer 100%. Så det er jo utfordringen som vi må diskutere videre. Men jeg syns jo at det, også der, positive holdninger til at dette her skal vi, vi skal ta løftet sammen.

I1: hva mener du kan være den beste løsningen til hvordan de frivillige aktørene på øya kan samarbeide med de større og internasjonale aktørene?

Janne: Nei altså, jeg syns jo det møte med koordinatorene en gang i uken med vice mayor og etatene og Frontex og militæret, de forskjellige involverte aktørene. Jeg tror at det er et viktig møte, for da bringes det til torgs det man har erfart i løpet av en uke det man opplever av sorger og gleder og utfordringer. Og det er veldig stor takhøyde for å ta opp alt fra hvor mye betaler man på bussen, hvor mye bør man betale til turistsesongen på Chios generelt. Så det møtet syns jeg har en god, eller har en høy verdi. Ellers så tror jeg nok kanskje at NRC ønsker et tettere samarbeid som vi ikke helt har fått til enda. Men de har jo

tanke om at vi skal samarbeide tettere, og det var nok også derfor vi ble invitert til det trainee kurset. Fordi det er ønske om et tettere samarbeid, for eksempel med lageret og utstyr og så det er jo kjempe bra. Men det tror jeg også er basert på at de ser at vi er seriøse, og de ser at vi gjør en jobb som de tenker at de kan ikke nødvendigvis identifisere seg med, men de ser at vi er en aktør, holdt på å si ikke i markedet, men en aktør på dette stedet som gjør at de kunne tenke seg å samarbeide med oss. Og det har de selvfølgelig utviklet over tid. Det er jo ikke så mange måneder siden man ble en aktør her.

I1: hva med de mindre frivillige aktørene? Hva tror du er den beste løsningen på at vi kan samarbeide sammen?

Janne: Jeg tror at vi må ha møter og, om ikke daglig møter, så er det utrolig viktig å ha til enhver tid kjenne organisasjonen på puls. Og det her er jo en type organisasjon som man må lead by walking around fordi at det er jo ingen dag som er lik. Og det er jo, de frivillige kommer opp i situasjoner som de ikke har forutsetninger for å egentlig 100% forberede seg på. Eller, på en måte har erfaringsbakgrunn til å kunne, ikke nødvendigvis takle, men det er noe med at man skal kunne, man har også en dag i morgen. Man skal ha med seg disse opplevelsene. Og da tenker jeg at det er viktig at man også har ledere som fanger opp morgendagen på en måte. Men det du spurte om var jo samarbeidet mellom andre mindre organisasjoner, og da har man jo utfordringer fordi de fleste ønsker å samarbeide mens andre er sånne frie sjeler som egentlig er mer i veien enn de er til nytte, så det er jo en utfordring for de vil jo selvfølgelig det beste får man håpe. Så det er utfordringer, men stort sett så vil man jo bare det beste for flyktningene. Ja, der også løfter man jo sammen altså.

I2: Hvordan er disse frie sjelene i veien? Hva er det de gjør?

Janne: det som er min opplevelse, når jeg snakker med de som er på stranden og eller på portene og opplever det. Det er jo at de kanskje ikke ser de andre aktørene sin arbeidsoppgave. At de mer opererer på egenhånd uten å egentlig se de andre aktørene og deres arbeidsoppgaver, fordi de ikke har en trening i forkant hvor de blir skolert i for eksempel at Spanish har den oppgaven som de har, Frontex har den og den oppgaven, piratene pleier å gjøre sånn og sånn. Og da får man en type litt løs kanon på dekk som kanskje bare løper frem fordi de er kjempe glad i barn og skal kose litt med den babyen, også blir det helt feil fordi dette barnet har en mamma og pappa som kanskje ikke kommer opp av båten samtidig med de. Også kan man kanskje komme i den situasjonen at dette barnet blir skilt fra familien sin og kommer i egne leirer for mindreårige enslige barn. Og det har faktisk skjedd. Så det er en type aktører som blir veldig i veien og som blir veldig stor påkjønning for de frivillige som opplever det. Fordi man må bruke tid på å rydde opp i disse aktørenes, selvfølgelig velvillighet i utgangspunktet, men det blir egentlig til at de skaper mer jobb.

I1: Hva mener du er den største utfordringen ved å arbeide humanitært som en frivillig organisasjon?

Janne: Det blir jo veldig personlig da. Egentlig. Fordi at den største utfordringen som organisasjon er jo, altså det har jo flere nivåer på en måte. Du har jo det første nivået, det som jeg nevnte ved å ta vare på de frivillige. I deres møte med flyktningene. Også er det jo det å ta vare på flyktningene på en best mulig måte ut ifra de forutsetningene som vi har. Men så syns jeg også at det er en kjempe stor utfordring dette med å møte, verdenssamfunnet, fordi det er jo kontroversielt det at vi, i enkelte kretser, det at man hjelper flyktninger videre oppover i Europa. Kanskje nå også spesielt i Norge, hvor man har en veldig blå regjering, så kan det være en utfordring tenker jeg å være en aktør som da på en måte går litt på tvers av den norske politikken, som jeg nok tror flere av de frivillige har følt litt på.

I1: Har du inntrykk av at de frivillige har kontroll på det som skjer på strendene?

Janne: det kommer an på hva du mener med kontroll?

I1: altså, at de klarer å dekke dette gapet mellom stranden og registreringscampen?

Janne: Det er jo relativt da. Det er jo veldig relativt. Men sånn som jeg ser det, så opplever jeg at vi dekker det gapet. Det er alltid forbedringspotensialet, men det som jeg veldig tidlig opplevde, som jeg ble veldig glad for var at som frivillig i dråpen, så kan jeg ta imot en båt, som frivillig, og de frivillige kan være med inn i disse tilfellene inn til Tabakika, som var åpen. Hadde man en dråpen vest, så visste folk at man ønsker å være et medmenneske, så derfor så slipper du inn. For du har den gule vesten med dråpen merket. Og da kunne vi som frivillige følge flyktingene inn i flyktingleiren, og det var veldig godt fordi at de kjente oss igjen. Det tror jeg var utrolig godt for de. Og da har du jo tettet litt det gapet, og så har man det neste da vi møter de i Souda og du også får den gjenkjennelsen. Også hadde vi også et fergeprosjekt som vi håper vi får til igjen. Vi er jo en av de få aktørene som følger de fra hele deres rute på Chios, fra stranden til fergen. Og jeg har inntrykk av at de flyktingene setter veldig pris på den gjenkjennelsen, så det tenker jeg at er på en eller annen måte og fylle et gap som ikke ville vært der hvis ikke vi var der.

I2: men føler du at du har kontroll over at de båtene som kommer hit, at de blir sett og tatt vare på? Eller føler du at det er, at man kanskje ikke har full oversikt?

Janne: Det er veldig interessant at du spør om, fordi at jeg, det er noen av utfordringene av å samarbeide med de andre, fordi at jeg, min opplevelse av at når vi ikke samarbeidet med Toula sine folk var at jeg hadde 100% oversikt. De båtene vi tok imot hadde jeg 100% oversikt på. Og jeg visste at den bussen skulle til Tabakika, sånn og sånn, og den bussen og de skulle overføres til Souda og sånn og sånn. Det som skjer når vi får et, når man går opp et nivå og man får en koordinator som skal favne alle, er at jeg mister den hands on. Så jeg kan ikke svare et ja på det spørsmålet. Men hvis du hadde spurt meg for tre uker siden, fire uker siden, så kunne jeg svart ja.

I2: Så det er egentlig en stor utfordring for deg som koordinator? Det å skulle koordinere med andre frivillige aktører? Så du da ikke får den oversikten som du da tidligere hadde da det kun var deg?

Janne: Ja, helt klart. Og jeg savner også den der, for da var jeg veldig mye mer sånn. Altså jeg var stort sett ute hver natt. Og jeg fulgte de frivillige hele tiden. Litt sånn som Alpha er nå. Var ute hele natten. Fulgte gjerne bussene inn til Tabakika. Og det som jeg også synes var så fint, men det er jo veldig personlig da, kanskje veldig egoistisk. Men, jeg opplevde at jeg var så på alle de medisinske casene også. Sant, altså. For eksempel han som ble mishandlet av menneskesmuglerne, fordi han selvfølgelig ikke rakk bussen fordi WAHA var litt sene. Så kjørte jeg han inn til Tabakika, han var ganske ruset, han hadde så vondt, så han fikk ganske mye smertestillende. Så kunne jeg følge han til der hvor han fikk skrevet det der lille skjemaet sitt, inn til registreringen, fikk han først i køen fordi han var jo helt dopet. Så det har jeg mistet. Det er jo, men det er jo min tanke som koordinator. Det er kanskje litt egoistisk, for jeg ser at folk synes, eller de frivillige synes at det er, en kjempe styrke, selvfølgelig, å samarbeide. Sånn at det er jo helt sånn subjektivt meg da.

I1: Hva tenker du egentlig om at det er frivillige aktører som er på strendene, og ikke de store internasjonale aktørene?

[Janne snakker i tlf.]

I1: Hva tenker du egentlig om at det er frivillige aktører som er på strendene, og ikke de store internasjonale aktørene?

Janne: Ja, det er jo interessant. Men jeg får jo inntrykk av at de store internasjonale aktørene blir hindret av mandatene sine. Sånn at da må man jo akseptere det, så man. Man må

kanskje vurdere hva, hvilket mandat de skulle ha, men så er jo spørsmålet også, skal de være på stranden? Eller, skal de ikke? Er det noe med at, nå kjenner jeg ikke til den organisasjonsstrukturen i flyktningarbeidet så godt, men jeg har inntrykk av at de fleste steder i verden, i de større flyktningleirer og i flyktningarbeid, så er det meste, eller mye, basert på frivillighet. Sånn at når spørsmålet er om, det har jeg faktisk lurt litt på, om faktisk de store internasjonale aktørene baserer mye av arbeidet sitt på frivillighet, og at da, og det er jo et paradoks egentlig, at på bakgrunn av at de frivillige gjør en jobb, sånn da de store internasjonale aktørene faktisk får kreditt for gjennom sine donorer. For meg så blir det litt sånn paradoks. Men, som sagt, det er kanskje sånn denne bransjen fungerer.

I2: I utgangspunktet så har UNHCR muligheten til å være på strendene for å patruljere. De har ikke lov til å redde folk i sjøen, men de har full mulighet til å gjøre akkurat det vi gjør. Hva tenker du om det?

Janne: Jeg tenker det at, jeg tror kanskje at, men dette er jo bare synsing. Veldig personlig mening. Jeg tror, ut ifra hva jeg har erfart i løpet av de seks ukene jeg har vært her. At mange av de internasjonale aktørene, jobber på et mer organisatorisk og overordnet plan. Som gjør at jeg får litt inntrykk av at de jobber bak lukkede dører. Men det er sikkert veldig mye å koordinere og ordne, eller det er det. Så jeg tror vel egentlig kanskje at de som er ansatt i disse organisasjonene nødvendigvis ikke ønsker å jobbe i første linjen, men at de har tatt seg en utdanning hvor de ønsker å mer å ha en organisatorisk oppgave, eller koordinator oppgave på et høyere plan. Og at de ikke, at de har tatt en utdanning for å jobbe, dirkete med flyktningene, at de har basert seg på, ut ifra hvordan flyktning bransjen fungerer, så har de erfart kanskje gjennom frivilligarbeidet sitt selv, at det er ikke et arbeid de behøver å gjøre. Hvis de får seg en høyere stilling eller utdanning i feltet.

I1: Litt sånn for å runde av på en positiv måte. Hva er det beste du kan ta med deg hjem ut ifra det du har opplevd her?

Janne: det er jo egentlig flere ting. Men det der å se hvor glade disse menneskene som har reist fra, jeg tenker på meg selv som mor, hva er det som ville fått meg til å ta med meg mine fire barn og reise og gå i ukesvis og månedsvis, og så ta en båt over en sjø og ikke vite om barna mine overlever, altså de kommer jo fra et helvete som de selv ikke ønsker å være en del av. Også kan vi hvertfall ta imot de, gi de et smil og noe rene tørre klær, og noe mat. Og se hvor glade de blir. Og det å kunne få lov til å være et medmenneske, gi en kos og få en klem. Det er jo belønning i seg selv. Men så syns jeg også at det er utrolig spennende med alle disse flotte menneskene som velger å bruke tid og penger på å komme ned her. Det er rørende altså. Jeg syns det er helt fantastisk. At det finnes så mye godhet i verden. Det er godt å se. Det finnes veldig mye ondskap, men her er det veldig mye komprimert godhet.

I1: Så bra. Ja.

I2: Jeg lurer også på, hva slags forskjell tror du det hadde vært hvis UNHCR hadde vært på strendene? Dette blir jo spekulering, men tror du at de hadde gjort noe annerledes enn hvordan vi som frivillige gjør det?

Janne: Nei, jeg tror ikke det. Men jeg tror kanskje at det hadde nok vært enda mer organisert. For da hadde de fått stillingsbeskrivelser og de hadde fått lønnede medarbeidere, og du ville nok fått en skiftordning som kanskje ville vært en uke, to uker, så du ville fått et mye mer overordnet organisatorisk tenker jeg. At det blir mer som å drive en sykehusavdeling, eller et eller annet sånn. At man fikk mer struktur sånn sett. Men ikke det direkte arbeidet med flyktningene, det tror jeg ikke ville vært noe annerledes. Men det overordnede organisatoriske, for du går fra å være frivillig til å være ansatt. Så da får du et annet forhold til koordinatoren din, eller lederen din.

I2: før du kom hit, hva slags instruksjoner eller øvelser, eller trening, eller informasjon fikk du fra Dråpen i Havet?

Janne: Nei, jeg leste jo den koordinator beskrivelsen også leste jeg gjennom alle dokumentene til Dråpen og basert på det så valgte jeg å jobbe med Dråpen. Jeg vurderte også Flyktningshjelpen og disse andre organisasjonene, men jeg ville være på. Altså jeg ville være i førstelinjen. Og det syns jeg dokumentene fra Dråpen, de ga meg et riktig innblikk i hva som møtte meg. Men så tror jeg også at jeg har vært leder så lenge, kanskje var en medvirkende årsak til at jeg, at Trude ville ha meg her da. Jeg vet ikke.

I2: hvis man sammenlikner, for eksempel Dråpen i Havet som en frivillig organisasjon, og de enkeltindividene, altså disse frie sjelene som kommer her på egenhånd som ikke er med andre organisasjoner, hva tror du er differansen mellom oss og dem? Hvis man tenker på bakgrunn?

Janne: Det som jeg tror, for det har jeg tenkt litt på. Det er at de kanskje har en mer, ikke egoistisk men, personlig tilnærming til det å ta imot en båt og ikke ser helheten, men ja altså, dette er litt klåsete men, jeg tror faktisk at de ønsker å ta imot et barn og ta en selfie og tenke at de har gjort noe godt. Og det er jo kjempe gode intensjoner, men det som kan bli en utfordring er at de ikke ser helheten, og at det faktisk er mange aktører som har oppgaver som de da, fordi de ikke har noen organisasjon bak seg, ikke ser. Og kanskje heller ikke ønsker å se. Men de ønsker bare å være en litt sånn, løs kanon på dekk og bare hoppe frem å ta et barn og ta en selfie. Også reiser de hjem og får en masse likes på Facebook. Det er litt sånn grunn begrunnelse, jeg hører selv det altså, men jeg tror det faktisk er ganske nært sannheten.

I1: Nei, jeg har ikke mer jeg.

I2: nei, så bra. Ikke jeg heller. Tusen takk for intervjuet.

Janne: jo, bare koselig!

I2: Jo, hva tenker du om journalistene som er her på strendene og det arbeidet de gjør i forhold til at de er direkte på strendene hvor vi jobber?

Janne: Det tenker jeg er todelt. Fordi at på den ene siden så har journalistene, tenker jeg, en opplysningsplikt, i forhold til hva som skjer i verden. Og de har oppgave og en jobb, og de har et mandat og et produkt de skal selge. Men det gjør at de i enkelte situasjoner går utover hva som er etisk akseptabelt for oss som er på strendene, eller på porten. Fordi at vi opplever at de på en eller annen måte overdriver, går over en grense i forhold til både verdighet, personvern, man har jo disse ti presseetiske reglene og jeg opplever selv at de overtrår de til dels. Fordi at når de kommer i veien for at vi skal få gjøre vår jobb, og når de kommer i veien for at det faktisk skal utføres førstehjelp, da tenker jeg at man har trått over en grense og det har jeg opplevd.

I2: Ja, takk.