Service Delivery in the Refugee Camps of Greece: Improving Coordination and Strengthening Resilience

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Introduction

On 9–10 November 2016 approximately 60 participants from Greece’s civil society, national and international NGOs, national and international philanthropic organizations, and Greece’s municipal-government sector came together in Athens to discuss potential solutions to improving the situation of refugees in Greece. This summary presents the key challenges, conclusions and recommendations put forward at the workshop, and also incorporates insights from a discussion paper prepared prior to the meeting, based on desk research and stakeholder interviews. It sets out practical proposals that could address these issues and improve the welfare of refugees as well as host communities.

The workshop was held under the Chatham House Rule, and therefore opinions and insights expressed here are not attributed to specific individuals or organizations.

Key points

• The crisis faced by Greece in giving refuge to 63,000 persons of concern with more arriving each day by sea was identified as chiefly a crisis of policy and management. The first priority for the government is to speed up the asylum process and for other European governments to fulfil their pledges regarding relocation and reunification. The consequences of the 2016 EU–Turkey deal and border closures have exacerbated stress and tensions.

• A national resilience plan for dealing with the twin challenge of reception and relief and longer-term response is essential to targeting and reaping long-term benefit from aid and investment. Uncertainty over relocation and legal status, combined with the Greek economic crisis, is an obstacle to long-term planning, yet this is not insurmountable.

• Acute challenges include the lack of basic standards for human dignity in the camps, increasing homelessness in cities, social tensions, and a worsening outlook for protection and security, especially with regard to unaccompanied minors. If neglected, the humanitarian situation will negatively impact on wider social stability, living conditions and the economy in Greece.

• Practical progress to improve services and welfare on the ground requires action on two fronts. First, facilitating coordination and collaboration between Greece’s authorities, UN agencies, NGOs and volunteers. Second, matching donors with effective initiatives and enabling funding for grassroots organizations with proven effectiveness on the ground.

• To improve camp conditions, immediate needs include clarity on authority and approvals to allow implementation of new programmes (e.g., for urgently needed services such as washrooms, clean water and energy); improved power supplies and safe, scalable heating solutions for official and informal camps; a camp-management information system; access to facilities for buying and preparing nutritious food as cash distribution replaces army-orchestrated food delivery; and the training and deployment of increased policing and emergency services in refugee-hosting localities.

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1 This summary uses the term refugees to refer to all those termed ‘persons of concern’ by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the majority of whom are fleeing war, persecution or human-rights abuses.

2 When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.

3 This was the published UNHCR figure for persons of concern at the time of the workshop although estimates varied and the situation remains in flux.
• As camps close and more vulnerable people make their way to cities, humane accommodation and employment policies that enable the transition to self-reliance are needed. Specific proposals are to establish transitional housing by leasing and upgrading empty properties from landlords, and to establish ‘multifunctional centres’ in the city.

• Greece’s economy can benefit from the effective integration of the refugees who remain in the country. For this to happen, work needs to begin immediately. This will involve improving communication and negotiation between refugee groups as well as between refugees and local communities, opening up access to education, especially in the Greek language, and media campaigns to promote the public’s understanding of how refugees can benefit society.

• Greece has not seen the last wave of immigration. Humanitarian agencies should be enabled to upgrade facilities in two or three camps that shelter those unable to be accommodated elsewhere, while developing a national-preparedness strategy for future refugee flows. One proposal is to turn Lesvos into a regional hub for humanitarian best practices.

A policy and management crisis

Nearly two years since the war in Syria vastly increased the number of people fleeing instability arriving on Greek shores, leaders in Europe and Greece still lack a concrete plan for handling the flows of people fleeing instability. No less than 850,000 refugees and migrants were estimated to have arrived via the Aegean Sea in 2015, and over 168,000 in 2016 up to October that year. On average, up to 100 people still arrived daily in Greece at the time of the workshop, up to 20 per cent of them children. The refugee population in Greece has been highly mobile, with most trying to reach other parts of Europe. However, UNHCR’s data reveals that approximately 63,000 persons of concern were reported to be residing in various hosting facilities all over the country, with many having to settle or stay for a much longer period than originally expected given the blockages to migration elsewhere in the EU.

The September 2015 EU commitment to relocate 64,000 refugees from Greece to other EU countries had barely materialized (reaching only 5,719 relocations by November 2016). The EU–Turkey deal that came into force in March 2016, coupled with the effective closure of borders by countries around Greece, appeared to have led to a sharp reduction in the number of refugees entering the country in 2016 compared to 2015. Yet, the legal process for seeking asylum and appealing against decisions is slow, difficult and open to corruption. Long waiting times, frustrated attempts and fear of deportation increased stress, tension and mental illness among persons of concern. The climate of uncertainty over relocation and reunification within the EU is also an obstacle to long-term planning in Greece and to the investments needed to unlock the economic benefits that these additions to the population could bring.

In general Greek society has been welcoming to incomers, but conflict was reported to be growing between refugees and host populations, as well as among different groups within the refugee population. Frustrations and tensions relating to legal processes, living conditions, and ethnic and religious

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4 There is little data distinguishing between refugees and migrants at the point of arrival by sea. While recognizing the legal and potentially socio-economic differences between these populations, for the purposes of simplicity this summary uses ‘refugees’ throughout.
6 173, 130 had arrived since January. Ibid.
7 Ibid.
differences were said to be running high. In the absence of adequate policing, this has increased the vulnerability of the refugees and the likelihood of damage to camp facilities as was the case when fires spread in the Moria camp, Lesvos, in September 2016 and the Souda camp, Chios, in November 2016. It has also fuelled a perception of refugees as unskilled, dangerous and damaging to the economy and society.

In effect, Greece has been wrestling with a twin problem – still coping with the demands of being a transit country (dealing with the short-term needs and legal processes relating to temporary flows of vulnerable people), while increasingly facing the challenge of becoming a host country and providing a longer-term response. This response has been complicated by the ongoing economic crisis, the country’s political context and the state’s severely diminished capacity in the context of austerity, huge cuts to public services and widespread (24 per cent) unemployment.

Yet situated in a global and historical perspective, the situation in Greece should be manageable. Since the early 1990s, the country has managed to integrate almost half a million Albanians, many of whom were fleeing the Bosnian conflict. Furthermore, the nature of the challenge is vastly different for Greece (population 11 million, GDP $194.85 billion, refugees 0.06 million) than it is for, say, Lebanon (population 6 million, GDP $47.09 billion, refugees 1.1 million), Ethiopia (population 99 million, GDP $61.54 billion, refugees 0.7 million) or Kenya (population 46 million, GDP $63.40 billion, refugees 0.5 million). For this reason, several Greek participants at the workshop refused to call the situation a ‘refugee crisis’, stating that instead ‘this is a policy and a management crisis’.

A humanitarian crisis

Irrespective of how to view the context, the humanitarian system is failing to adequately support refugees in Greece. Beyond the political and legal solutions, several challenges need urgent attention. If neglected, the humanitarian situation will further deteriorate, with negative ramifications for wider social stability, living conditions and the economy. These challenges include the following.

- **Basic needs.** Basic standards of human dignity – access to food, water, shelter and sanitation – are going largely unmet. Excessive bureaucracy, unclear procedures, lack of experienced staff and improper planning make overall management of the camps inadequate. Many reception centres and hotspots across the country are reaching or have already surpassed capacity. The Council of Europe has deemed refugee facilities in the camps to be ‘substandard and able to provide no more than the most basic needs such as food, hygiene, products and blankets’, while Save the Children has described the conditions in some of the new camps as ‘inhumane’.

- **Limited access to adequate heat, light and power.** Most camps have limited access to electricity, and tents and containers do not provide adequate insulation from the cold. With the

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9 The fire at Chios was reported to have been started by attacks by far-right elements see Smith, H. and Kingsley, P. (2016), ‘Far-right group attacks refugee camp on Greek island of Chios’, Guardian, 18 November 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/18/far-right-group-attacks-refugee-camp-greek-island-chios.


approach of winter, there were cases of accidental fires causing severe burns and carbon monoxide poisoning as a result of people trying to provide their own heating solutions.\(^4\) The end of food handouts in early 2017 (see below) would leave many people needing energy for cooking too. Improved power supplies and safe, scalable heating solutions were urgently needed for official and informal camps.

- **Increasing homelessness.** There has been a growing movement of vulnerable people from the camps to the cities, with many moving into illegal and very poor accommodation (squats) in Athens. As camps close, there are few humane alternatives. There is an imperative to get people into legal accommodation so that they can gain access to the services (such as cash transfers and medical and legal aid) provided by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other agencies.

- **A worsening outlook for protection and security.** All of the problems highlighted above are particularly critical for the most vulnerable groups – such as the elderly, pregnant, disabled, injured, sick or traumatized. **Women and children are particularly at risk in camps where there is poor lighting and safety** – for example, it is reported that sexual and gender-based violence is common when visiting washrooms and toilets or using public spaces after dark. Almost half of the camps lack safe spaces for children and protection issues were widely cited as a priority concern for participants at the workshop. The lack of police intervention to ensure security was heavily criticized. In addition, it was alleged that ‘staff are not trained to see the vulnerabilities in the camps on the islands ... The government is offering jobs as psychologists to unemployed people after only five days’ training on vulnerabilities.’ In response to such criticism, it was noted that Greece faces youth unemployment of over 40 per cent and lacks the necessary funds to expand more effective police, fire and health services, all of which are needed to secure and protect refugees and host populations.

- **Social tensions.** Participants noted that social tensions were increasing within camps (i.e., between different nationalities) and between refugees and local populations, especially with the rise of the fascist Golden Dawn party. They also mentioned fatigue of the residents in areas hosting large camps. **When people are not allowed basic dignity, it impacts on perceptions of them in the host community and social tensions.** As one participant put it, ‘when a mother cannot provide breakfast and the father cannot work to provide for the family, the father beats the mother and the mother beats the children; and the rest think they are animals’.

- **Coordinating funding.** The effectiveness of aid spending was repeatedly questioned with waste through corruption, bureaucratic delays or duplication widely cited. A lack of integrated planning, coordination and communication between key stakeholders was blamed. A large amount of funding has been directed at the crisis – principally from the European Commission with a total of €509.3 million for 2014–20. However, there has been contention over how funds have been divided among agencies and NGOs. Moreover, there has been no legal and policy framework on monitoring the spending or accountability of NGOs working on the refugee crisis. **International funding for smaller NGOs and grassroots movements dwindle as international interest in the crisis wanes.** Many of these have said that government policies and larger NGOs or agencies have overturned or stifled well organized grassroots activities and support by Greek citizens, who were often the first to address the crisis without government or international assistance. Furthermore, given that most of the funding goes to the UN and NGOs rather than to government bodies, there was concern

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expressed as to how to build the capacity to handle this and potential future crises once the NGOs leave.

**Proposed pathways to meet the challenge**

Participants agreed that the first priority for Greece is to **speed up the asylum process and for other European countries to fulfil their pledges**. However, much more must and can be done. In order to improve service delivery, participants identified the following two overarching imperatives.

- **First, removing the barriers that inhibit collaboration between NGOs, agencies and authorities.** Participants wanted the development of processes, structures and opportunities that would allow organizations that provide services to be better connected and coordinated, and ultimately to collaborate.

- **Second, matching donors with effective initiatives and promising ideas as well as enabling funding for smaller grassroots organizations with proven effectiveness on the ground.** Participants discussed practical experiences, and how successes could be scaled up and additional resources leveraged with the right support.

The group discussed initiatives supporting refugees that have proven highly successful at a small scale but have struggled to grow.

Suggestions from participants fell into three broad categories: (1) improving camp conditions, (2) addressing homelessness and preparing for self-reliance, and (3) supporting long-term integration. Proposals that would require a specific sponsor, as opposed to targeting more general needs, are also highlighted.

**Proposals to improve camp conditions**

Participants suggested specific initiatives to improve camp conditions. In addition, needs were identified for which participants did not put forward a specific solution. Partners to implement both groups of proposals would be sought in the following months.

Providing goods and services at scale will require establishing sustainable markets to serve people’s needs. This will require creating income-generating activities and the provision of goods and services that refugees can select to meet their needs. Many challenges faced by refugees – the creation of employment, or the provision of goods and services such as food, accommodation and energy – might be better met by companies or self-financing social enterprises.

**Specific ideas**

- Provide electrical capacity and networks in warehouses and open sites that are built in accordance with Greek standards and will allow persons of concern to heat their shelters safely (e.g., by using electrical oil heaters, heat pumps or reverse cycle air conditioners). UNHCR was reported to be working with one European government partner to explore how to finance generators and install electrical networks in sites in the north of the country. However, it would be a huge task to roll this out in 20 to 30 sites before the end of 2016. UNHCR hoped to engage Greek consultants and contractors to design the networks and then install the infrastructure in the sites.
• Improve information flows within camps by creating an information system that would enable refugees to be aware of programmes available and to notify camp management of maintenance needs. Organization Earth was reported to be exploring the feasibility of creating a mobile phone application linking camp residents to organizations that provide services in the camp. This would create a platform that provides a unified source of information about the content, hours and location of NGO and refugee-driven programmes and services offered in the camp. In addition, refugees would be able to submit requests for container maintenance as well as to share professional and educational competencies so NGOs may match them with job opportunities.

Additional needs
In addition, participants identified the following needs and the workshop organizers are currently speaking with partners who may be interested in developing specific proposals.

• Clarify lines of authority for NGOs to receive approval to implement new programmes. The lack of clear lines of authority over the camps was repeatedly referred to as the main obstacle to delivering services. For example, even participants who worked regularly in individual camps were unclear about whether ultimate responsibility for making decisions lay with the ministry of interior, the army, the local municipality or UNHCR. For each case, multiple authorities may have been involved and this complicated the process for approvals and implementation, with decisions often being overturned without notice.

• Improve information collection and dissemination between service providers. It was reported that UNHCR was collecting and disseminating information on ‘who is doing what and where’ and hosting a regular inter-agency working group discussion. DESMOS Direct already served as a platform to coordinate the bid process between service providers and recipients in need, matching requests with offers as well as providing other information. Despite these fora, many participants said they struggled to make informed decisions. With better information flows, existing services could be used by many more subscribers and new services could be developed to speed up the efficient deployment of goods and services.

• Enable people to buy and prepare nutritious food. With the army’s contract to provide food to the camps due to end in early 2017, UNHCR was planning to distribute cash to people of concern instead. This would open up the possibility for greater choice over the food they buy, but there are often few or no facilities in camps with which people can cook. Several volunteer initiatives have shown it is possible to cook large amounts of nutritious food at low cost and there is opportunity here for small businesses to operate in camps with the right permissions and safety requirements (e.g., around hygiene and the use of energy).

• Train and deploy more police to the camps and increase provision of emergency services. More aid should be channelled through the government to support the emergency services, with specific support to train them in dealing with vulnerable people. In addition, this would strengthen emergency service provision for host communities.

Addressing homelessness and preparing for self-reliance
Participants recognized that the lack of job opportunities within camps created enormous pressure on refugees to move to urban areas in search of work. Camps should not be a long-term housing solution for the refugees who stay in Greece and efforts had begun to move towards alternative forms of accommodation. As such, there are three major needs. First, providing support to refugees who are living
in cities in pursuit of legal accommodation and access to services. Second, establishing the infrastructure that allows faster and better allocation of housing to refugees. Third, extending better services in urban areas for the most vulnerable without legal status. Urban refugees were reported to have too little understanding of the organizations and networks that can provide support while humanitarian organizations had little ability to serve those without the necessary legal status.

For refugees who are refused relocation, reunification or asylum in Greece, and for those deciding to remain in Greece, it was recognized that a two-step transitional approach to accommodation may be more appropriate than long-term residency in a camp. This would consist of providing intermediate homes in which a larger number of vulnerable people (possibly a mix of the most vulnerable, the less vulnerable and the more capable) can be housed together and receive the necessary tools for living in Greece, such as language learning and information on access to services, before moving into individual accommodation. Humane housing approaches, such as those pioneered by Elpida, Lesvos Solidarity (Pikpa), HOME and Armando, offer important lessons for implementing these types of solutions. These have also proven that services such as food provision can be delivered cheaper per person and with better quality in such a setting than in camp conditions.

Specific ideas
Participants proposed the following solutions to help refugees find safe housing.

- **Establish humane, transitional housing, on the basis of the Elpida model, by leasing from landlords of empty properties.** Elpida has expressed interest in scaling up its model through privately owned properties. Large properties housing over 100 people each could be designed to connect them with services (e.g., medical, psycho-social, legal, language learning, educational and training), offering potential for the creation of clusters of NGO services either in-house or nearby. Such schemes may take advantage of the fall in the value of rents in the Greek market and of the fact that landlords must continue to pay property tax even if their properties are uninhabited. A specially designed leasehold contract that enables upgrading, alteration and renovation to provide appropriate living facilities for refugees could eventually return the properties in better condition to the landlord.

- **Establish ‘multifunctional centres’ in the city for the most vulnerable people.** A related idea, supported by the International Committee of the Red Cross, would be to rent properties and encourage NGOs providing complimentary sets of services to work from the same space (e.g., offering cooking space, community activities, clinic, educational events, safe space for children, internet access, links to government services).

Additional needs
Participants identified market failures that inhibited the provision of housing to refugees; in particular limited information about the availability of housing and the need for standard processes and legal forms that are attractive to landlords and fair to refugees to reduce uncertainty around renting to refugees. The following suggestions would support the implementation of the above proposals.

- **Increase awareness of currently vacant housing.** Praxis, Solidarity Now and the Church of Greece, which has its own portfolio of real estate and hotels, may be able to identify properties and landlords who would be willing to rent to refugees. Some were already working on this.

- **Establish standard and enforceable housing contracts.** In addition, there is a need to develop a standard contract for renting that would prove attractive to landlords and be legally secure, allowing
for a potential extended leasehold and also for the terms for tenants who may have no legal status including plans for an exit strategy at the end of the leasehold.

- **Create opportunities for refugees to earn livelihoods.** Refugees with an asylum-seeker’s card can legitimately apply for a work permit, but the chances of finding employment through formal channels are slim. As a result, many turn to informal employment, which restricts access to basic labour rights and deprives government of potential tax revenue. Several participants raised the idea of humanitarian work permits, while others wondered if the idea of Special Economic Zones for refugee work – advocated in Jordan – might also work in Greece.

**Proposals to integrate people into local communities**

Greece’s economy and long-term development can benefit from effective integration of the refugees who remain in the country. The majority of refugees do not wish to remain, however, and strengthening asylum services and procedures is crucial in managing the caseload. For those who wish to stay, and have a legal basis on which to do so, there is an opportunity for leaders from the private sector and civil society to identify new approaches that can improve the situation of refugees and unlock their potential to benefit the country. Participants estimated that of the 63,000 refugees living in the country, the majority would ultimately be relocated to the rest of Europe through reunification and resettlement programmes, but approximately 25,000 will remain.

**Specific ideas**

- **Provide education opportunities to accelerate integration.** UNHCR was reported to be cooperating with the International Culture Institute of Vienna to offer accredited language learning courses. The funding for this, and similar schemes, perhaps utilizing Greece’s educational bodies, could be expanded, and other humanitarian organizations could also participate in order to reach more people.

- **Improve communication to increase awareness of how refugees can be assets to local communities.** Humanitarian agencies should work together on media messaging and to publicize stories that improve the public’s understanding of how refugees can benefit society. One example of aiming to change the dominant (negative) narrative was the launch by Amnesty International Greece and Oxfam Greece of the ‘Museum Without a Home’, an online portal exhibiting real objects that Greek citizens donated to people in need of protection in the country to comfort them and help to make the difficulties of daily life more manageable.

- **Turn Lesvos into a regional hub for humanitarian best practices.** The idea would be to establish best practices for reception, welfare and cohesion on the island of Lesvos and turn the refugee crisis into an opportunity for local economic development and integration. This would involve the launch of co-working spaces for NGOs and social enterprises, incubation of startups employing refugees, and events to accelerate technical solutions and skills. It was further suggested such an initiative could be launched at a major event on 9 May 2017 (Europe Day), inviting international attention and investment.
Additional needs
Participants presented the following ideas to address long-term integration needs, which coalesced around the themes of education, media messaging, housing and jobs.

- **Allow refugees to access education and particularly language education.** Without knowledge of the Greek language, young and old refugees will struggle to integrate successfully. More broadly, refugee children need to be integrated into Greek schools. Research by Save the Children suggested that child refugees have been out of school for an average of 18 months, with one-in-five never having attended a school. Recent legislation enabled better provision of education for those on the mainland, but coverage could be expanded geographically (to also encompass the islands) and in reach (the plan was based on 8,500 children, whereas it was estimated there were 18,000 school-age children in the refugee population).\(^5\)

- **Improve collaboration with local communities.** Greece’s population must be acknowledged as part of the solution. This requires an improved media narrative about the positive contributions that refugees can make to society. At the local level, a participant noted that ‘nobody talks to the local communities’ or that they are frequently given misinformation about the refugees. **There is a desperate need for good mediators and negotiators** within refugee communities as well as between those communities and the local population. In addition, there is an opportunity to help municipalities to integrate more effectively the provision of services to refugees with existing service infrastructure. The multifunctional centres in urban areas proposed above could be a bridge to building capacity at the municipal level as well as providing a link to municipal services.

- **Establish surge capacity to support refugees in the future.** In the context of ongoing strife in the Middle East and the onset of climate change, the current persons of concern will not be the last group of people that seek refuge in Greece. Humanitarian agencies should be provided with funding that will enable them to upgrade facilities in two or three camps while the rest should be closed. The remaining camps can then form a ‘best practice’ environment to accommodate the small number of refugees who cannot be accommodated in urban centres, and that will be responsive to accommodating future refugee flows if needed.

What comes next?
The findings of the workshop were presented to a group of philanthropists on 22 November 2016 as part of the first meeting of the Standing Network on Refugees and Migrants. This was founded in June 2016 and consists of approximately 50 philanthropists and experts organizing to drive and underpin concrete interventions with a measurable impact. Over the course of 2017, the network aimed to (1) facilitate investments in programmes that improve services for refugees and migrants; (2) convene leaders from the private sector, government and civil society to build consensus around new activities; and (3) improve awareness and coordination between service providers and funders. As part of this mandate, the network aimed to focus on two regions during its first 12 months of operation. In Greece, it will work with local NGOs to provide shelter, education, health services and job-search support for approximately 1,000 refugees. In Jordan, the network will work with investors and multinational firms to incubate new businesses and create 1,000 jobs for displaced Syrians and Jordanians, and aid Jordan’s industrial development. The network is currently in the early planning stages for both initiatives and would welcome collaborators.

In addition to the activities of the Standing Network on Refugees and Migrants, further steps will be taken to address and engage local and national governments as well as to disseminate findings in Europe and internationally. It is hoped the outcomes will contribute to a roadmap for improving the delivery of services and increasing Greece’s national resilience in the face of the current crisis.

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