

“A Passport for the Beach”

Mixed Method Research on Moderation of Tourist Hosting and Media

Exposure on Refugee Hosting Attitude Formation in Mytilene



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How does the presence of tourists and the exposure to media discourse about refugees influence attitude formation towards hosting refugees in Mytilene?

On previous page: A Spanish tourist watches Pakistani refugees arrive

Source: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/greece-sees-risk-of-bloodshed-in-migrant-crowded-island/>

Abstract

This paper tries to contribute to the range of theories on how local communities form attitudes towards hosting refugees, as well as provide an innovative link with the areas of tourism hosting and media studies. An overview of existing theories about refugee impacts, perceptions and beliefs is provided and illustrated through a symbolic interactionist approach on the case of Mytilene, a city on the island of Lesbos. The conclusions are drawn from a mixed-method research design in which both surveys and participatory observation were combined. Results show that perceived impacts of refugees on society and perceived duration of hosting refugees affect attitudes towards hosting refugees. Also, the belief about equal treatment between refugees and Greek citizens is indicative for resulting attitudes. Furthermore, it appeared from the quantitative analysis that attitudes towards hosting tourists and exposure to media do not influence the variables that lead to different attitudes towards hosting refugees. Even though the observations found that tourists can challenge societal capacity and security, there was no proof for the idea that tourism hosting moderates attitude formation towards refugees. The impact of media exposure on attitude formation seemed non-existent, which might have to do with the variety in media discourse.

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Executive summary

The island of Lesbos has an interesting geographical location. The continental border it is located next to is manifested by lush volcanic nature, but after 2015, the social limits and political stakes it borders have also become visible here. Because of Lesbos' proximity to Turkey, it was at the frontline of the refugee crisis that climaxed in 2015. Meaning that about 450.000 refugees entered Europe via Lesbos in that year alone. After years of hosting tourists, the island now also hosts refugees, and has become a media magnet. This research looks at how theories on attitude formation towards refugee hosting apply to this island and more specifically to Mytilene, the capital city where all these social groups meet. Moreover, it explores how tourism and media exposure can be moderating variables in attitude formation towards refugee hosting.

The literature offers several explanations on how attitudes can be formed. Attitudes are prone to perceptions about refugees' threat to national and societal security or their impact on societal capacity. Personal beliefs about refugees and perceptions on duration can also influence attitudes towards hosting refugees. Because tourists also have security and societal impacts, it is interesting to see whether the hosting of this group changes the experience of impacts of the first. Moreover, media exposure could moderate the variables that are part of the attitude formation process.

This research takes a symbolic interactionist approach and contains a mix of deductive and inductive reasoning: two methods are used to answer the research question. A 34-question long survey is leading this research and a participatory observation is used to illustrate and contextualize the findings from this survey. The survey data was collected from 150 respondents who live in Mytilene and the participatory observation was done on three locations twice: at the bus station, the ferry terminal and the beach. From the survey data I concluded that I could confirm existing theories on attitude formation towards refugee

hosting. The perceived impact of refugees on society and perceived duration of hosting refugees affect attitudes towards hosting them. The belief that refugees should or should not be treated as Greek citizens also seemed to affect attitudes towards hosting them. However, I could not find any evidence for moderation by tourist hosting or media exposure in my quantitative data. In my participatory observation I found that tourists can challenge societal security and impact societal capacity, but I argue that if this is not experienced by locals in this way it does not matter for their attitudes. There is thus no moderation in the attitude formation process towards hosting refugees. From the results on media exposure in relation to the context chapter, I argue that the influence of media on personal beliefs or perceptions about refugees depends on the political or ideological orientation of the media source. Media exposure on itself does not matter in this context, it matters what kind of exposure one gets.

For future research, it might be interesting to look at the differences in attitudes between urban and rural host communities and between attitudes now and in five years. A research on the impact of “compassion overdose” might also prove interesting. My recommendations towards policy makers are twofold. Firstly, I recommend to include the host community more in the management of the refugee camps. When paying local people for this task, you make them stakeholders instead of fearful bystanders. My second recommendation is more controversial, and that is to house more refugees in the center of Mytilene. I believe a lot of locals would benefit from an extra income through rent and a lot of houses desperately need renovation. Renovating rental houses could be a project that solves the experienced boredom by many refugees and makes their presence, possibly, more pleasant for the host community.

Chapter one: Introduction

Because of Lesvos' proximity to Turkey, it was at the frontline of the refugee crisis that climaxed in 2015. Meaning that about 450.000 refugees entered Europe via Lesvos in that year alone (Nianias, 2016). All refugees that arrive on the island stay in and around Mytilene, most of them in the three camps (Moria, Kara Tepe and Pikpa) which are located on the edges of Mytilene city. There has been a lot of hospitality towards refugees so far, which could have to do with the fact that Mytilene is also a major tourist hub (Russell, 2003). However, a different attitude seems to be emerging. Politicians from all walks of life, but certainly from rightist groups have demanded the departure of refugees (Margaronis, 2012). There have been multiple protests by the local community in Mytilene, Lesvos, who feel like they are being left behind in this crisis (Associated Press in Lesbos, 2018) and violence against refugees in Greece in general seems to be on the rise (Squires, 2018; Strickland, 2018). News articles report about a local beach that introduced a new practice in which people without passport cannot enter, aiming to refuse access to refugees, while allowing tourists (Keep Talking Greece, 2018). How could these attitudes towards the presence of refugees in Mytilene be explained?

I will explore how existing theories about refugee impacts, perceptions and beliefs apply to Mytilene and could explain the formation of attitudes towards refugees there. Given the special characteristics of the city as both a (volun)tourist hub and a refugee hosting center and the similarities of both positive and negative impacts of these 'outsiders', some theories about refugee impacts do not need to apply here. Moreover, the huge media attention the island and city got might have influenced the formation of their attitudes towards hosting refugees. Hopefully, this study will contribute to the range of theories on refugee host community impacts, as well as provide an innovative link to tourism and media impact studies.

1.1 Societal relevance

Mytilene is home to many humanitarian organizations that aim to improve the lives of refugees and have good intentions, but these organizations - as well as the international media - have overlooked the hosting community. According to Adil Izemrane, one of the founders of the NGO Movement on the Ground, unequally distributed compassion has led to polarization on the island: “In neglecting their concerns, the seeds were sown for antipathy and intolerance towards refugees – sentiments exploited by an ascendant right and echoed across Europe by fear-mongering politicians.” (Smith, 2018). This neglect seems to have more severe consequences, now that violence against refugees is growing (Squires, 2018; Strickland, 2018).

There has been a huge interest in the improvement of the livelihood for refugees in their respective living environments. However, too little has been done about the impact on the lived experience of the hosting community. If we do not understand how locals experience the presence of refugees and what factors influence these experiences, attempts to compensate can be insufficient or lacking. Moreover, by supporting the host, one indirectly supports the refugee too (Jacobsen, 2002). In order to reach a sustainable solution for the refugee crisis, one needs to include the host community as well.

Since there is growing discontent about the presence of refugees on Lesbos (Strickland, 2018), it is more important than ever to get a clear image about what attitudes the local population holds and for what reasons. The findings of this research can be used by NGO's and governmental organizations for the development of new, more inclusive policies in refugee hosting communities. Hopefully this will sow more empathy and tolerance for new immigrants to come, as well as make Mytilene a sustainable living environment for both hosts and refugees.

1.2 Scientific relevance

The literature offers several explanations on how refugees can affect a hosting community.

Refugees can pose a threat to national security: causing the spread of violence and crime (Fisk, 2018; King, 2004; Mills & Norton, 2002), or risk conflict-overspill (Collier, 2008; Baines, 2017). Refugees can pose a threat to societal security too (Doty, 1998) which logic is about exclusion and inclusion and self and othering (Van Houtum, 2002). They can strain natural resources, burden medical care, education, housing, roads, financial or administrative capacity, cause unemployment and environmental damage (Lohrmann, 2000).

However, it is unclear whether these impacts are relevant for the held attitudes towards refugees in Mytilene. Current theories do not take into account that conflict overspill is uncommon for developed, first world countries (Whitaker, 2003) and that the presence of refugees can also create employment possibilities: making the crisis actually quite profitable for some of the local population in the case of Mytilene (Franck, 2018). Another aspect that is lacking in the existing literature is that in some cases, like in Mytilene, the burdens are carried mostly by international NGO's and other supra-national entities (like the EU and the UN), whom are paying for most of the costs for hosting refugees (Amin, 2016). It is unclear whether this influences how the local population thinks about refugees staying in their area.

Some other innovative aspect to my research is that it is combining different fields of hosting studies. The city of Mytilene is designed to host mass influxes of people because of its tourism infrastructure. Mytilene was receiving 19.000 tourists in July 2015 alone (Zikakou, 2016), which might problematize existing theories on refugee impacts, especially those about capacity and cultural impacts. Russell (2003) is the first to note how similar both positive and negative sociocultural impacts of refugees and tourists are and says the similarities are so great that they go to the extent of irony. I would like to research whether the attitudes towards

the presence of tourists influence the experienced impact and the resulting attitudes towards refugees.

Finally, there is a group of theories that relates refugee hosting attitudes to personal beliefs and the media: when people are more inclined towards either anti-apartheid or racist ideas, they hold more positive or more negative attitudes towards refugees respectively (Richmond, 1994; Thörn, 2006), which in its turn can be influenced by the rise of anti-immigrant discourse in the media (Khosravinik, 2010; Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018). Anti-refugee sentiment feeds of media stories like violence and crime committed by immigrants (Human Rights Watch, 2012). The Greek media emphasizes the threats to European values and the number of refugees (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). The refugee impact on society, duration of hosting and personal beliefs can therefore be (experienced) drastically different when people are more exposed to media discourse (Wright, 2014). However, this theory has not been tried in Greece before, even though Human Rights Watch speculates about it (2012).

It is of scientific relevance to investigate whether existing theories uphold or are insufficient in this case. Does the fact that people in Mytilene are exposed to mass tourism complicate existing theories? How does the exposure to media lead to certain opinions? A research that combines refugee, tourism and media studies has not been tried before and might result in interesting new insights, support or contextualization for existing theories in these fields.

1.3 Research objective and research question

The aim of this research is to contribute to refugee impact and hosting theories by linking debates about tourist hosting and media impact. I want to see whether the specific circumstances of Mytilene can contribute to, problematize or contextualize existing theories about attitude formation towards refugee hosting.

My research question is the following:

- How does the presence of tourists and the exposure to media discourse about refugees influence attitude formation towards hosting refugees in Mytilene?

To help guide my research question I have come up with five sub-questions that result from my theoretical framework and are laid out in my conceptual framework (Chapter 2.6) as well as listed under this paragraph. All my sub-questions, except the third, will be addressed by both my quantitative part as well as my observational chapter (chapters Five and Six). The third sub-question, about perception of duration, will only be addressed by the quantitative part of this research. Together they will provide an answer to my main research question, which I will answer in Chapter Seven and Eight.

1. How do perceptions on societal impact influence attitudes towards hosting refugees in Mytilene?
2. How do personal beliefs about refugees influence attitudes towards hosting refugees in Mytilene?
3. How do perceptions on the duration of hosting relate to attitudes towards hosting refugees in Mytilene?
4. How does tourism in Mytilene influence attitude formation towards hosting refugees?
5. How does media exposure influence attitude formation towards hosting refugees in Mytilene?

1.4 Structure

In the second chapter of this thesis I will dive deeper into my theoretical framework and give answers to my first three sub-questions. In chapter three, I will guide you through my methodological approach: choices for my methodology, data collection and analysis will be discussed and accounted for. Because of the case-study nature of my research, it is of importance to understand the context of my research. Therefore, before presenting the results of my research, I have written a context-chapter, which includes a general sketch of the city, of the refugee crisis, of touristic development on the island and on Greek media discourse. Chapter five will answer my sub-questions with a quantitative analysis and chapter six will try to answer my sub-questions in a qualitative manner.

In chapter seven, I will answer my sub-questions in a structured and complete manner and in my last chapter, eight, I will conclude my research and reflect on the content, its relevance and its method. Chapter eight is also the place in which I make recommendations for future research and policy makers. At the end of this document you will find my appendices – which consist out of my epistemological framework for my survey, my survey in both English and Greek, descriptive statistics and extra SPSS results, reports from my observations and my reference list.

Chapter Two: Literature review and conceptual framework

In this research I will not so much focus on factual evidence of the impact of refugees on a local population, but more so on if and how these impacts are understood by the local population and lead to a certain attitude towards them. Therefore, I will start by explaining how these perceptions on impacts lead to attitudes, after which I will give an overview of the mid-range theories that I use to arrive at an answer for my research question. The mid-range theories that I will introduce are chosen to limit the possibilities in which a refugee population can influence a hosting population's perceptions and attitude. Starting my theoretical journey with a literature review on what theoretical impacts refugees can have on a society, after which I will discuss theories on personal beliefs about refugees and perceptions on duration of refugee hosting. Finally, I will discuss the explorative and illustrative part of my research, which proposes the impact of tourists on this case and the possible effect of media exposure. I will wrap this all up in my conceptual framework in the last paragraph.

2.1 Introduction: attitude formation

Attitudes are fluid concepts, they can change over the years or through new experiences, knowledge or interaction (Mead, 1934; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Albarracín, Johnson & Zanna (2014) conceptualized attitudes as “judgments influenced by external information,

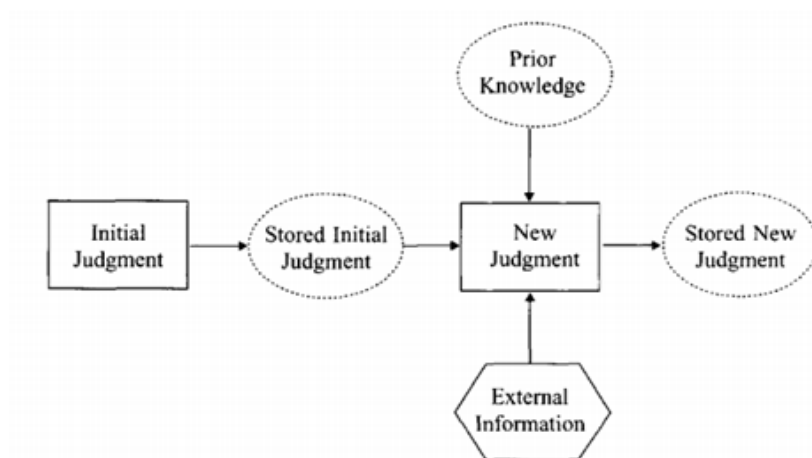


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework Albarracín, Johnson & Zanna (p. 6, 2014)

the memory of past judgments, prior knowledge, and stored new judgments.” (p. 6). Figure 1 on the previous page shows a copy of this conceptual framework, which I will use as guidance for my research. Attitudes towards refugees are thus shaped by initial attitudes and influenced by external information over time: in other words, both long-term socialization of cultural values and short-term encounters or experiences can influence the currently held attitude. In this research I propose that there are three main variables which influence the attitudes towards hosting refugees, namely: perceived impact of refugees on society, personal beliefs in relation to refugees and duration of hosting. How I arrived at these specific variables I will dive into later, but now I want to show how these variables correspond with Albarracín et al.’s framework.

The perceived impact of refugees on society are proposed as short-term encounters and/or experiences with refugees, whereas personal beliefs reflect the long-term socialization of cultural values and ideas about egalitarianism and rights. Off course, the two can influence each other. Socialization can influence short-term experiences and the other way around: personal beliefs can lead to different short term-experiences, and these experiences could also influence personal beliefs. Therefore, I conceptualize societal impacts as *perceived* societal impacts, and want to emphasize that perceived societal impacts and personal beliefs are only distinguishable on paper (Albarracín, Johnson & Zanna, 2014). The felt duration of hosting is then the accumulation of prior attitudes, combined with new external information and experiences, which can influence current attitudes.

However, it can also be that former attitudes never cease to exist, and thus allow people to hold dual attitudes: namely an explicit and an implicit one (Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler, 2000). Rydell, McConnell, Mackie & Strain (2006) show in their research that implicit attitudes are formed over the years, below conscious awareness (which would

correspond with my concept of personal beliefs) and explicit attitudes are responsive to consciously received information. Wilson et al. (2000) therefore claim that people might (not) feel dissonance when their implicit and explicit attitudes are conflicting. Gawronski & Strack (2004) add that explicit attitudes can be influenced by exposed dissonance, but implicit attitudes remain the same. Locals in Mytilene might therefore hold multiple attitudes, that manifest themselves in different ways and might even conflict.

2.2 Perceived refugee impact

Refugees can have an impact on a society in several ways, whether these impacts are considered positive or negative depends on the individual, which is subject to certain cultural and social values as well as certain agenda's and stakes. In this paragraph I will consider the most important theories about refugee impacts on host societies, which I have categorized into capacity and damage theories, national security theories and societal security theories.

2.2.1 Perceived societal impact: capacity and damage

Refugee populations can strain natural resources, burden medical care, education, housing, logistics, financial or administrative capacity as well as cause economic and environmental damage, particularly in poorer areas (Lohrmann, 2000). Lesvos cannot be classified as a developing or poor area, since it enjoys protection of the developed state of Greece. However, Greece has just come out of a big economic crisis, experiencing one of the biggest recessions in developed capitalistic countries in recent years (Arghyrou & Tsoukalas, 2011). Therefore, it's strained economic capacity can cause coping problems in handling an increase in population as the one seen in Lesvos. The financial situation of Greece did not allow the country to expand its medical care, education and housing capacity on time.

The consequences of the inability of the state of Greece to deal with the arrival of thousands of refugees on Lesvos, are dealt with by the growing humanitarian aid force on the

island, actors that were and are still more preoccupied with the daily care, education, emergency health care, logistics and management on the island than the authorities themselves (Franck, 2018), who are more preoccupied with the maintenance of the border and the upkeeping with the innovative illegal ways refugees find to travel onwards (Franck, 2017). The strain on its administration could, however, not be relieved by any humanitarian organization and is, maybe therefore, strongly apparent (Rozakou, 2017).

There is an elaborate discussion going on about the economic impact of forced migrants in the literature. Some say refugees are a positive addition to the economy. The UNHCR runs a “cash-assistance program” together with local authorities and humanitarian organizations, giving 90 euro’s per adult to spend on goods and services per month (p. 2, UNHCR, 2018). This amount is then spent on the local economy, which can lead to an increase of income for the host community through a multiplier effect (Taylor, Filipski, Alloush, Gupta, Valdes & Gonzalez-Estrada, 2016). Others claim quite the opposite, and say refugee presence causes unemployment (Lohrmann, 2000) and lowers the wage for certain parts of the local population (Card, 2001; Smith, 2012). Alix-Garcia and Saah (2009) say what makes the difference in economic impact of a refugee population on a local population is the livelihood of the host: urban areas see a decline in wealth, rural households see the opposite: this is due to the fact that producers benefit from a higher demand, but consumers do not. McKinsey Global Institute (2016) says refugees have a positive impact on wealth in the long term, but can cause negative impacts on wealth in the short term if the influx of refugees is big. This could indicate that locals in Mytilene do experience a negative impact from refugees on their economy.

Refugees are also said to impact the environment. A study in Congo reveals the deforestation and irresponsible waste disposal caused by Rwandan refugees (Biswas &

Tortajada-Quiroz, 1996). Jacobsen (1996) says that the impact of refugees on the environment has more to do with the way refugees are settled: if they are self-settled and more integrated, they are less likely to cause environmental damage. If they are settled in a camp, and therefore communicate less with the host-society, they are more likely to cause environmental damage. According to this theory, and because of the way refugees are settled around Mytilene, refugees are likely to cause environmental damage in this case.

However, whether or not refugees strain natural resources, burden medical care, education, housing, roads, financial or administrative capacity or cause economic and environmental damage, my research will focus on the perceived impact. Meaning that I will go with Thomas Theorem famous quote: “If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Merton, 1995). Objective facts are important, but are not defining subjective experiences, ideas and attitudes. It could be that refugees do or do not impact Mytilene’s society in these ways, but that does not mean that the locals perceive it in that way too.

2.2.2 Perceived impact on national security

Lohrmann (2000) reminds us that the notion of security in relation to migration should never be understood as a given, but more so as a social construct. What security is, depends on the socio-economic, political and cultural context (p. 5-6). There is a big debate going on about the impact of refugees on security (Salehyan & Gleditsch, 2006; Whitaker, 2003; Doty, 1998, Donev, Onceva, & Cligorov, 2002; Jacobsen, 2002). This is not a surprise, since in our modern society, security has taken a very compatible shape in which everything can be securitized or be subject to risk- or threat-analysis (Beck, Lash & Wynne, 1992). Therefore, it is relevant to understand the impact refugees can have on security, since this aspect might be felt by the local population of Mytilene.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss all forms of security; therefore I will only discuss the notions of security which can be found in refugee discourse, namely national and societal security, the latter in the next paragraph. National security is concerned with the traditional notion of security: in the case of refugees it is about the spread of violence and crime (Fisk, 2018; King, 2004) or risk of conflict-overspill (Collier, 2008; Salehyan, 2008; Baines, 2017). Why are refugees believed to cause a threat in these ways? How is this social construct formed? First of all, the idea of the spread of violence by refugees is often confused with the idea that refugees are violent themselves. However, it is not the refugee committing the violence, but more so groups that they were either fleeing for or the people that do not agree with their presence (Fisk, 2018). Moreover, the social construct of the refugee as a criminal is shaped in the instant a refugee crosses the border irregularly, and thus commits a state-crime (Pickering, 2008). This can then, together with lesser socio-economic chances and discrimination (Tonry, 1997; Antonopoulos, Tierney & Webster, 2008) lead to self-fulfilling identities: if you say I am a criminal, I will behave like one (Rasmusen, 1996).

So, are refugees really a threat to national security? It is argued that they are not more violent than the local population, and their association with crime has probably more to do with the criminalization of them as people. Conflict overspill is uncommon for developed, first world countries (Whitaker, 2003) and it is therefore unlikely that they are a real threat to national security in this sense (Collier, 2008). Therefore, the biggest threat they form to national security is the imagined one, to which some people might feel resistance and anger (King, 2004; Pickering, 2008).

2.2.3 Perceived impact on societal security

Refugees are also considered a threat to societal security (Salehyan & Gleditsch, 2006; Whitaker, 2003; Doty, 1998; Donev, Onceva, & Cligorov, 2002; Jacobsen, 2002; Holmes &

Castañeda, 2016). Societal security is different than national security in that it is not concerned with warfare or the sovereignty of a state. Its logic is about exclusion and inclusion, self and othering and links to territory (Van Houtum, 2002). Rather than with sovereignty, it is concerned with cohesion within and identity attached to a nation state (Doty, 1998). In terms of societal security, refugees can be seen as a threat to the ethnic, religious and linguistic status quo (Lohrmann, 2000), because of their differing social values and ideas.

Research on integration shows that people find it most important that immigrants speak their language, 77% of people in Europe believe this is very important. Moreover, 66% of people in Greece say they believe shared traditions and customs are important to be able to integrate (Wike, Stokes & Simmons, 2016). Many people still believe in a traditional notion of the homogeneous nation-states, in which traditions, mores, language, culture and identity “persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats.” (p. 23, Waever, 1993). However, McSweeney (1996) notes that many countries already have multicultural tendencies, and that identity and the nation-state are social constructs which are flexible. Lohrmann (2000) therefore notes that it is again, not per se the refugee themselves that cause a threat, but more so the exploitation and enlargement of their cultural differences by local political influencers or media that construct the threat. Societal security is again only under pressure when people experience it in that way.

2.3 Personal beliefs in relation to refugees

Personal beliefs relate to the either accumulated attitudes over time or to the more implicitly held attitudes towards an object or subject. Personal beliefs normally spring from social influences (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955) or socialization processes (Bourdieu, 1986). Beliefs about refugees - whether they are equal, deserve to be protected under human rights or whether they deserve to be treated like all other people in your country - affect the attitudes

towards hosting them (Richmond & Valtonen, 1994). Anti-apartheid sentiments and the belief in human rights can facilitate a hospitable attitude towards refugees (Thörn, 2006). The binding of these beliefs and resulting attitude, can be summarized in the Greek word Philoxenia: meaning friend of a stranger, ‘unconditional hospitality’ (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2004).

Anti-equality and racist beliefs can result in opposite attitudes (Handmaker & Parsley, 2001), which can also be summarized in one Greek word: Xenophobia, fear of strangers. Xenophobic nationalism has become a mainstream ideology in Greece, political parties, the media and other parts of society openly plead for it (Doxiadis & Matsaganis, 2012; Lawrence, 2005). Xenophobia tends to be related to one’s background, or socialization (Chtouris, Zissi, Stalidis & Rontos, 2014).

However, it can be hard to discover racist beliefs. Even though mainstream media and national politics do not fear to speak openly about it, common Greek people might choose to keep their beliefs covert: “This process is similar to covert sexism in that it implies that symbolic or modern racists are hiding their prejudices, only revealing them in “safe” circumstances where their action could be attributed to something other than race. Their apparent egalitarianism is merely a reflection of social desirability concerns.” (p. 105, Swim & Cohen, 1997). This is apparent in international correspondence between Greece and other states, in which Greece appropriates Philoxenia to divert critique on its migrant policies and practices (Cheliotis, 2013).

It can therefore be hard to discover people’s beliefs about refugees. They might not want to share their beliefs, and if they do, their beliefs can be inconsistent and/or incoherent. Nevertheless, the attitude formation process would not be complete without the inclusion of

this aspect, and as mentioned before, attitudes can be fluid, inconsistent and multiple in nature as well.

2.4 Perception of duration

As claimed in the beginning of this chapter, the duration of refugee hosting might have a big impact on a held attitude. Schmeidl (2002) describes how time has a big impact on perceived interference of the host's community: refugees were initially welcomed in Pakistan, but as more time passed by, people became irritated. If people hold the opinion that refugees are there for a longer period of time than was expected, this would presumably result in more negative attitudes towards hosting them.

But, if we stick to the notion of dual attitudes and thus the idea of implicit and explicit attitudes, new information might influence the attitude about the duration of the hosting. Through this logic, other people's opinion or media attention about the time span of the hosting might influence explicit attitudes about the time span (Wright, 2014), even though they might not implicitly experience the duration as long.

2.5 Making the case

The case of Mytilene is interesting to research because the city is equipped to tourism and is therefore designed to host mass influxes of people. Mytilene has the infrastructural and housing capacity to host big amounts of tourists (Nianias, 2016), who can also form a societal security threat, which could complicate existing theories about how a local population responds to refugees and what attitudes result from that response. I will dive deeper into this aspect in the coming paragraph.

Lastly, since my research is not so much focused on real impacts, but more on the perception and experience of impacts and its resulting attitudes, I will give a short overview on how media can play into attitudes towards hosting refugees. Media exposure might prove

to be a big influencer in the perceived impact of the hosting of refugees, as well as in changing personal beliefs and the duration of the hosting. Why and how this happens, I will discuss in paragraph 2.5.2.

2.5.1 Tourists: impacts and attitudes

Tourists make the city of Mytilene a different refugee hosting location than others. Even though tourists are normally considered quite different from refugees, there is evidence that the two groups share more than one would assume. First of all, just like refugees, tourists can cause environmental destruction (Butler, 1991). Secondly, they can cause threats to societal security: social disruption (Jurowski, Uysal & Williams, 1997). Tourists can pose a threat to societal security as they can have differing social or cultural values, like drug abuse and closedness or openness of sexuality (Tosun, 2002). Mytilene hosts a big share of Turkish tourists, who are neither Christian nor European and thus have different social and cultural values. On top of that, some scholars like Griffin (2016) and Doğan (1989) note that tourists have a way bigger socio-economic impact on the local community than in the past. Moreover, they can strain roads and other infrastructural works (Doğan, 1989).

Besides having similar burdens, tourism and refugee hosting also share some benefits. Just like tourists, refugees bring new trade opportunities, ideas and money in (Lohrmann, 2000). Practical challenges can be similar too, a study on the Greek island Skyros reveals that the authorities of the island and the locals living there had no idea how to host, accommodate or provide service to the significantly increased tourist numbers in the 80's (Boissevain, 1996).

There are many similarities between the sociocultural impacts of refugees and tourists (Russell, 2003), which implies that some of the 'refugee impacts' as mentioned before might not be relevant to explain the current attitudes towards the presence of refugees in Mytilene.

For example, theories on the (perceived) impact of refugees on societal security could prove to be insufficient to explain the current attitudes, because the impact of refugees on many aspects in the touristy town of Mytilene are less contrasting in comparison to places that are not touristy.

Other scholars claim however, that people employed in the tourism-sector are especially negative about the hosting of refugees in their area, since they harm the desirable careless vacation many tourists are looking for and thus affect the local's economy which thrives on this sector. (Ivanov & Stavrinoudis, 2018). A side note to this is that it matters where refugee camps are located: if refugee camps are located near touristic areas, hosting communities may go from being loyal and solidary with refugees to "irritated and aggressive" (Okaka, 2014). One could indeed assume that the publicity on the island could have negative results for its tourism industry and therefore its local population. On the other hand, the island does receive a lot more attention than otherwise would have been the case, which could increase visitor amounts in the long run. This increase has already been seen in the amount of nights booked in hotels, but is mostly accounted for by the huge voluntourist and humanitarian worker presence on the island, as well as the fact that the big group of Turkish tourists visiting the island are already used to the sight of refugees in their own country (Ivanov & Stavrinoudis, 2018). It remains therefore unknown if attitudes towards tourist affect aspects that influence attitudes towards refugees.

2.5.2 Media exposure

Media exposure can influence attitudes towards refugees, since it plays into explicitly held attitudes: attitudes are "generally the result both of relatively long-term processes such as socialization and of relatively short-term exposures to information in the environment."

(Albarracín, Johnson and Zanna, 2014: p. 6). This influence could result in a negative attitude

towards refugees, since racism is recently very prevalent in the Greek media (Khosravinik, 2010; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018). Anti-refugee sentiment feeds of media stories like violence and crime committed by immigrants (Human Rights Watch, 2012) which unfairly imply that refugees are the problem and not the migration policies itself (Bojadžijev & Mezzadra, 2015). Some even say that this kind of security discourse has been misused to criminalize refugees and make them seem a bigger threat than they are (King, 2004). They can enlarge the felt impact of refugees on society.

Besides the demonizing effect media can have on the perception of refugees, the media can also provoke jealousy: hosting communities can start to resent refugees when they are perceived to be treated better than themselves (Lohrmann, 2000). This can trouble personal beliefs held about refugees as people. Other possibilities are that the media leads to negative publicity for the tourism sector, resulting in anger from the local community, and especially from the local tourist industry (Okaka, 2004). Different forms of publicity can cause that host communities get sick from the overload of compassion by strangers from far away (Höijer, 2004). One could argue, that this could lead to a rejection of visitors (be it refugees or tourists) in general. Lastly, the media can influence the perceived duration of the hosting, resulting in more negative attitudes towards refugees (Wright, 2014). This effect can happen when media reports focus on the length, perseverance or infinity of the hosting.

2.6 Conceptualization

There are five concepts related to my research question that need to be reflected upon to be able to operationalize them for my research. Namely, ‘hosts/locals’, ‘refugees’, ‘tourists’, ‘media’ and ‘attitudes’. When talking about the hosts or locals, I mean people that live for most of the year in the city of Mytilene, which implies that they can be born elsewhere. Whether or not people feel local is beyond the scope of this research, so my assumption rests

on that short-sighted conceptualization. The second concept that needs clarification is ‘refugees’. When I use the term refugees, I mean people that have arrived on Lesbos by illegal boat and are either in, or waiting for, their asylum process. It could be that some people that stay in the camps are not forced migrants, which is why I choose not to conceptualize them as such. It is probably interesting to see how different conceptualizations would influence the attitudes towards them, but again, this is beyond the scope of my research.

The third concept that needs clearance is ‘tourists’. In my research, they are people that visit places for the sake of leisure and arrived on the island via legal boat or airplane. Tourists have the intention of leaving, even though there could be a continuum between being a tourist and becoming a migrant (people might fall in love with a place). However interesting, this is again outside the scope of my research. My fourth concept, ‘media’, is conceptualized as collective means of communication. This ranges from online platforms like Facebook to conventional newspapers or magazines but could also mean school papers or pamphlets. For ‘attitudes’, I will go with the definition of Albarracín, Johnson & Zanna (2014), as mentioned in paragraph 2.1, who conceptualized attitudes as “judgments influenced by external information, the memory of past judgments, prior knowledge, and stored new judgments.” (p. 6).

In figure 2 on the next page, you will find the conceptual framework for the discussed theories. The figure displays what factors on the formation of hosting attitudes I included in my research as proposed in my theoretical framework, which are grouped into perceived societal impacts, personal beliefs and perception of duration. Impacts are conceptualized in three groups: national security, societal security and damage and capacity theories as proposed by Lohrmann (2000). The numbers displayed in the figure correspond to my sub-questions as posed in paragraph 1.3. I have chosen to group refugees and tourists under

visitors, even though I will treat ‘tourists’ as a moderator, not as an independent variable. Media exposure is another moderating variable in this research on the attitude formation process. My respondents are defined as hosts in this model. The host, or respondent, meets two groups of visitors on the island: refugees and tourists. Their attitude formation towards refugees is framed in the brown rectangle. Tourists and exposure to media, both orange bulbs, influence this formation in the figure. The total sum of all these concepts and their relation is what I call the “Attitude formation process”. From this model I have also drawn my operational plan, which I will further explain in the next chapter.

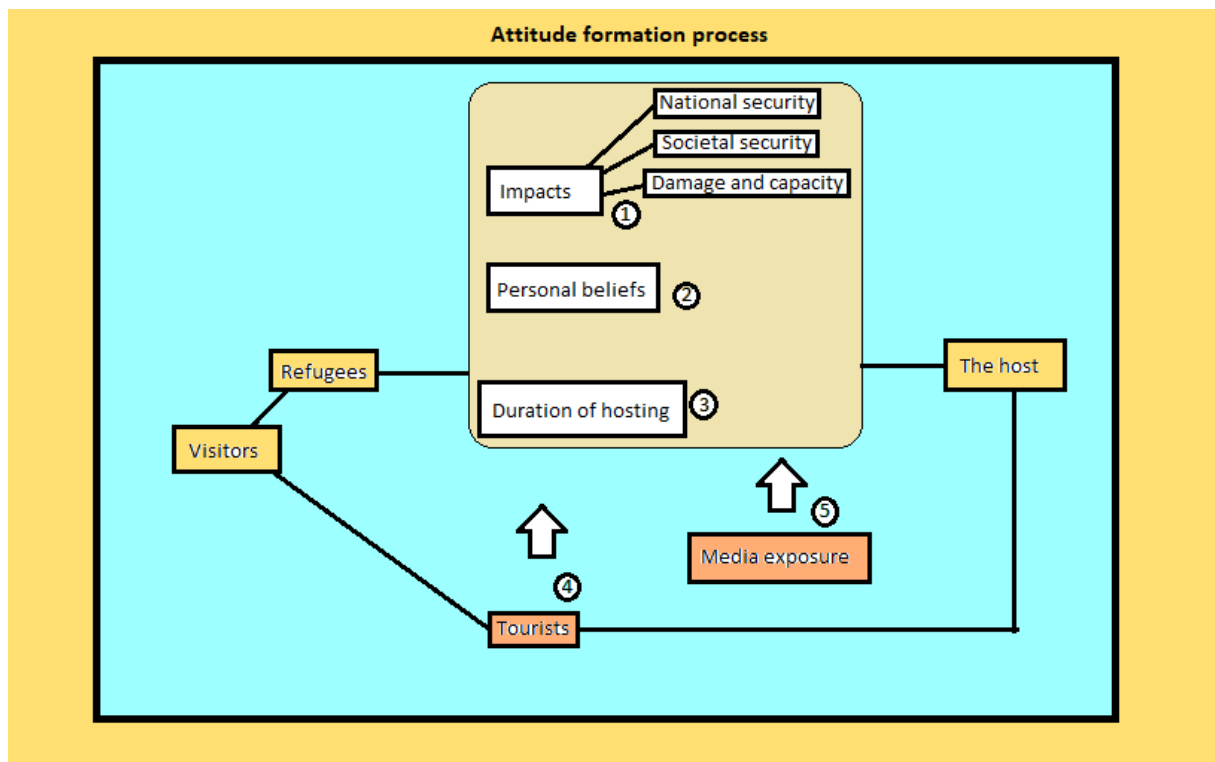


Figure 2 Conceptual framework: Attitude formation process

Chapter Three: Methodology, methods and techniques

In this chapter, I will explain the methodological part of my research. In the first paragraph, I will account for the choice of methods and discuss the limitations to my chosen methods. In the second paragraph, I will operationalize the concepts under investigation and explain my ways of data collection and data analysis.

My research contains a mix of deductive and inductive reasoning. Therefore, I chose a mixed-method design to get answers to the questions posed in the paragraph before. I employed two methods to answer my research questions and the related sub-questions, based on the ethical and practical reasons which I will discuss in this chapter. I gathered my data through 34-question long surveys which I purposively sampled in Mytilene and did participatory observation on three locations in Mytilene, namely the bus station, the ferry terminal and local beach Tsamakia. The qualitative part of my research - my participatory observation - aims on contextualizing, illustrating and discussing the findings from my quantitative data. Hopefully, this mix of methods will provide you an interesting encounter of scientific value on the dynamics between refugees, tourists and locals within the city of Mytilene.

3.1 Choice of methods

The choice for a method to research a social phenomenon like this requires some thought. One must take into account the sort of research question, practical challenges like budget, language and time and ethical challenges. In the case of this research, I needed both a qualitative and a quantitative approach to provide a sensible answer to my research question. This is because some parts of my research are more deductive and therefore a quantitative method suffices to answer the related questions and other parts and questions of my research

are of a more explorative (inductive) nature and therefore require a qualitative approach (Vennix, 2011).

This research will take a symbolic interactionist approach, which means that its guiding idea is that people as an individual or as a collective use and interpret symbols, like through language or other socio-cultural means, to arrive at meaning for a certain subject or object (Benzies & Allen, 2001). People are subject to larger meanings of their group or network, which they gain through interaction with them about certain symbols. These meanings can change, through redefinition by the group but also by their own cognitive abilities (Blumer, 1969). Because of this, individuals do not necessarily have to encounter a phenomenon to be able to attach meaning or opinion to it (Mead, 1934). Attitudes are thus, according to this theory, not the result of factual evidence but are the result of symbolic exchange and imagination. The use of quantitative data in a symbolic interactionist research is not very common, but is nevertheless very much possible (Benzies & Allen, 2001; Ulmer & Wilson, 2003; Bryman, 2016).

As discussed in paragraph 1.3, there are five sub-questions which I would like to answer. Not all relations are situated on the same stage of the empirical cycle, the first three questions are more deductive, and therefore a quantitative approach is appropriate. The other two sub-questions on my moderating variables are of a more inductive nature, and therefore require also a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach does not only have explorative value, but can also be used for its illustrative qualities. Both benefits are seized in this research. How, I will explain later.

How did I arrive at my choice of methodology? I first considered doing an experiment. I thought it would be very interesting to look at how locals and refugees interact and respond to the introduction of a tourist and priming a group with negative media exposure on refugees

for example. However, it proved very hard (theoretically already) to cancel out all other factors that could influence the results. Moreover, I thought it would be hardly possible to find two identical groups of people to create a control group to be able to come to scientific evidence. Lastly, the ethical considerations to this method led me to cancel out this possibility (Singleton, Straits, Straits & McAllister, 1988).

Another possible method for my research was interviews. In-depth interviews lend themselves very well for symbolic interactionist research. One cannot only ask ‘why’ questions and find deeper mechanisms, but can also observe non-verbal communication and other subtle messages. A problem with this research method can be the bias that arises from the presence of the researcher. People’s answer can be sensitive to the socio-cultural prejudices they have about the interviewer. Also, this method can be quite time consuming when trying to get quantitative data (Arora, 2015). However, the biggest reason why I did not choose this method was the aspect of language. I found that a lot of people in Mytilene did not speak English or only to a very basic extent. Even people working in the tourist or humanitarian sector spoke very basic English, which is why I felt a symbolic interactionist analysis of in-depth interviews would prove problematic (Bryman, 2016). Using a translator could have worked, but my budget did not allow me to hire someone for the number of hours that were needed to conduct enough interviews. This is why I chose not to do in-depth interviews.

A third possibility was organizing focus-groups. Focus-groups have the same benefits as interviews as they can provide more in-depth answers and allow non-verbal nuances (Bryman, 2016). This method would not challenge my budget, since I could question multiple people at the same time and therefore would not have to hire a translator for that long. My biggest concern with this method for this research however, was the cultural sensitivity of the

subject. Not so much the influence they would have on each other ideas, since that is in line with symbolic interactionist theory (Blumer, 1969), but rather the fear of people disagreeing very much or starting a fight troubled me. Therefore, I found that focus-groups were not appropriate for this research.

The fourth possible research strategy I considered was a content or discourse analysis. This method could lay bare how media imposes or constructs impacts and beliefs about refugees and would therefore be very interesting. A content or discourse analysis can be time consuming but overcomes ethical challenges and can be done from anywhere in the world (Bryman, 2016). But again, the biggest problem with this strategy was language. Since I did not speak Greek or had a sufficient bank account balance to pay for a long-term translator, this method deemed to be impossible.

These considerations left me with two possible research methods. I chose the use of surveys because they can, if done properly, dismantle relations between variables (Lapan, 2003). Also, they lend themselves best for identifying large quantities of opinions or attitudes, which is useful to test my proposed conceptual relations. A third reason for conducting surveys was that they only needed translation once and therefore fitted my budget perfectly. Lastly, they required little communication with my respondents, which limited the influence of my presence.

Limitations to this method were however, that during the handout of my survey, I was perceived as a foreigner. Even though I introduced myself as a student, people might have thought that I was a (volun)tourist. Together with the given that the treatment of refugees as well as opinions about them are very ethically sensitive topics, people could have given me more socially accepted answers. Another limitation to this method was that I had to make a

priori assumptions on relevant questions. I might have missed big explanations for held attitudes through my choice of method (Benzies & Allen, 2001).

Indeed, some of my research questions were too explorative to be answered by a survey alone (Bryman, 2006). My questions regarding the presence of tourists and their possible influence on the perceived impact of refugees can off course be evaluated through a SPSS analysis, but a participatory observation was necessary to be able to interpret and understand my findings. Participatory observation is cheap, flexible and provides a lot of insights. It allowed me to come close to my research topic and provided context and illustration to the findings of my survey (Bryman, 2006).

A limitation to my observational data is the uniqueness of the case of Mytilene: it might be hard to apply my findings to other cases. Moreover, because my observations remained covert, there is the ethical difficulty of not informing people about being part of a research. Thirdly, my own bias might have caused me to draw premature conclusions in my observations.

3.2 Data collection and operationalization

In this paragraph I will share how I have collected my data. What difficulties did I have while collecting, and when, where and from whom did I collect my data?

3.2.1 Data collection and operationalization of surveys

The population of Mytilene is 36.000. I choose a n of 150 based on a 95% confidence level and an error of 8% and out of convenience and availability of time. To collect the data, I used a purposive sampling method. The reason for this sampling method was to exclude people that do not live in Mytilene for most of the year and to diversify people in terms of age, gender and educational background. To improve the diversity of my respondents, I have gone to many different locations in the city and chose different timeframes to conduct my surveys:

ranging from Sunday and Monday morning, to Wednesday afternoon and Thursday night. However, I had to rely on the willingness and availability of people I came across in and around Mytilene and thus have to cope with the bias that arose from my choice of people to approach (Bryman, 2016).

I have designed a 34-question long survey: to see how my survey questions relate to my variables and thus how my concepts are operationalized, see Appendix I. In Appendix II & III you can find the English and Greek version of my survey respectively. My survey questions correspond with the literature discussed, as well as explore the more innovative parts of my research. It starts with general questions about my respondents' gender, age and educational background and about media exposure. I gave the option to my respondents to specify their medium themselves. The answers to the remaining questions are all based on the 7-point Likert-scale, which is proven to be most appropriate when measuring opinions and attitudes (Tittle & Hill, 1967). Questions about societal impact, capacity, damage and security were inspired by Lohrmann's (2000) definitions. Personal beliefs are conceptualized using Richmond & Valtonen's measures (1994) and duration is based on Schmeidl's idea of longer or shorter perceived duration (2002).

I found a good and reliable translator through my internship organization, who helped me translate my survey and was on speed dial to explain my survey to Greek speaking respondents while I was conducting my research. I carried along a letter with me which I gave before handing out the survey. This letter explained who I was and emphasized my neutrality and their anonymity. I collected my survey data between May 16 and June 6, 2019.

3.2.2 Data collection and operationalization of observations

To understand how the attitude towards tourists can interfere with perceptions about the societal impact of refugees I did a participatory observation. My qualitative, observational

data is used to narrate the more explorative part of my research. During my observations I was an active participant in the sense that I acted like a tourist and my identity as a researcher stayed covert, which allowed me to observe more natural behavior (Neuman & Neuman, 2006). The goal of this enterprise was to gain firsthand experience on how locals experience the presence of both refugees and tourists and how the latter can influence the experience of the presence of the first (Dewalt, Dewalt & Wayland, 1998).

My research was conducted on three different locations, where I actively participated in the respective setting. The first location under research was the Mytilene bus station, where I tried to take busses and hung around for a while. Here locals, tourists and refugees all come to take busses or taxi's, which led to interesting interactions and observations. My second location under observation was the Mytilene ferry terminal, where I once observed and another time tried to get information about boat tickets. Just like the bus station, this location was a place where locals, tourists and refugees all come to travel or ask information. The last location I visited and participated in was local beach Tsamakia. This infamous beach is known for refusing refugees in high season, but in low season you can find locals, tourists and refugees all here to relax. All locations relate to my research question about capacity and damage: What happens when there is not enough place in the bus or on the ferry? What happens when all beach beds are full? And do tourists and/or refugees cause environmental and economic damage on these specific locations? The last location, the beach, made societal security impacts visible also: the multicultural setting made different uses of the beach visible.

I visited all three locations twice, while continuously reporting: observing for an hour each time (Martin & Bateson, 1986). The bus and ferry terminal both during busy and quiet hour, the beach on the days off for most locals: Saturday and Sunday. I reported on my observations writing narrated field notes (Bernard & Bernard, 2012) in a semi-structured

manner. I chose for semi-structured observation because I was looking for certain clues (aspects that relate to societal impact: capacity and damage and societal security) but remained open to new insights.

3.3 Data analysis

In this paragraph I will discuss how I analyzed and reported on my data. Starting with a somewhat technical explanation of my SPSS analysis, continuing with a description of how I qualitatively analysed my observations.

3.3.1 Data analysis of surveys

For the analysis of my surveys I used the statistical program SPSS 26. This program is designed for social scientists and is of great help when analyzing bigger quantities of data. I started my analysis with defining my variables and entering 150 filled out surveys in my SPSS file. The answers to most of my questions are based on 7-point Likert scale (Likert, 1932), which can be interpreted on an interval level of measurement (Boone & Boone, 2012; Clason & Dormody, 1994).

My survey provided me 34 variables. Most of my variables needed to be combined to create the concepts under investigation, namely: attitudes towards refugees, personal beliefs, attitudes towards tourists, societal impact: capacity and damage, national security, societal security and the sum of these last three to make the perceived societal impact scale. Perceived duration and media exposure are measured with only one variable and therefore did not need to be combined into a new variable. To do this I used the Cronbach's Alpha to see whether it was justifiable to combine the relevant variables to compute a new composited variable. Cronbach's Alpha is used to test the reliability in order to gain validity for these new grouped variables.

Looking at my frequency tables, I found out that my median is more explanatory than my mean in this dataset. To test this, I did a test of normality on my six combined variables using both Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk, which showed me that indeed my data was not normally distributed and therefore non-parametric. The other, none combined variables were both rated with one Likert scale only, therefore one could assume that this data is not normally distributed and thus non-parametric (Clason & Dormody, 1994).

To start looking for answers on my research question, I had to test my (new grouped) variables on their proposed correlation. Pearson's R is only suitable for normally distributed data and therefore it was not appropriate to use this analysis to find correlations between the variables I proposed in both subchapter 1.3 and paragraph 2.6. Instead, I chose Kendall's Tau to measure the strength of the associations between the (grouped) variables. Kendall's Tau and Spearman's Rho are both useful for finding correlations in non-parametric data, but I chose Kendall's Tau because this test is known to be better than Spearman's Rho for smaller sample sizes (Croux & Dehon, 2010). Correlations are useful to interpret the direction of the relation.

After combining my variables and looking for correlations I made three independent groups for the variables on personal beliefs (for which I only used one variable about egalitarian beliefs, based on the correlation found), perception of duration and for general perceived societal impact. I made two independent groups for attitudes towards tourists (to see how I grouped these variables, see table 9 in sub-paragraph 5.3.3). The independent groups allowed me to do both Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney U tests on the proposed relations as laid out in my conceptual framework (sub-paragraph 2.6). I did not do non-parametric regression tests between items where there was no correlation found. To help my qualitative analysis, I did some extra Kruskal-Wallis' tests to see if the preferred source of

media made any difference on the proposed relations between media exposure and perceptions and beliefs about refugees. Furthermore I did extra Mann-Whitney U tests to see whether people that work in the tourism industry had different beliefs or perceptions on tourists and refugees. A summary of all the quantitative analyses I did can be found in table 1 on this page.

Table 1 Summary of quantitative analyses

X	Attitudes towards refugees	Perceived societal impact: capacity and damage of refugees	Perceived societal security impact of refugees	Perception of national security impact of refugees	Personal beliefs about refugees	Perception of duration of hosting refugees
General perceived societal impacts (Combination of all impact)	Correlation and Kruskal-Wallis test					
Personal beliefs about refugees	Correlation per item, Q14 Kruskal-Wallis test					
Perception of duration of hosting	Correlation and Kruskal-Wallis test					
Attitudes towards tourist	Correlation	Correlation and Mann-Whitney U test	Correlation	Correlation	Correlation	Correlation
Exposure to media	Correlation	Correlation	Correlation	Correlation	Correlation	Correlation
Type of media source	Kruskal-Wallis test	Kruskal-Wallis test	Kruskal-Wallis test	Kruskal-Wallis test	Kruskal-Wallis test	Kruskal-Wallis test
Involvement in Tourism industry	Mann-Whitney U test	Mann-Whitney U test	Mann-Whitney U test	Mann-Whitney U test	Mann-Whitney U test	Mann-Whitney U test

3.3.2 Data analysis of observations

The data from my observations consists out of fieldnotes and my own memory. I wrote six short narratives based on these notes and my memory, which I will interpret and relate to my survey findings in chapter Six. The analysis will therefore consist out of my own reasoning and will mostly be used as an illustration or contextualization for my quantitative findings.

Chapter Four: Context

This chapter is written to give you an idea of the city of Mytilene and the circumstances there now. It will describe both city hard- and software, the growing arrival of refugees in the last decade, the development of the tourism industry in Mytilene and media attention on refugees in Greece.

4.1 The city

Mytilene is the capital city of Lesbos - the third largest island of Greece. Lesbos is both a regional unit of and a municipality in the North Aegean region. The island has a local population of about 86.000 people, of which 36.000 live in Mytilene (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2011). The city used to be a part of the Ottoman empire but became Greek during the first Balkan war. After the fall of the Ottoman empire, in 1923, a huge amount of Greek orthodox Christians travelled to or via the island (Kizos & Koulouri 2005). The city mostly earns its money from trading agricultural products, which are cultivated on the fertile volcanic soil the island is rich of. Another source of income is tourism. The city has multiple (classical) historical sights, museums and is the gateway to Thessaloniki and Athens: it has a harbor and an airport.

Besides being a tourist hotspot and the biggest local marketplace, Mytilene is also home to a big military complex: just north of the town, one can see a huge shooting range that overlooks the Mytilene straight (the water that separates the island from Turkey). Moreover, the city is also home to the University of the Aegean: a medium sized university that mostly provides courses in the humanities, social sciences and information technology sciences. Because of the university, the town's demographics are younger and more diverse than other places on the island (Ven, 2019).

4.2 The growing arrival of refugees

The island and the town of Mytilene is on route for refugees on their flee to Europe. However, the number of refugees that have arrived in the last few years has been more than the island has ever seen before. A news article from 2007 reports a ‘refugee wave’ (Sugar, 2007), claiming that 3000 refugees arrive in Greece annually. This is nothing compared to the staggering number of 2015: when around 400.000 people arrived on the island of Lesbos alone, with an average daily arrival of 3.300 refugees in November (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015). This amount of people fleeing to the island was unforeseen. The only recent mass immigration that people experienced on the island was after the fall of the Ottoman empire, which is almost 100 years ago (Kizos & Koulouri 2005). Now there were thousands of Syrians, Afghans, Iraqi’s and Pakistani’s arriving there daily (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015). The island was not prepared to host so many traumatized and desperate people all the sudden. “The increasing influx of arrivals has put an extreme pressure on the island, while there are regularly more than 10,000 refugees and migrants staying in the island against a reception capacity of 2,800.” (p.1, 2015). There are two big camps on the island and one small one, which are all located on the edges of Mytilene city. Moria is the biggest refugee camp, designated to host around 3000 people, but hosting, with intervals, around 9000 refugees (Barberio, 2018). The other big camp is Kara Tepe, a camp that focusses on the hosting of vulnerable people: family, elderly and handicapped. This camp is managed by the municipality of Mytilene and sticks to its capacity of 260 family’s, around 1300 people. Pikpa is the smallest camp on the island, managed by the NGO Lesbos Solidarity, it hosts around 100 people and intents to create a small self-sustainable community.

The UN helped build capacity for the reception of these thousands of people. It designated reception and registration area’s and organized a bus route to deter people from

walking all over the island (see figure 3). Also, it tried to prevent possible tensions with or frustrations for the local community, by providing sanitation and campaigning about the use of trash cans. Moreover, it provided tools, experts, equipment and advice to the local

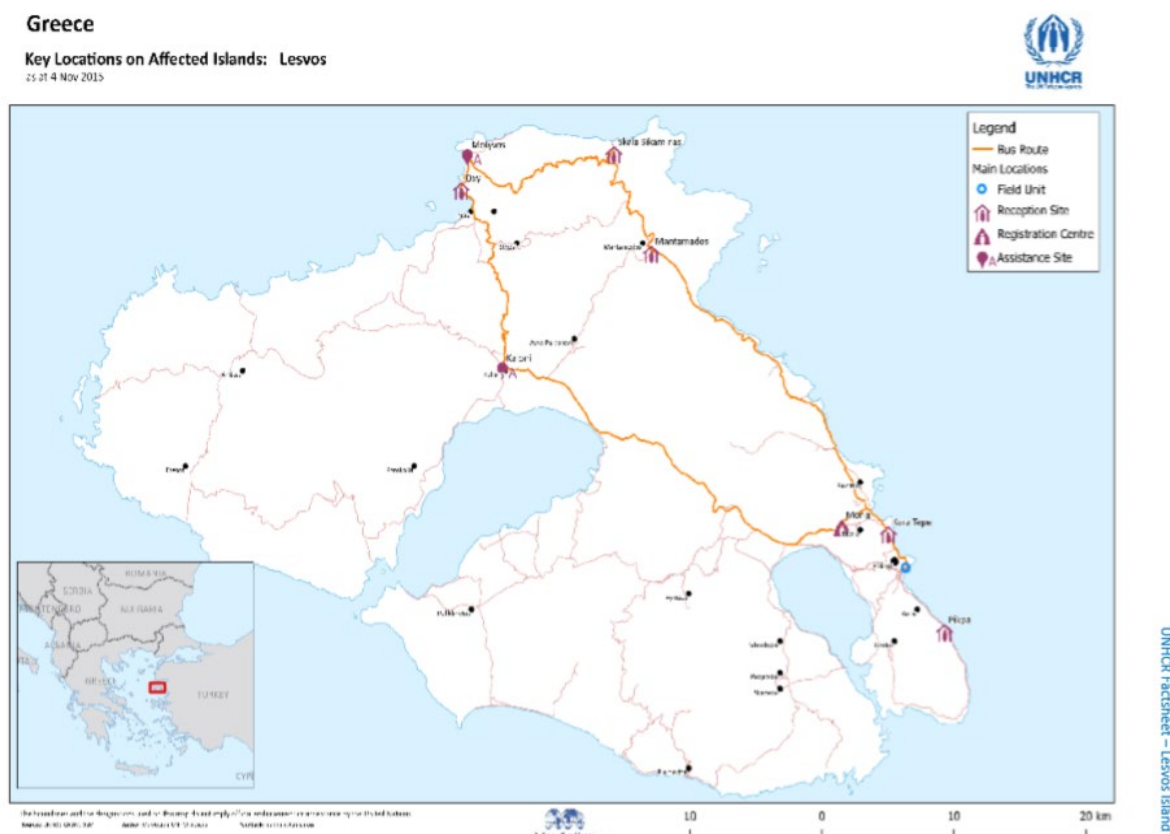


Figure 3 UN map of coordination operation Lesvos

municipality of Mytilene. In figure 4 you can see how the tasks were divided among both local and international actors.

Type of coordination mechanisms	Frequency	Chair / contact details	Co-Chair
General Coordination - Lesvos	Weekly	Ministry of Aegean/ the Mayor's Office	UNHCR
Kara Tepe - site coordination	Weekly	Municipality	UNHCR
Moria - site coordination	Weekly	Hellenic Police	UNHCR
North - coordination meeting	Weekly	Municipal Authorities	UNHCR
Protection Working Group	Weekly	UNHCR	
Food & NFIs Working Group	Weekly	UNHCR	
WASH - Working Group	Weekly	UNHCR	
Health Working Meeting	Weekly	MSF	
Communication with Communities	Weekly	Interviews	

Figure 4 Coordination mechanism UN & Local Authority (p. 5, 2015)

Even though the UN and other humanitarian organizations came to help on the island, Amnesty International (2015) writes about huge inadequacies in both the reception as in the care for refugees on the island. “Tens of thousands of vulnerable people making the perilous sea journeys to escape war or poverty arrive on these islands only to be met by a support system on its knees. Most new arrivals have limited or no access to medical or humanitarian support and are often forced to stay in squalid conditions in overcrowded detention centers or open camps,” (Dalhuisen, Amnesty International’s Director for Europe and Central Asia, 2015). People lack access to basic needs, as in electricity, dry and clean clothes, hot water and clean sanitation. The reception areas are understaffed, and facilities like medical or psycho-social assistance are sometimes not even present.

Stories about the local population’s reception of the refugees on the island are ambiguous. One narrative goes that the local community has welcomed the refugees with open arms. Given their history as migrants, they could understand the hardships and



Figure 5 Text on monument, next to reception camp 'Kara Tepe' (source: own)

uncertainty of the diverse people arriving on the island (Vos, 2017). It is true that some people have put a lot of effort in saving and helping refugees on the island. Two islanders have even been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016) because of their rescuing and caring efforts. Stratis Valamios, one of the nominees, says to the UNHCR that a lot of locals came to help “The tavernas here were hospitals, on these tables we were bringing people back to life.” To thank the local population and reflect on their “generosity, hospitality and solidarity” a monument has been put next to reception center (refugee camp) Kara Tepe by the UN (see figure 5).

However, it seems like this narrative is not sustainable, or maybe incomplete. Last year, a protest against refugees was organized by locals, which ended in a violent clash with refugees (Kitsantonis, 2018): “Some of the protesters pelted the migrants in the square with flares, firecrackers and stones broken off sidewalks, and some chanted “burn them alive.” An event that does not stroke with the narrative of the hospitable, welcoming and loving Lesbian.

Moreover, twice last year, local people have erected a giant illegal white cross to deter migrants and ‘reclaim their lands’ (Kitsikopoulos, 2019). Symbolism like this has erupted on more places, like the practice on local beach Tsamakia, where passports are asked for non-Schengen passport holders (see figure 6).

Other incidents that are not indicative for Lesbian hospitality include a 79-year old Greek man shooting a 15-year old Syrian boy with a hunting rifle in the foot (Ekathimerini,



Figure 6 Passport required for non-Schengen passport holders. (Legal Center Lesbos, 2018)

2019) and hostility by the local police and local citizens in Mytilene's port (Hernandez, 2016). "Violence against refugees is apparent – instances of racially motivated physical and verbal abuse are commonplace from both citizens and police." said Nahzley Anvarian, a researcher and coordinator at Refugee Rights Europe (Bulman, 2018).

4.3 Touristic development

Mytilene did not used to be a very well-known tourist destination. It used to only fascinate the more off the beaten track traveler, but now the island and the city have become a more mainstream tourist destination, with direct international flights from Vienna, Birmingham, Manchester, London, Maastricht, Amsterdam, Brussels, Prague, Copenhagen and Warsaw. People visit the island not only for the picturesque villages or turquoise coast, but also for the history and culture the island and city are rich of. One remarkable group of travelers visiting the island and city is the LGTB-community, who visit as a sort of pilgrimage. The poet Sappho was born on the island, the first female poet who wrote a romantic piece for another woman: making the demonym for the island synonym for her sexual orientation. Other interests are the rich flora and fauna that can be enjoyed on the island: rare bird and plant species are found on the sparsely cultivated and fertile soil.

The island's receives visitors from different countries, ranging from several Northern European countries, to Turkish, Russian and Chinese nationalities. Numbers in tourist arrivals fluctuate. The economic crisis of 2009 and the refugee crisis of 2015 has had it effect on the pace of development in the industry, but nevertheless it seems to be steady. 62,647 tourists arrived on Lesvos by air in 2018 (GTP, 2019), a number that is similar to 2013 (Dimokratis, 2013). Maybe, this could be addressed to efforts of the Greek authorities to maintain the touristic image of the island. Ekathimerini (2016) claims that Greek authorities actively encouraged a rosy image, of local, hospitable and warm welcoming Lesbians (demonym for

Lesvos). However, even if the former kind of tourism has been damaged, it has given way for a new sort: voluntourism. There are about 81 NGO's operating on the island, whose volunteers and employees also contribute to the local economy, but contrary to regular tourism, they are there year-round. Hotels get fully block booked by the UN and other humanitarian organizations, and there has never been such a queue at the ferry ticket booth (Amin, 2016). Tourism has developed in a different way than expected, but the huge arrival of refugees has made Lesvos and Mytilene well known destinations now.

4.4 Media discourse

This section will provide context for Greek media discourse on refugees, through an elaborate summary of four peer reviewed articles on this subject. This can show how traditional and online Greek media could influence perceptions on national security impact by refugees, personal beliefs about refugees and perceptions on the duration of hosting refugees. The articles range from an analysis on traditional (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti and Konstantinidou & Michailidou) to online (social) Greek media (Kadianaki, Andreouli & Carretero) or a combination of both (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou).

Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016) analyzed the content of two Greek, German and English newspapers and compared the three using both corpus linguistics and discourse analysis as a method. They found that most of the Greek news articles in Kathimerini and To Vima on refugees were talking about either numbers, the management of refugees or hotspots, in which violent scenes and incidents were described. Compared to the other country's newspapers, a lot of the vocabulary contained verbs and a lot of it was dramatic. A lot of the articles discussed the accommodation and care for the refugees and some mentioned clashes at the border with Macedonia (11,9% of articles under examination). Politicians claimed that Macedonia (or FYROM) was shaming Europe with their border practices and stated that

Macedonia had no place in the EU. Furthermore, some newspapers mentioned the urgent clearance of tourist arrival places (like the port in Athens) and all news articles mentioned the number of refugees in Lesbos. Lastly, it was an interesting finding that none of the articles in Greece and Germany made a reference to terrorism or ISIL. The writers made the assumption or guess that this was because the journalists did not want to feed into any of the hate crimes that were committed in these countries. In Appendix VII you can find an overview of the discourse analysis from Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti.

Konstantinidou and Michailidou (2014) employed visual semiotics to do a critical visual discourse analysis on generic photography in six Greek newspapers, namely: Ta Nea, Eleftherotypia, Ethnos, Eleftheros typos, Kathimerini and To Vima. They started their analysis by explaining the differences between the content of the 6 newspapers. Eleftheros Typos is a right-wing nationalist newspaper, that spreads racism and focusses on Lathrometanastes (Greek for migrant or refugee) participation in crime, ghettoization in urban areas, their invasion on the borders and their unemployment. This newspaper calls to close all borders and claims that the government is incapable of dealing with the situation. Ta Nea, Ethnos, Kathimerini and To Vima are all centered newspapers which stories are more reportative than interpretative. And lastly, Eleftherotypia spreads anti-racism propaganda, focusses on the observation of human rights and discusses the contributions of NGO's or other pro-refugee organizations.

An important finding from Konstantinidou and Michailidou was that the neologism 'Lathrometanastes' blurred distinctions between migrants, illegal migrants and refugees: making it harder to defend the last category on their international rights. The discourse about Lathrometanastes thus changed from portraying them as Albanian criminals or poor people from the Balkan to more African or Asian Islamic people and then to the creation of moral

panic. Furthermore, the authors found that a lot of photographs are used on multiple instances, which could result in “dehistoricising universalism” a concept they borrowed from Malkki (1996) and said that these photographs lose all context and meaning when employing them for incidents that had nothing to do with the picture. Furthermore, these pictures essentialize refugee’s identity by reducing their individuality into social types, making them “mute victims” (p. 112, Konstantinidou & Michailidou; p. 378, Malkki). Pictures where refugees looked desperate, tired, not happy and did not make eye contact, offers their presence as a piece of information or object of contemplation (p. 115). Other pictures were made from a higher point of view, causing the feeling of superiority or power for the viewer. Sad pictures with women or kids were meant to cause sympathy but cause victimization in the process. These pictures were all employed to visualize the “out of control security threat against the nation and its racial and territorial integrity or as a humanitarian crisis with immeasurable consequences on social cohesion and national well-being.” (p.121). Another discourse in visual imagery which the authors found was that often some sort of quantification or mapping is employed to enhance the message. Tables, figures or maps are used to visualize the number of refugees per year, month or region. Geographic references like tsunami’s, waves or flows of immigrants are employed to express their impact. The island of Lesbos was even said to be sinking in an explosive situation (p. 126).

The heated public debate on an online forum of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that Kadianaki, Andreouli & Carretero (2018) analyzed was the one caused by the announcement of a new legislation on citizenship rights. This new legislation significantly extended migrants’ rights of citizenship based on the duration of their residency, which caused a diversity of comments. After making an inventory of the comments, the authors qualitatively analyzed the comments and grouped them into four themes, namely: “continuity of the nation, idealization of the past, moral obligation toward the past, and homogeneity or heterogeneity

of the nation” (p. 5-6). Most comments fit in one of these four groups and reflected the argumentation of people to either be for or against the implementation of the new law.

Kadianaki, Andreouli & Carretero found that a lot of people believed in historical nation-stations and idealized the people of Greece as originating from antiquity. This idea was then extended and applied to ideas of ancient Athens, where foreigners were seen as barbarian (p. 9). Others saw the past as a moral obligation towards the present, reminding Greeks of their egalitarian values or shaming people for undermining the state by supporting this law. The first argument led to pro-extension and thus pro-immigrant statement, the latter to the opposite. There were also arguments based on the heterogeneous or homogeneous assumption of the Greek ethnicity, sometimes based on the idea of common ancestry (p. 11). Based on these assumptions people argued either for or against the extension of migrants’ rights to Greek citizenship. Kadianaki et al. used the findings to contextualize the assumptions of previous research that argue that certain representations of Greek history lead to certain attitudes towards migrants. Narratives about the past can, according to these authors, cause xenophobia and racism in the present.

The last article analyzed both online and traditional media. Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou (2018) did a quantitative content analysis on the polarized political climate in both political correspondence and mainstream media. For this they analyzed the tweets from Alexis Tsipras (prime minister) and Kyriakos Mitsotakis (president of the main opposition party, New Democracy) and articles from three Greek newspapers, namely: Proto Thema, Kathimerini, and the left-wing Efimerida ton Syntakton (p. 181).

They found indeed a polarization in arguments and opinions in the tweets from the two politicians. Alexis Tsipras accused the European powers of xenophobia, while opposition

leader Kyriakos Mitsotakis expresses discontent about the inadequacy of the current government to manage the refugee crisis. Both argue for open border within the EU.

The newspapers were also very diverse in their coverage and reasoning about the refugee crisis. Kathimerini, described as a conservative paper in this article, claims that the country is under threat because of failure by the government. Proto Thema, described as a populist newspaper, defends prime minister Alexis Tsipras and blames the EU for the crisis while promoting fear and xenophobia. Finally, the left-wing newspaper Efimerida ton Syntakton also defends Tsipras and frames the crisis as a humanitarian one, while blaming the EU for its consequences on Greece.

Chapter Five: Quantitative analysis

In this chapter I will try to answer my sub-questions with a quantitative analysis. I have tried to quantify the theories discussed as variables in my survey and analyze the results of my survey in five steps: first I have tested the internal consistency of my items that tested my variables and computed them into new variables. Secondly, I have tested whether the data (including the data from the new variables) was normally distributed. This was useful to determine the method of analysis I needed for my third and fourth step. Thirdly, I have tested the respective variables on their correlations. Fourthly I have done multiple non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney regression tests. Fifth and lastly, I have interpreted my findings and wrote down the implications for my qualitative analysis in the last paragraph of this chapter.

5.1 Combining variables: Cronbach's alpha

As I have explained before, my data consists out of 34 items, of which 27 are part of a scale. These items originate from my epistemological framework (see Appendix I) and represent my variables under investigation. To test these variables, I have to combine the items into a scale. To see whether the grouping of these items into scales (to represent my variables) is justified, I have executed seven reliability tests. For this I used Cronbach's Alpha to see whether my scales are internally consistent and can be used for the next steps in my research. It is widely agreed in academic research that a Cronbach's Alpha of ,700 and above means that there is enough internal correlation to justify a scale. In table 2 you find a summary of the Cronbach Alpha tests I did.

Table 2 Item-scale reliability using Cronbach's Alpha

Combined Variable	Survey questions	Cronbach's Alpha
Attitudes towards refugee hosting	Q10, Q33, Q34	,939
Perceived societal impact: capacity and damage	Q23, Q24, Q25, Q26, Q27, Q28, Q29, Q30, Q31, Q32	,860
Perceived national security impact	Q15, Q16, Q17, Q18	,856
Perceived societal security impact	Q19, Q20, Q21, Q22	,961
General perceived societal impact	Q15, Q16, Q17, Q18, Q19, Q20, Q21, Q22, Q23, Q24, Q25, Q26, Q27, Q28, Q29, Q30, Q31, Q32	,864
Personal beliefs about refugees	Q12, Q13, Q14	,338
Attitudes towards tourist hosting	Q8, Q9	,874

As you can see, six of the seven combined variables have a reliable internal consistency and can therefore be considered a scale and thus computed into a new variable if we take the usual ,700 alpha as the rule. One variable, the one about personal beliefs can unfortunately not be simplified into one variable. The three items that measured personal beliefs on a Likert scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree) were not related to each other enough to form a set or scale. As you can see in table 3 on the next page, most people believed that refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights and that they consider them in essence, similar as people. However, most people disagreed with the statement that refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens.

Table 3 Personal beliefs: items and scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
(Q12) I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights	6,19	,748	149
(Q13) I believe refugees are people just like me	6,34	,601	149
(Q14) I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens	2,37	1,387	149

I considered deleting item Q14 to improve the internal consistency of this scale but saw in the table below that even if the last item was deleted, my Cronbach's Alpha would still not be up to standards to judge this scale reliable (see table 4). Meaning that people had very mixed answers on the two other questions as well.

Table 4 Personal beliefs: Cronbach's Alpha

Item-Total Statistics					
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
(Q12) I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights	8,71	2,558	,232	,109	,213
(Q13) I believe refugees are people just like me	8,56	2,748	,282	,119	,193
(Q14) I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens	12,53	1,210	,176	,033	,478

Therefore, I could not combine the three items that make up my proposed scale for personal beliefs, which implied that I could not measure personal beliefs the way I wanted to and had to choose between taking one item or all of them separately. In the next paragraph I will explain my journey to the decision of taking only one item. Media exposure and duration of

hosting did not need to be combined into a scale, since they were measured with only one item.

5.2 Tests of normality

Since media exposure and perceived duration of hosting refugees are both measured with a Likert scale, one can assume they are not normally distributed. However, my new combined variables might be normally distributed. To test whether this was the case I did a Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk test.

Table 5 Tests of normality

	Tests of Normality					
	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	Df	Sig.	Statistic	Df	Sig.
Combined attitudes refugees	,303	136	,000	,767	136	,000
Combined societal impact: capacity and damage	,138	136	,000	,909	136	,000
Combined national security	,194	136	,000	,887	136	,000
Combined societal security	,165	136	,000	,900	136	,000
Combined general perceived societal impact	,092	136	,007	,943	136	,000
Combined attitudes tourists	,287	136	,000	,664	136	,000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

The results of these test, as seen in table 5, show that none of my variables are normally distributed, and therefore all my data should be treated as non-parametric.

5.3 Results

I will now present the results of my tests on correlations and quantitative non-parametric tests. The results are summarized in tables as well as narrated.

5.3.1 Correlations

Before doing any other statistical tests, it is useful to test whether there is a correlation between my proposed variables. Because of the non-parametric nature of my data and my small sample size I have used Kendall's Tau for this. Personal beliefs were not possible to group into one scale; therefore, I tested the correlation with the concerning variable per item that represented personal beliefs. The results can be seen in table 6.

Table 6 Correlations

Correlations based on Kendall's Tau	Attitudes towards refugees	Perceived societal impact: capacity and damage of refugees	Perceived societal security impact of refugees	Perception of national security impact of refugees	Personal beliefs about refugees	Perception of duration of hosting refugees
General perceived societal impacts (Combination of all impact)	-,284**					
Personal beliefs about refugees	Item Q12 Insignificant correlation					
	Item Q13 Insignificant correlation					
	Item Q14: ,410**					
Perception of duration of hosting	-,256**					
Attitudes towards tourist	Insignificant correlation	-,121*	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation
Exposure to media	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation	Insignificant correlation

(* if significant at 0,05 level, ** if significant at 0,01 level)

There are thus only significant correlations between:

- General perception of societal impact of refugees and attitudes towards hosting them
- Treatment of refugees as citizens of Greece and attitudes towards hosting them
- Perception of duration of time hosting refugees and attitudes towards hosting them
- Attitudes towards hosting tourists and perceived societal impact on capacity and damage by refugees

Since there are no correlations found between the other variables, I will only do four non-parametric tests based on these four correlations. Three of them will be Kruskal-Wallis, and one Mann Whitney U. Because it is not appropriate to create a scale for personal beliefs, I cannot test whether the accumulation of the three opinions influence attitudes towards hosting them. Moreover, I cannot test them all three separately, because there are no people that believe that refugees are not deserving of human rights and are not in essence similar to them (see table 7 & 8). Therefore I can only do a non-parametric regression test on Item Q14 (I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens) and see if different opinions cause different attitudes towards hosting refugees.

Table 7 Item Q12: I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Neutral	4	2,7
	Slightly agree	18	12,0
	Agree	74	49,3
	Completely agree	54	36,0
	Total	150	100,0

Table 8 Item Q13: I believe refugees are people just like me

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Neutral	1	,7
	Slightly agree	7	4,7
	Agree	81	54,4
	Completely agree	60	40,3
	Total	149	100,0
Missing		1	
Total		150	

5.3.2 Non-parametric regressions

Correlations are not the same as causations, and to see whether my variables can predict each other I will do four non-parametric regression tests. To be able to do non-parametric regression tests, I have to make nominal groups for my independent variables. In table 9 you can find an overview of the groups made, which items were combined, what scores were possible and the designed groups per variable. I decided to split the groups for general perceived societal impact in low, medium and high on grounds of even distribution. Personal beliefs and duration of hosting were split in three groups as well, but then negatively, neutrally or positively minded. For tourists attitudes I took the average of both scores and made a dummy.

Table 9 Independent groups summary

Scale	Items	Range	Groups
General perceived societal impact	Q15, Q16, Q17, Q18, Q19, Q20, Q21, Q22, Q23, Q24, Q25, Q26, Q27, Q28, Q29, Q30, Q31, Q32	36-124	Low impact: 36-54 Medium impact: 55-90 High impact: 91-124
Personal beliefs about refugees	Q14	1-7	Negative to citizenship: 1-3 Neutral to citizenship: 4 Positive to citizenship: 5-7
Perceived duration of hosting	Q11	1-7	Shorter perceived duration: 1-3 Neutral perceived duration: 4 Longer perceived duration: 5-7
Attitudes towards tourist hosting	Q8, Q9	2-14	Negative towards tourists: 2-7 Positive towards tourists: 8-14

The first non-parametric test I did was to see whether the general perceived impact of refugees on society resulted in more negative attitudes towards hosting them. There was a strong correlation between these two variables but that did not imply impact of one on the

other. To do that I designed three groups, one group with a low perceived impact, one group with a medium perceived impact and the last with a high perceived impact. The result of my Kruskal-Wallis test on this relation can be seen in table 10 on the next page. Since the correlation was significant and negative, this meant that a higher perceived impact on society results in more negative attitudes towards refugees.

The next non-parametric test I did was on whether personal beliefs can predict or cause certain attitudes. Since I could not scale a variable for this, I chose to only involve Q14 (about whether refugees should be treated the same as Greek citizens), since this item showed correlation with attitudes towards refugees and was able to be grouped. For this variable I made three groups: one that believed refugees should be treated the same, one for people that had a neutral opinion and one for people that think refugees do not deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens. Because there were three groups, I did a Kruskal-Wallis test to see whether the belief about citizenship could predict attitudes towards hosting refugees. Because the correlation between this item and attitudes were positive, the significant results from the Kruskal-Wallis test mean that the belief that refugees should be treated like Greek citizens results in more positive attitudes towards hosting them (see table 10).

The third non-parametric test was on perceived duration and its cause-effect relation with attitudes towards refugees. Again, I split this variable in three groups: one group that thought refugees were not there for longer than expected, one that thought neutral and one that thought they were longer in Mytilene than expected. The Kruskal-Wallis test on this relation resulted in the assumption that perceived duration does matter for the formation of attitudes towards refugees (again, see table 10 on next page). A longer perceived duration results in more negative attitudes towards hosting refugees since the correlation was negative.

The fourth test I did was on the influence of openness to tourists on perceived societal impact, and more specifically its influence on ideas of capacity problems and damage caused by refugees. I split the attitudes towards tourists in two groups: one that said to not like tourists and one that said they did. Then I did a Mann-Whitney test with societal capacity and damage by refugees as a test field. Even though the two variables correlated, a more negative or more positive attitude towards tourists did not result in a significant different perception of the societal impact on capacity and damage of refugees (see table 10).

Table 10 Non parametric tests

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.
1	The distribution of Combined attitudes refugees is the same across categories of General perceived impact	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,000
2	The distribution of Combined attitudes refugees is the same across categories of Treatment as Greek citizen	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,000
3	The distribution of Combined attitudes refugees is the same across categories of Perceived duration.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,008
4	The distribution of Combined societal impact: capacity and damage is the same across categories of Tourist attitude.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	,853

Furthermore, I did a test to see whether it mattered for people's attitudes, beliefs and perceptions to be employed in the tourist industry. The only significant influence it had was the attitude towards tourists, it did not result in significantly different attitudes, perceptions or beliefs about refugees (see appendix VI).

There were 10 extra tests that I have done for sub-question five, about how media exposure influences attitudes towards refugees. Because I have asked what media sources

respondents used, I was curious to see whether these sources mattered for their attitude towards refugees and the other variables under investigation. Therefore, I did 10 Kruskal-Wallis tests. However, I did not find any significant effects between media source and my other variables (see appendix V for results).

5.4 Interpretations and implications for qualitative analysis

My data allows me to say that the perceived impact of refugees on society and perceived duration of hosting refugees affects attitudes towards hosting them. The belief that refugees should or should not be treated as Greek citizens also seems to affect attitudes towards hosting them. This supports a lot of the discussed theories in my theoretical framework and answers my first three sub-questions.

My theory about the influence of openness to tourism, or attitudes towards hosting tourists and the effect on aspects that influence attitudes towards hosting refugees does not find any support in my quantitative analysis. Even though there was a correlation between attitude towards tourists and perceived societal impact of refugees on capacity and damage, it appeared that the attitude towards tourists did not result in different opinions about the impact of refugees on capacity and damage or on other aspects that influence attitudes towards refugees. There was no correlation between attitude towards tourists and perceived impact of refugees on national security and neither did the attitude towards tourist affect the perceived impact of refugees on societal security. These results will be contextualized in my participatory observation chapter, where I saw both supporting and contradicting incidents for these findings.

Furthermore, I did not find any proof for theories about the influence of media exposure on attitudes towards hosting refugees. There were no effects found between media exposure and any of the variables that are taken to represent the formation of attitudes towards

refugees. In chapter Seven I will dive deeper into the possible reasons for this, for now I have to conclude that media exposure does not prove to have any significant moderating value in this case.

Chapter Six: Narrated observations

In this chapter I will summarize the most important findings from my participatory observations, which I did on three locations: the Mytilene central bus station, the Mytilene ferry terminal and Tsamakia beach in Mytilene. My participatory observation is done to contextualize my findings from my survey. I did two observations of one hour at each location. In table 12 you can see the schedule for my observations reported in military time.

Table 12 Observation schedule

Place	Day	Time
Central bus station Mytilene	Tuesday May 28, 2019	8:15 – 9:15
Central bus station Mytilene	Thursday May 30, 2019	19:30 – 20:30
Mytilene ferry terminal	Friday May 17, 2019	15:40 – 16:40
Mytilene ferry terminal	Monday May 20, 2019	9:30 – 10:30
Tsamakia beach	Sunday May 19, 2019	14:10 – 15:10
Tsamakia beach	Saturday May 25, 2019	13:00 – 14:00

The elaborate reports from my observations can be found in Appendix VIII. In this chapter I will summarize the most important findings and relate them to my research.

6.1 Important findings

My first finding is related to my experience as a tourist in Mytilene; I was surprised by the lack of hospitality I enjoyed. Even though most of my respondents in my quantitative research said they felt positive towards tourism, I did not feel particularly welcomed during my observations. The only local that approached me was looking for a cigarette and people were not very smiley or friendly towards me.

Secondly, I observed segregation between men and women in the refugee population, and segregation between refugees, locals and tourists at the bus station. This had to do both with the destinations of the respective bus stops, but also seemed to have to do with implicit ideas of belonging.

“What struck me most from the beginning was that there was segregation visible. On one side of the road there were mostly people looking like refugees waiting for the bus, on the other side there were people that resembled students, Greek workers or tourists. On the side where refugees were waiting, the bus stop seemed segregated. There were two Greek looking men smoking beside the stop, and there was one elderly Greek lady sitting on the bench on the left side. On the bench on the right side there were three middle Eastern men sitting.”

Moreover, I found that some refugees tried to earn money in an informal way. This contextualizes the perceived economic impacts refugees have according to the locals.

“As I began to get bored as well, an African looking man in his twenties approached me: “Hey, you need to go Moria? You can buy a ticket from me, only one euro!” I told him that I did not need to go there, but that I wanted to go to Agiassos village. To climb a mountain. “Very beautiful, okay maybe next time, where are you from?” I chatted for a few minutes with the man who was apparently from Congo and found out that he was asking one euro for tickets worth 80 eurocents to Moria.”

At the beach, there were cultural differences visible, both in dressing as well as in use of beach furniture. These cultural differences could contextualize the societal security impact of refugees which locals experienced according to my quantitative data. However, it could also be that they wanted to divert societal capacity impacts, which does not say anything about how locals experience this way of use of the beach.

“Furthermore, there were enough beds for everyone. Even though the refugee ladies were sitting in the sand, they could have grabbed one of the empty beds behind them. And then I noticed that actually, all people that resembled refugees were sitting on the sand instead of the beds. All refugees and the group of Greek teenage boys.”

However, there were also exceptions that made the contrast between refugees and locals less stark: like the Caucasian girl wearing a t-shirt and the Greek boys sitting in the sand. The biggest societal security impacts I had come across were probably the Dutch boy who approached me about weed or my own question to a waitress about topless sunbathing. This indicates that tourists do have societal security impacts too.

Lastly, I did perceive some of the resistance towards refugees as I had found in my surveys. The discrimination I encountered at the port, when three refugees were not allowed to enter without ticket, in contrast with my experience walking right through illustrated the difference between perceptions and attitudes on tourists and refugees. I was not seen as threat, but the refugees were.

“As I walked back, I saw three middle eastern looking men trying to cross the gate, who were asked to show their papers. I was surprised to see this, because I had not experienced any problems in the two times I crossed the gate. They were pointed to the ticket desk and were not allowed to go to the dock and jetty without a ticket.”

But, there were also some observations that resembled empathy. For instance, the Greek men that helped a refugee woman enter a bus.

“The (muslim) woman with the baby carriage went to the door in the back, where she was struggling to enter. The two Greek looking men came to help her get in the bus, and the bus left.”

In short, I have seen occasions in which tourists made an impact, and occasions in which refugees did. I have seen discrimination but also empathy towards refugees, and as a tourist I did not receive extraordinary hospitality.

6.2 Interpretations

My findings in relation to the impact of societal capacity and damage were mixed. The bus station did not seem to be overcrowded and was organized quite well, the ferry terminal was

very busy, but still seemed to be organized and handled okay. Tsamakia beach was bustling, but not overcrowded.

In terms of economic damage, I have only come across one Congolese man who tried to sell bus tickets for 20 cents profit. Whether that is economic damage or an addition to the economy is a discussion outside the scope of this research. Other than that, the Greek bus company and ferry company seemed to profit from both refugees and tourists. On the beach, not many people ordered food and drinks, so I cannot say what impact either of these groups had on their income. Furthermore, the only person I had seen littering was the Greek boy on the beach. All areas seemed tidy and taken care off.

The fact that a lot of people in town, both refugees and tourists, did not speak Greek could also be experienced as harmful, even though my quantitative results show that this is not my respondents' biggest concern. However, I did find that tourists can challenge societal security aspects at times.

Mytilene seemed peaceful and like a multicultural town where things were happening for me as a tourist. The impacts of refugees on society did seem less stark because of my and other tourist's presence, however it is hard to observe how this is experienced by locals. Above all, segregation was visible: locals spoke to locals, tourists to tourists and refugees to refugees. There was not much mixing between these groups visible.

Chapter Seven: Recapitulation

In this chapter I will try to answer my sub-questions. I will do this in three steps. Firstly, I will revisit the theory or context for every sub-question. Secondly, I will explain what I found in my quantitative data analysis and my observations and thirdly I will link this to the theory and context I started this research with.

7.1 Societal impact and attitudes towards refugees

The impact of refugees on societal aspects like capacity and national and societal security were felt strongly by the survey respondents. Theories on the impact of refugees on societal capacity features like use of natural resources, burdens to medical care, education, housing, logistics, financial or administrative capacity as proposed by Lohrmann (2000) were confirmed in the data. Most people also felt that refugees caused economic damage. This finding supports Alix-Garcia and Saah (2009) research on urban hosting communities: urban areas can see a decline in wealth because of higher consumer demand. My finding is also in line with the McKinsey Global Institute (2016), that states that refugees cause negative impacts on wealth in the short term if the influx of refugees is big.

Environmental damage by refugees was also perceived by my respondents. Jacobsen (1996) states that if refugees are settled in camps, they are more likely to cause environmental damage because they do not interact with the host community. In the case of Mytilene, refugees are indeed settled in camps and environmental damage is perceived broadly. My findings therefore support Jacobsen's theory.

Moreover, my survey data confirms findings from Lohrmann (2000), King (2004) and Pickering (2008) about the hosting community's perceived impact of refugees on national security. A majority of the respondents did perceive a threat to national security, or an increase of violence and crime caused by refugees. Because I did not research factual events, I

can only claim that people feel threats to national security. Theories on societal security as posed by Lohrmann (2000), Salehyan & Gleditsch (2006), Whitaker (2003), Doty (1998) Donev, Onceva, & Cligorov (2002) Jacobsen (2002) and Holmes & Castañeda (2016) also resonated with the findings from my survey. Refugees were seen as a threat to the Greek ethnicity, language and culture by the majority of my respondents.

My observations illustrated my survey data in the sense that I came across refugees that took part in the informal economy and that refugees were seen as a threat to the security of the harbor. Segregation was visible, locals, refugees and tourists alike all stuck to their respective groups. Impacts to the capacity or damage to the environment were not observed.

So how do perceptions on societal impact influence attitudes towards hosting refugees in Mytilene? From my non-parametric regression tests results I can say that perceptions on societal impact directly influence attitudes towards hosting refugees. Perceptions of negative impacts on capacity and security and the causing of damage lead to a more negative attitude towards hosting refugees. This could have to do with the setting: the urban context with refugee camps outside the city, and the big influx of people the island encountered. However, the only thing I can claim is that there is a negative correlation between damage, capacity and security threats and hospitality towards refugees and that thus, these aspects play a role in the attitude formation process for hosting communities.

7.2 Personal beliefs and attitudes towards refugees

Personal beliefs were conceptualized as the combination of social influences and socialization processes and measured using Richmond & Valtonen's (1994) conceptualization: respondents were asked whether they believed refugees are equal to them, whether they believed refugees deserve to be protected under human rights and whether they believed refugees deserve to be treated like Greek citizens. It turned out that not one respondent said they believed refugees

were not equal or not deserving of human rights. There was however controversy about whether refugees deserved to be treated the same as Greek citizens. According to my data, one can believe people are the same but at the same one can believe those people should not be treated the same. This could be explained by Swim & Cohen's (1997) theory about socially desirable egalitarianism or Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler's (2000) theory on multiple attitudes.

My survey data showed that the belief that refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens positively correlates with hospitality towards refugees. If one believes refugees should not be treated the same as Greek citizens, it is likely that this person has a negative attitude towards hosting refugees. The answer to my second sub-question: how do personal beliefs about refugees influence attitudes towards hosting refugees in Mytilene? is therefore that mixed personal beliefs can still lead to negative attitudes towards hosting refugees and that only the belief in similar treatment is indicative for one's attitude. One can believe (or say they believe) they are similar to refugees and that refugees deserve their human rights to be protected but still dislike hosting them.

7.2 Duration and attitudes towards refugees

Schmeidl (2002) described how perceived duration of hosting can have a big impact on the attitude towards hosting refugees. Especially when the perceived duration expires the expected duration of hosting, people can get irritated. In this research I found this to be true. The survey data showed on a 0,01 level of significance that the perception of a longer duration than expected results in more negative attitudes towards hosting refugees. The answer to my third sub-question is therefore that perceived duration negatively correlates with hospitality towards refugees: longer perceived duration results in more negative attitudes towards hosting refugees.

7.3 Tourists and attitudes towards refugees

Tourism was taken as a moderating variable in this research. From the theory it seemed that refugees and tourists share more negative associations than one would assume. Tourists can cause environmental destruction, cause threats to societal security and they can strain roads and other infrastructural works. They also share some positive impacts, and I argued that because of the presence of tourists, and especially Turkish tourists, the host community might be more positive towards refugees if they are positive towards hosting tourists. However, it could also be, like Okaka (2014) argues, that host communities are more negative towards refugees because of their touristic features. Ivanov & Stavrinoudis (2018) claim that people employed in the tourism industry have the most negative attitudes towards hosting refugees, since they see them as a direct threat to the popularity of their destination and thus income.

My survey data showed that openness to tourism, or positive attitudes towards hosting them and the effect on aspects that influence attitudes towards hosting refugees do not have a relation. There was a small correlation between attitude towards tourists and perceived societal impact of refugees on capacity and damage. However, it appeared from my non-parametric regression test that the attitude towards tourists did not result in different opinions about the impact of refugees on capacity and damage or on other aspects that influence attitudes towards refugees. I also could not confirm Ivanov & Stavrinoudis' theory about employment in the tourism industry and negative attitudes towards hosting refugees: I did not find any relation.

I therefore argue that tourism does not have a moderating value in the attitude formation process towards refugees for host communities. Even though my observations report that tourists do have similar impacts on a host community, this is not experienced by the host community and does not change ideas of impact or beliefs about refugees for that

host community. Moreover, being employed in the tourism industry does not result in more negative perceptions on impacts or more negative beliefs about refugees.

7.4 Media exposure and attitudes towards refugees

A share of scholars claim that media exposure influences attitude formation towards hosting refugees. The media can influence personal beliefs (Lohrmann, 2000; Höijer, 2004), it's negative publicity can have bad consequences for the local economy (Okaka, 2004) and the media can influence the perceived duration of hosting, resulting in more negative attitudes towards refugees (Wright, 2014).

In my context chapter, I discussed four papers on Greek refugee discourse in the media. Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016) found that both right-wing and left-wing media mentioned a lot of violence in articles about refugees. Both sides also reported clashes between Macedonia and Greece about the management of refugees, making national security impacts real. Topics related to national security were also broadly found by Konstantinidou and Michailidou (2014) who said the media in general focused a lot on “Lathrometanastes” (or illegal immigrants) participation in crime and ghettoization in urban areas. Most media sources under review created moral panic by emphasizing an out of control threat against Greece and its citizens. On the other hand, Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti did find that none of the Greek newspapers mentioned terrorism or ISIL. Konstantinidou and Michailidou also found a lot of visual imagery that quantified the refugee arrivals in months, years, with big arrows and with threatening language like the “sinking of the Aegean island of Lesbos” (p. 126). Seemingly confirming Wright's (2014) theory of coverage on duration.

However, my survey data could not support any of the theories about the influence of media exposure on the process of attitude formation towards hosting refugees. There were no different perceptions about national security, the duration of hosting or differences in any of

the other variables in the attitude formation process between people that were highly exposed to media and people that were not. I also tested whether the type of media mattered for people's attitudes, but the results were negative.

As an explanation for my findings, I will go with Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou's (2018) suggestion that media exposure does not necessarily lead to different opinions but more to a stronger polarization between opinions, or personal beliefs. Also Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti and Konstantinidou & Michailidou emphasized the ideological or political differences between the papers under their investigation and concluded that both rightist and leftist papers use the same event to argue for their own stance, resulting in very different coverage of news. Kadianaki, Andreouli & Carretero (2018) illustrate this very well with their example about the completely opposite implications for the present from the believed moral obligations to the past: being Greek meaning you have to either defend or share it. Arguments could both lead to egalitarian and xenophobic beliefs. Therefore, I conclude that the reason that I could not find any relation between media exposure and perceptions, beliefs or resulting attitudes towards refugees in Mytilene could have to do with the fact that it depends much more on the source of publication than on the exposure to or type of media in general.

Chapter Eight: Final conclusion, reflection and recommendations

In this chapter I will conclude my research by answering my research question and reflect on its content, scientific relevance and used methods. Moreover, I will provide five recommendations for future research and two recommendations for policy on refugee hosting community and refugee dynamics.

8.1 Conclusion

In this paper I researched the attitude formation towards refugees for people living in the tourist and refugee hosting city of Mytilene. I wanted to contribute to the range of theories on refugee host community impacts, as well as provide an innovative link to tourism and media studies by looking at how existing theories about refugee impacts, perceptions and beliefs get challenged, contextualized and illustrated by this city's specific circumstances and media attention. This paper took a symbolic interactionist approach and therefore did not focus on factual evidence of the impact of refugees on a local population, but solely on how these impacts were interpreted and led to certain attitudes. Attitudes are thus conceptualized in this research as the result of mixing short-term encounters with the subject, long-term socialization about the subject and external information on the subject. Respectively they represent some of the variables in my research, namely the perceived impacts of refugees on society, personal beliefs about refugees and media exposure on refugees.

The mid-range theories on refugee hosting provided me an elaborate framework on how attitudes towards refugees can be formed and influenced. From my framework I chose three concepts to test in my research, namely: general perceived impact of refugees on society, personal beliefs about refugees and perceived duration of hosting refugees. My concept of perceived impact is categorized in three groups of theories: capacity and damage, national security and societal security impact. Furthermore, I wanted to see whether openness

towards tourists could influence the perceived impacts of refugees on society. The literature suggested that they might impact capacity, or cause environmental damage as well as can be perceived as a threat to societal security, which could prove the impact posed by refugees less significant. Lastly, I wanted to address an even broader thematic by including the influence of media exposure on attitude formation as well.

My survey data led me to conclude that the perceived impact of refugees on society and the perceived duration of hosting refugees affects attitudes towards hosting them. Since I could not produce an appropriate scale for personal beliefs about refugees, I chose to only use the question about equal treatment between refugees and Greek citizens as indicative, since the other items for that scale did not get ambiguous responses. The belief that refugees should or should not be treated as Greek citizens also proved to affect attitudes towards hosting them.

Furthermore, it appeared that positive or negative attitudes towards hosting tourists did not result in different perceptions on the impact of refugees on capacity and damage or on societal security. Neither did employment in the tourism industry matter for attitudes towards hosting refugees. From my observations it shows that tourists do indeed have similar impacts to a hosting community as refugees, but they are seen as a very different group. I argue that societal impacts caused by tourists are therefore differently experienced and not moderating the attitude formation process towards hosting refugees.

Moreover, media exposure did not prove to influence (parts of) the attitude formation process towards hosting refugees and thus did not lead to different attitudes towards hosting refugees according to my research. Exposure to different types of media (social or traditional for example) also did not result in different attitudes. This could be explained with the fact that all types of media broadcast both egalitarian and xenophobic beliefs, depending on the political orientation. I argue thus that the influence of media exposure on attitude formation

towards hosting refugees might depend more on the source of media than media exposure in general.

8.2 Reflection

In this part I will discuss which questions remained unanswered and what new questions have arose. Secondly I will judge my paper on its relevance for other scientific papers. Lastly, I will discuss the limitations to my methods.

8.2.1 Content and relevance

Looking back on the content of this paper, I am pleased with the explorative results of my research and feel like I did contribute to scientific knowledge on refugee hosting dynamics. The field of refugee hosting studies is very diverse and lacks interactions within but also with other areas of study: I feel like, however troublesome, I provided a bridge between some of the studies I addressed.

The biggest problem with the content of my research is probably the lack of generalization or representativity it provides. Because of the unique circumstances of my case study, it is very hard to draw conclusions about other refugee hosting areas. However, this research could be used as a source of inspiration for those aspiring to undertake a similar research.

8.2.2 Methods

The methods in my design were chosen mostly because I did not speak the language of my respondents. I think I would have felt more comfortable to choose interviews or focus-groups if I did speak the language. However, ethical considerations would then still be relevant. Refugee hosting is a culturally sensitive topic because of the polarization in the debates and

therefore it is hard to say if my data constitutes real perceptions and attitudes or that they are biased because of my presence.

Limitations to the quantitative part are that some of my questions can be regarded as too directive and that because of my purposive sampling method, the data might not prove representative for the population of Mytilene. I had to make a lot of a priori assumptions which could have led me to miss a big part of the answer to my research question. Posing questions in a different direction might have led to different results.

For my qualitative data I must say that as an outsider you get a superficial idea of what is going on and it is very hard not to make premature conclusions based on these observations. I looked at evidence of possible societal impacts by both refugees and tourists in Mytilene and the response or awareness of locals on this but this was not an easy thing to observe.

8.3 Recommendations

This paragraph provides some recommendations for future scientific research and ideas to improve the dynamics between host communities and refugees.

8.3.1 Future research

There were four interesting research questions that arose from my theoretical framework that could not be included or could not be answered in this paper. Firstly, I could not judge whether host communities judge differently on the impact of refugees based on their lifestyle: urban or rural. Alix-Garcia and Saah (2009) noticed this difference, and I could only confirm that it was true that the urban hosting community of Mytilene felt a negative economic impact by hosting refugees. It would be interesting to see whether other impacts as proposed in my theoretical framework are also experienced differently by urban and rural communities and whether the theory of difference in perception on economic impact applies to the island of Lesbos. Secondly, McKinsey Global Institute (2016) claimed that the economic impact of

refugees on hosting communities can change over time: the longer the hosting, the more positive the impact. It would be interesting to repeat my research in five years to see whether their theory applies to Mytilene.

Thirdly, Griffin (2016) and Doğan (1989) noted that tourists have a way bigger socio-economic impact on the local community than in the past. It would be interesting to research whether respondents in Mytilene felt this to be true. Fourth and lastly, Hoijer (2004) claimed that host communities get sick from the overload of compassion by foreigners. It would be interesting to see whether this is true in Mytilene and if indeed this leads to a rejection of visitors (be it refugees or tourists) in general.

8.3.2 Policy recommendations

My research inspired me two policy recommendations for refugee hosting community management. The first recommendation is to include hosting communities more in the management of refugees. At the moment there are mostly international non-governmental organizations and people undertaking the role of management in and around the camps in Mytilene, but it would lead to more empathy for refugees in locals if they were also employed and included in these organizations. By employing locals, you make them stakeholders that have interest in the sustainability of the hosting and you get first hand insights on how impacts on the local community can be minimized or avoided.

My second recommendation is inspired by Jacobsen's (1996) theory on environmental impact and living conditions of refugees. At the moment, most refugees are settled in camps, which results in very little communication with the host society. This can off course be considered positive, since their presence is less felt because of their allocation. However, because of the way refugees are settled, they are maintained as outsiders and will therefore maybe behave accordingly as well. I think it would lead to a better interaction between both

refugees and the local community if the UNHCR invested more in renting rooms from locals. Also, there are a lot of empty buildings, or ruins, in Mytilene that need renovation. If refugees could be employed to renovate these buildings and in return get to sleep in a real house instead of an ISO-box or tent, this would empower them as well as provide them the ability to gain respect from the local community.

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Appendix I: Epistemological framework

Concept	Dimension	Variable	Survey question
Current attitudes towards the presence of refugees in Mytilene	Perceived impact of refugees on society	Perceived influence of refugees on national security	I believe refugees form a threat to national security
			I believe refugees cause crime
			I believe refugees cause violence
			I believe refugees cause conflicts within my society
		Perceived influence of refugees on societal security	I believe refugees cause a threat to our culture
			I believe refugees cause a threat to our language
			I believe refugees cause a threat to the Greek identity
			I believe refugees cause a threat to Greek values
		Perceived influence of refugees on natural resources	I believe refugees strain our natural resources
		Perceived influence of refugees on medical care	I believe refugees strain our medical system
		Perceived influence of refugees on education	I believe refugees strain our education system

	Perceived influence of refugees on housing	I believe refugees strain our capacity to find appropriate housing
	Perceived influence of refugees on infrastructure	I believe refugees strain our infrastructure
	Perceived influence of refugees on administrative capacity	I believe refugees strain our administrative capacity
	Perceived influence of refugees on the economy	I believe refugees cause unemployment
		I believe refugees cause economical damage to my household
		I believe refugees cause economical damage to Mytilene
	Perceived influence of refugees on environmental damage	I believe refugees cause environmental damage
Perceived duration of hosting refugees	Time	Refugees have been in Mytilene for longer than I expected
Personal beliefs about refugees	Belief in human rights	I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights

		Egalitarian belief	I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens
			I believe refugees are people just like me
	Attitudes towards tourists	Hospitality towards tourists	Tourists are welcome to stay in or near Mytilene
			Tourists are a positive addition to my society
	Exposure to media	Media sources	What media sources do you use? Multiple answers are possible.
		Degree of exposure	How often do you use these sources?

Appendix II: English Survey

Survey	
<u>Survey question</u>	<u>Possible answers</u>
1. What is your gender?	<input type="radio"/> Female <input type="radio"/> Male <input type="radio"/> I rather not identify myself in this way
2. What is your age?
3. How long have you lived in Mytilene?
4. What is your highest level of education?	<input type="radio"/> Primary education <input type="radio"/> Highschool certificate <input type="radio"/> College certificate <input type="radio"/> University graduate <input type="radio"/> University post graduate
5. What media sources do you use? Multiple answers are possible.	<input type="radio"/> Social media <input type="radio"/> Conventional newspapers <input type="radio"/> Online newspapers <input type="radio"/> Television <input type="radio"/> Radio <input type="radio"/> Magazines <input type="radio"/> Other, please specify:
6. How often do you use these sources?	<input type="radio"/> Never <input type="radio"/> Yearly <input type="radio"/> Monthly <input type="radio"/> Weekly <input type="radio"/> Daily
7. Are you involved in the tourism industry?	<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No
8. Tourists are welcome to stay in or near Mytilene	<input type="radio"/> Completely disagree <input type="radio"/> Disagree <input type="radio"/> Slightly disagree <input type="radio"/> Neutral <input type="radio"/> Slightly agree

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
9. Tourists are a positive addition to my society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
10. Refugees are welcome to stay in or near Mytilene	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
11. Refugees have been in Mytilene for longer than I expected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
12. I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
13. I believe refugees are people just like me	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree

	<input type="radio"/> Completely agree
14. I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens	<input type="radio"/> Completely disagree <input type="radio"/> Disagree <input type="radio"/> Slightly disagree <input type="radio"/> Neutral <input type="radio"/> Slightly agree <input type="radio"/> Agree <input type="radio"/> Completely agree
15. I believe refugees form a threat to national security	<input type="radio"/> Completely disagree <input type="radio"/> Disagree <input type="radio"/> Slightly disagree <input type="radio"/> Neutral <input type="radio"/> Slightly agree <input type="radio"/> Agree <input type="radio"/> Completely agree
16. I believe refugees cause crime	<input type="radio"/> Completely disagree <input type="radio"/> Disagree <input type="radio"/> Slightly disagree <input type="radio"/> Neutral <input type="radio"/> Slightly agree <input type="radio"/> Agree <input type="radio"/> Completely agree
17. I believe refugees cause violence	<input type="radio"/> Completely disagree <input type="radio"/> Disagree <input type="radio"/> Slightly disagree <input type="radio"/> Neutral <input type="radio"/> Slightly agree <input type="radio"/> Agree <input type="radio"/> Completely agree
18. I believe refugees cause conflicts within my society	<input type="radio"/> Completely disagree <input type="radio"/> Disagree <input type="radio"/> Slightly disagree <input type="radio"/> Neutral <input type="radio"/> Slightly agree <input type="radio"/> Agree <input type="radio"/> Completely agree

19. I believe refugees cause a threat to our culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
20. I believe refugees cause a threat to our language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
21. I believe refugees cause a threat to the Greek identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
22. I believe refugees cause a threat to Greek values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
23. I believe refugees strain our natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree

24. I believe refugees strain our medical system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
25. I believe refugees strain our education system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
26. I believe refugees strain our capacity to find appropriate housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
27. I believe refugees strain our infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
28. I believe refugees strain our administrative capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree

29. I believe refugees cause unemployment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
30. I believe refugees cause economical damage to my household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
31. I believe refugees cause economical damage to Mytilene	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
32. I believe refugees cause environmental damage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
33. Refugees are welcome to stay in or near Mytilene	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree ○ Disagree ○ Slightly disagree ○ Neutral ○ Slightly agree ○ Agree ○ Completely agree
34. I am pleased that Mytilene hosts refugees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Completely disagree

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Disagree○ Slightly disagree○ Neutral○ Slightly agree○ Agree○ Completely agree
--	--

Appendix III: Greek Survey

Επισκόπηση	
1. Ποιο είναι το φύλο σου;	<input type="radio"/> Γυναίκα <input type="radio"/> Άντρας <input type="radio"/> Μάλλον δεν προσδιορίζω τον εαυτό μου με αυτόν τον τρόπο
2. Ποια είναι η ηλικία σας;
3. Πόσο καιρό έχετε ζήσει στη Μυτιλήνη;
4. Ποιο είναι το υψηλότερο επίπεδο εκπαίδευσης σας;	<input type="radio"/> Πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση <input type="radio"/> πιστοποιητικού γυμνασίου <input type="radio"/> Πιστοποιητικό Λυκείου <input type="radio"/> πτυχίου πανεπιστημίου <input type="radio"/> μεταπτυχιακού του Πανεπιστημίου
5. Ποιες πηγές των μέσων ενημέρωσης χρησιμοποιείτε; Είναι δυνατές πολλές απαντήσεις.	<input type="radio"/> Κοινωνικά μέσα <input type="radio"/> Συμβατικές εφημερίδες <input type="radio"/> Ηλεκτρονικές εφημερίδες <input type="radio"/> Τηλεόραση <input type="radio"/> Ραδιόφωνο <input type="radio"/> Περιοδικά <input type="radio"/> Άλλο, παρακαλείσθε να προσδιορίσετε:
6. Πόσο συχνά χρησιμοποιείτε αυτές τις πηγές;	<input type="radio"/> Ποτέ <input type="radio"/> Ετησίως <input type="radio"/> Μηνιαία <input type="radio"/> Εβδομαδιαία <input type="radio"/> Καθημερινά
7. Εργάζεστε στον τομέα του τουρισμού;	<input type="radio"/> Ναι <input type="radio"/> Όχι
8. Οι τουρίστες είναι ευπρόσδεκτοι να παραμείνουν μέσα ή κοντά στη Μυτιλήνη	<input type="radio"/> Διαφωνώ απόλυτα <input type="radio"/> Διαφωνώ <input type="radio"/> Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα <input type="radio"/> Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ <input type="radio"/> Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
9. Οι τουρίστες αποτελούν θετική προσθήκη στην κοινωνία μου	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
10. Οι πρόσφυγες είναι ευπρόσδεκτοι να παραμείνουν στη Μυτιλήνη ή κοντά σε αυτήν	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
11. Οι πρόσφυγες βρίσκονταν στη Μυτιλήνη για περισσότερο χρόνο από όσο περίμενα	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
12. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες αξίζουν να προστατεύονται σύμφωνα με τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
13. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες είναι άνθρωποι όπως εγώ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
14. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες αξίζουν να αντιμετωπίζονται όπως οι Έλληνες πολίτες	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
15. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες αποτελούν απειλή για την εθνική ασφάλεια	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
16. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες προκαλούν περισσότερο έγκλημα στη Μυτιλήνη	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
17. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες προκαλούν βία	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
18. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες προκαλούν συγκρούσεις μέσα στην κοινωνία μου	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα

<p>19. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες απειλούν τον πολιτισμό μας</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>20. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες απειλούν τη γλώσσα μας</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>21. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες απειλούν την ελληνική ταυτότητα</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>22. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες απειλούν τις ελληνικές αξίες</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>23. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες πιέζουν τους φυσικούς μας πόρους</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα

<p>24. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες πιέζουν το ιατρικό μας σύστημα</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>25. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες πιέζουν το εκπαιδευτικό μας σύστημα</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>26. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες πιέζουν την ικανότητά μας να βρούμε κατάλληλη στέγη</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>27. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες ασκούν μεγάλη πίεση στη διοικητική ικανότητα</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>28. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες βλάπτουν τη διοικητική μας ικανότητα</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ο Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ο Διαφωνώ ο Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ο Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ο Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ ο Συμφωνώ απόλυτα

<p>29. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες προκαλούν ανεργία</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ○ Διαφωνώ ○ Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ○ Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ○ Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>30. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες προκαλούν οικονομική ζημιά στο νοικοκυριό μου</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ○ Διαφωνώ ○ Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ○ Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ○ Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>31. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες προκαλούν οικονομική ζημιά στη Μυτιλήνη</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ○ Διαφωνώ ○ Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ○ Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ○ Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>32. Πιστεύω ότι οι πρόσφυγες προκαλούν περιβαλλοντική ζημιά στη Μυτιλήνη</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ○ Διαφωνώ ○ Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ○ Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ○ Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
<p>33. Οι πρόσφυγες είναι ευπρόσδεκτοι να παραμείνουν στη Μυτιλήνη ή κοντά σε αυτήν</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ○ Διαφωνώ ○ Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ○ Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
34. Χαίρομαι που η Μυτιλήνη βοηθά τους πρόσφυγες	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα ○ Διαφωνώ ○ Διαφωνώ ελάχιστα ○ Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ ○ Ελαφρώς συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ ○ Συμφωνώ απόλυτα

Appendix IV: Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
(Q1) What is your gender?	150	1	2	1	1,46	,500	,250
(Q2) What is your age?	146	17	75	41	41,29	15,110	228,306
(Q3) How long have you lived in Mytilene?	150	2	69	20	23,86	16,292	265,437
(Q4) What is your highest level of education?	150	1	5	3	3,08	,815	,665
(Q5) What media sources do you use?	150	1	6	1	1,89	1,376	1,895
(Q6) How often do you use these sources?	150	1	5	5	4,75	,829	,687
(Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?	150	1	2	2	1,89	,318	,101
(Q8) Tourists are welcome to stay in or near Mytilene	148	2	7	6	6,14	,959	,920
(Q9) Tourists are a positive addition to my society	149	2	7	7	6,32	,980	,961
(Q10) Refugees are welcome to stay in or near Mytilene	150	1	7	2	2,43	1,508	2,273
(Q11) Refugees have been in Mytilene for longer than I expected	150	1	7	6	6,14	,976	,953
(Q12) I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights	150	4	7	6	6,19	,745	,556
(Q13) I believe refugees are people just like me	149	4	7	6	6,34	,601	,362
(Q14) I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens	150	1	7	2	2,39	1,399	1,957
(Q15) I believe refugees form a threat to national security	149	2	7	6	5,44	1,327	1,761
(Q16) I believe refugees cause crime	147	2	7	6	5,84	1,077	1,160
(Q17) I believe refugees cause violence	149	2	7	6	5,75	1,179	1,391
(Q18) I believe refugees cause conflicts within my society	148	2	7	6	5,79	1,058	1,119
(Q19) I believe refugees cause a threat to our culture	150	1	7	3	3,18	1,738	3,021
(Q20) I believe refugees cause a threat to our language	149	1	7	2	2,75	1,732	2,999

(Q21) I believe refugees cause a threat to the Greek identity	150	1	7	2	3,11	1,751	3,068
(Q22) I believe refugees cause a threat to Greek values	149	1	7	3	3,22	1,766	3,120
(Q23) I believe refugees strain our natural resources	147	2	7	6	5,33	1,356	1,838
(Q24) I believe refugees strain our medical system	150	2	7	6	5,30	1,408	1,983
(Q25) I believe refugees strain our education system	150	1	7	6	5,27	1,527	2,331
(Q26) I believe refugees strain our capacity to find appropriate housing	150	1	7	5	5,08	1,324	1,752
(Q27) I believe refugees strain our infrastructure	150	1	7	6	5,38	1,257	1,579
(Q28) I believe refugees strain our administrative capacity	145	1	7	6	5,34	1,420	2,017
(Q29) I believe refugees cause unemployment	150	1	7	5	4,57	1,751	3,065
(Q30) I believe refugees cause economical damage to my household	150	1	7	5	4,59	1,773	3,143
(Q31) I believe refugees cause economical damage to Mytilene	150	2	7	6	5,61	1,365	1,863
(Q32) I believe refugees cause environmental damage	150	2	7	6	5,93	1,139	1,298
(Q33) Refugees are welcome to stay in or near Mytilene	150	1	7	1	2,16	1,671	2,793
(Q34) I am pleased that Mytilene hosts refugees	150	1	7	2	2,61	1,850	3,421
Valid N (listwise)	133						

Appendix V: Kruskal-Wallis test on media sources

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of Combined attitudes refugees is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,768	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of Combined societal impact: capacity and damage is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,723	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of Combined national security is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,271	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of Combined societal security is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,467	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of Combined perceived societal impact is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,662	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of Combined attitudes tourists is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,528	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of (Q11) Refugees have been in Mytilene for longer than I expected is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,542	Retain the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of (Q12) I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,227	Retain the null hypothesis.
9	The distribution of (Q13) I believe refugees are people just like me is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,554	Retain the null hypothesis.

10	The distribution of (Q14) I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens is the same across categories of (Q5) What media sources do you use?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	,973	Retain the null hypothesis.
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Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is ,050.

Appendix VI: Mann-Whitney U test on involvement in tourist industry

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of Combined attitudes refugees is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,481	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of Combined societal impact: capacity and damage is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,364	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of Combined national security is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,169	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of Combined societal security is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,555	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of Combined perceived societal impact is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,727	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of Combined attitudes tourists is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,005	Reject the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of (Q11) Refugees have been in Mytilene for longer than I expected is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,518	Retain the null hypothesis.

8	The distribution of (Q12) I believe refugees deserve to be protected according to human rights is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,507	Retain the null hypothesis.
9	The distribution of (Q13) I believe refugees are people just like me is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,074	Retain the null hypothesis.
10	The distribution of (Q14) I believe refugees deserve to be treated the same as Greek citizens is the same across categories of (Q7) Are you involved in the tourist industry?.	Independen t-Samples Mann- Whitney U Test	,955	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is ,050.

Appendix VII: Overview discourse analysis Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti (2016)

Greece	%	Germany	%	UK	%
Reference to a number	62.9	Reference to a number	36.1	Reference to a number	71
Management	10	Syrians	6.3	Child	21.5
Hotspots	7.7	Many	5.4	Syrian	20
Transport	7	Number	4.4	Anti-	14
Number	6.4	Repatriation (forced)	4.3	Illegal	10
Arrival(s)	5.8	Registered (' <i>anerkannte</i> ')	3.2	Stranded	6
UN	5.5	Accommodation	3	Irregular	6
Treatment	4.5	Young	2.8	Economic	5.5
Turkey	3.5	Minors—children	2.8	Deport	5
Syrian(s)	3.5	Registration (' <i>Aufnahme</i> ')	2.6	Unaccompanied	5
Camp	3.1	Fewer	2.5	EU	5
Illegal/Irregular	3.1	Distribution	2.3	Pro-	5
Refoulement	2.5	Integration	2.1	Incoming/inward	4
Movement	2.5	Incoming	2.1	Reject/rejected	4
To host/hosting	2.5	Other	1.8	Welcome	3.5
Trapped	2.2	Against	1.7	Border	3
Flows	2.2	Influx	1.6	Group of	3
To reside/residence	2.2	Those who have entered (' <i>Eingereisten</i> ')	1.6	Short-term	3
Return(s)	1.9	Civil war (' <i>Bürgerkriegs</i> ')	1.4	Uncontrolled	3
Trafficking	1.9	Migration	1.3	Flow	3
Right(s)	1.9	Illegal	1.2	Inciting	3
Registration	1.9	Plenty	1	Cut	3
Relocation	1.9	Handling	0.9	Against	2
Administrative authority	1.9	To supply	0.9	Mass	2
To integrate	1.6	Group	0.8	Wave of	2
Conditions	1.6	Turkey	0.8	Europe's	2
Agreement	1.6	Total number	0.8	Deter	2
Greece	1.6	Balkan route	0.8	Long-term	2
Weight	1.6	Hundreds of thousands	0.8	Afghan	2
Protection	1.6	Muslim(s)	0.5	Women	2
–	–	To arrive	0.5	Plight	2
–	–	To return/to take back	0.5	Handle	2

Greece	%	Germany	%	UK	%
(Central/Northern/Southern) Greece	46.4	Turkey	46.8	Turkey/Turkish (e.g. authorities)	69
Hotspots	40.9	EU	27.8	Camps/camped/encampment	59
Turkey	40.9	Greece	25.8	Greece/Greek islands/Greek shores	58
Idomeni	30.9	Greek	17.6	EU–Turkey deal/migration deal/accord	45
Country	29.3	To come/arrive	17.3	Children/minors	44
Piraeus	27.4	Island(s)	16.2	Lesvos/Mytilene	43
EU	27.4	Germany	15.8	Crisis	39
Islands	27.4	People	13.6	Syria/Syrian	32
Located	26.1	Syrian	13.6	Unaccompanied	31
To remain	26.1	To return	12.2	Libya/Libyan	30
Port	25.1	Number	10.7	Italy	29
Camp	22.2	March	10.5	Europe	29
Borders	20.9	Border(s)	10.3	Boats	28
Agreement	20.9	Many	10.2	Asylum	26
To arrive	19	Refugee pact (' <i>Fluchtlingpakts</i> ')	10	Deportations	25
Flows	18	Registration	9.8	Idomeni	19
Conditions	17.7	Other/different	9.6	Mediterranean	19
Lesvos	16.1	Against	9.5	Smugglers	18
Police	15.8	Goods	8.4	Terrorism/terrorists/IS/ISIS/ISIL ^a	17
To be transferred	15.1	Idomeni	7.7	Balkan route/Balkan migrant trail	16
Europe	14.5	Lesvos	7.2	Women	16
Returns/to return	13.8	Federal government	7.2	UN High Commissioner for Refugees/UN	16
Government	13.5	Illegal	6.9	Resettled/resettlement programme	15
Chios	12.6	County	6.6	EU	14
Situation	12.2	To give	5.9	Greek–Macedonian (border)	14
Transfer	11.9	Year	5.7	Conditions	14
Spaces	11.9	Chios	5.6	Britain	14
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia/FYROM	11.9	State/country	5.4	Detention/detention centre/immigration centre/holding centre	13
Asylum request	11.9	Repatriation (forced)	5.4	Afghanistan/Afghans	12
Italy	11.6	Europe	5.4	Piraeus	11

Source: Authors' own compilation

Appendix VIII: Observation reports

The bus station

Tuesday May 28, 2019 - 8:15 – 9:15

It was a Tuesday morning in May. The central square of Mytilene was hot, busy and chaotic. Greek restaurant and café workers were preoccupied with cleaning and setting up the terraces. People were rushing to get through traffic on their scooters or trying not to get hit by cars while crossing the road. I was on a mission to find a specific bus to Agiassos, pretending to be a tourist wanting to climb Mount Olympos, or Profitis Ilias as the locals called it. As a true tourist, I was holding a map of the island in my hand, which the local car rental provided me a few weeks earlier. I tried to look as lost as possible, where did I need to go again? And how to get there?

I approached an elderly, Greek looking lady, asking for directions. She waved no and came across somewhat irritated. There were bus stops on both sides of the roads, so I decided to try on the other side. Here there were fewer elderly people, and more African or Middle Eastern looking people. Since I had lived in Mytilene for two months already, I knew that the busses there go to the refugee camps and other villages north of Mytilene, like Agiassos. Again, I tried to ask a Greek looking lady, she appeared around the same age as me. She was happy to help me and told me to go to the ticket desk, which was on the other side of the road. And so, I went, crossed the street while trying not to get run over or be a hazard to anyone. There were 3 people standing in line for the ticket desk, one elderly man speaking in Greek to the ticket desk lady, one man around the age of 30 wearing military clothes and one teenage girl, scrolling her phone while looking bored and frustrated.

I waited for some 5 to 10 minutes but the elderly man in front was now screaming at the ticket lady. I recalled that he does not need to be angry, but that this could also be a

normal way of communicating in Greece. As I began to get bored as well, an African looking man in his twenties approached me: “Hey, you need to go Moria? You can buy a ticket from me, only one euro!” I told him that I did not need to go there, but that I wanted to go to Agiassos village. To climb a mountain. “Very beautiful, okay maybe next time, where are you from?” I chatted for a few minutes with the man who was apparently from Congo and found out that he was asking one euro for tickets worth 80 eurocents to Moria. I did not dare to ask, but I could not help myself from wondering how much one could earn from selling those tickets for a day.

Nevertheless, time ran a bit faster while having this chat, and all of the sudden it was my turn at the ticket desk. “Hi, I need to go to Agiassos. When is the bus going and how much is a ticket?” The lady behind the desk told me: “Okay, one moment.”, and so I waited for a minute or so. “Okay 3,50 please.” I gave the lady the money and asked when my bus would leave and from which bus stop. “You can see on ticket it will be in one hour”. I felt not very accommodated but got a ticket to Agiassos. “On which side does it leave?” – “On the other side okay no worry”, the lady replied. And so, I went to the other side of the road again to wait for my bus. The bus stop was crowded and seemed to be very individualized. Everyone was standing about 2 meters apart from each other, either looking at their phones or staring blankly into space. A lot of busses arrived, most of them half full. A private bus for workers for Médecins sans Frontières arrived, the bus driver screamed: “Only MSF!!!”. Most people that arrived at the bus station caught their bus quite fast, I assume that they knew when their busses were going. My bus arrived slightly earlier and was empty, I took it and left Mytilene that morning around 9:30.

Thursday May 30, 2019 – 19:30 – 20:30

On this particular night, I was planning to go to Kara Tepe refugee camp. As it was Ramadan,

I would help out that night with delivering breakfast for the following day, or night for that sake. This time I would not so much try to get a ticket but look at how people interact near the bus stop. What struck me most from the beginning was that there was segregation visible. On one side of the road there were mostly people looking like refugees waiting for the bus, on the other side there were people that resembled students, Greek workers or tourists. On the side where refugees were waiting, the bus stop seemed segregated. There were two Greek looking men smoking beside the stop, and there was one elderly Greek lady sitting on the bench on the left side. On the bench on the right side there were three middle Eastern men sitting. After some minutes, a woman wearing a headscarf wanted to sit next to the Greek lady. The elderly Greek lady shoved up a bit and so they were sitting next to each other, both looking a bit uncomfortable while staring in opposite sides. Another young - presumably Muslim - lady went to sit next to the other woman wearing a headscarf with her baby in a wagon. She was almost falling off the bench, because neither one of the ladies sitting made space for her. After some time, a bus arrived. All people except for the Greek men and lady went to catch the bus. The woman with the baby carriage went to the door in the back, where she was struggling to enter. The two Greek looking men came to help her get in the bus, and the bus left.

At the other side of the road, people were chatting and laughing. Groups of mostly young people were expressing themselves quite loudly and one group of young boys were hitting each other with strings attached to their backpacks. There were only Caucasian looking people on this side of the road and all of them seemed well off and happy. Busses would arrive but no one would take them.

As I walked back to the side of the road where I first was, the Greek lady had left. A group of African looking men were sitting on the bench where she was sitting before and they were joking and laughing. When I approached one of the African men stood up and asked me

if I wanted to sit. I said that I was fine with standing and thanked him. He told me I was very strong, and the others started laughing and I could not help but smile as well.

The ferry terminal

Friday May 17, 2019 - 15:40 – 16:40

I arrived at the Mytilene ferry terminal in the late afternoon and saw that the place was packed with tourists. They were all carrying small and big suitcases and seemed to be quite stressed. The ferry port of Mytilene has two entrances for cars, one that is closer to the Greek island tickets desks and one that is closest to the international departure lounge: where people leave for Turkey. I was at the entrance close to the international departure lounge, where a sign was hanging in Greek, English, German and Turkish that told people to keep their visa ready for inspection. A group of tourists waited impatiently to enter the rather small departure lounge, most of them looking quite sophisticated and I was not sure whether they were Greek or Turkish. Nothing much happened in the time that I was standing there, some cars entered the parking space and more people came with their luggage, some seemed to carry their whole inventory, others close to nothing.

Monday May 20, 2019 - 9:30 – 10:30

On this day I planned to get information about going to the Greek island of Samos. My plan was to pretend to be a lost tourist, wanting to leave the island as soon as possible. This time I had chosen the other car entrance of the port and made my way to the ticket desk. A lady seemed to be in need of help while she was trying to carry lots of luggage to the big ferry that was docked just behind the barrier with two Greek police guards. I offered a hand and she was very thankful. To my surprise we could cross the barrier without any problems, no one asked for tickets or destination. I assumed this would happen once she would enter the ship. Her

luggage was very heavy so I carried it until I could not anymore and when we were a lot closer to the ship. She thanked me and took off.

I walked back through the barrier and started looking at the different ferry companies. There was information written on some papers, looking like schedules, but since it was all in Greek symbols, I could not understand it. I decided to join the line with the other people that were there. There were two middle aged man in front of me and an elderly lady whom appeared to be accompanied by her daughter. I waited a while and then when it was almost my turn, a Greek man came running and screaming and jumped the queue. One could see that he was in a hurry so I and the people that were now standing behind me let it go. The conversation took a bit longer than some of us anticipated though, so a young Greek lady behind me started screaming at the man in Greek while pointing her index finger to the asphalt behind her.

In the end, the Greek man left, and my turn came. I was told that a boat to Samos would leave that same afternoon and that it was not fully booked yet but that I should book already. Since I was not really planning on going to Samos I thanked and walked off. As I was fascinated by the barrier and gates all around the docks to the ferries, I went to cross it again and found out there was a big jetty one could walk on. As I walked back, I saw three middle eastern looking men trying to cross the gate, who were asked to show their papers. I was surprised to see this, because I had not experienced any problems in the two times I crossed the gate. They were pointed to the ticket desk and were not allowed to go to the dock and jetty without a ticket.

Tsamakia beach

Sunday May 19, 2019 - 14:10 – 15:10

Hot and happening, that was how you could describe the beach this sunny Sunday afternoon. Tsamakia beach was busier than I had seen it in the last two and a half months and loud music was blasting over the area with beds and parasols. On the beach one could see a diverse mix of people: there were Afghani looking boys playing volleyball, Greek looking boys sitting in the sand while screaming “Malaka!” at each other, elderly and young couples sunbathing and reading at the seaside, families playing with their children in the playground and in the water with stones and two groups of voluntourists which I knew from working in the refugee camps were chatting and sunbathing. In the distance, two women were sitting in the sand completely dressed in black, watching over three small kids and two adult men who were playing in the water. I assumed they were refugees.

People seemed to be enjoying their day and I greeted the voluntourists I knew. I told them I was doing some research and would join them later. And so, I found an empty beach bed a bit further away from the music speakers. There I sat and looked around me. Nothing out of the ordinary happened until one Dutch acquaintance came up to me: “Hey Laura, did you happen to find any weed on the island? I have been dying to smoke but I can’t seem to find any.” I told him that I did not know either and therefore could not help him and wished him good luck. I lit a cigarette while enjoying the sun, when one of the Greek “malaka-screaming boys” came up to me asking for a cigarette. I gave him one and started wondering whether I had a sign above my bed saying “shop”.

The beach seemed clean, here and there, there were some cigarette buds, but there was no plastic or other garbage visible. Furthermore, there were enough beds for everyone. Even though the refugee ladies were sitting in the sand, they could have grabbed one of the empty beds behind them. And then I noticed that actually, all people that resembled refugees were sitting on the sand instead of the beds. All refugees and the group of Greek teenage boys.

Saturday May 25, 2019 - 13:00 – 14:00

This time, I was expecting to see the “non-Schengen people show passport sign” when entering the beach. I heard from other voluntourists that they put up that sign during high season, and high season was about to start. There was no sign though, and again I could hear the loud music blasting from the speakers: blasting even the same songs as last time. As I walked to find a beach bed, I saw a teenage Greek couple kissing while holding a bottle of beer each. The boy threw the bottle in the direction of a trash bin but missed and left it there. The girl laughed and kissed him while he held her tightly.

I found a bed and put on my sunglasses. A girl with red hair was wearing a white t-shirt while jumping in the water, I assumed she was not from Greece. Next to me I overheard a conversation, it appeared to be between a journalist and a refugee. They were discussing the content of an interview they would have in the future and seemed more serious than all other people on the beach. A group of local people sat in front of me, I knew because I recognized one of the ladies from working in the local produce shop. Some other people approached them, and they started talking very loudly. Again, I had to remind myself that they were not necessarily fighting, even though their volume of voices and non-verbal communication seemed to indicate it, it could be a cultural difference.

A girl working for the beach restaurant that blasted the music asked if I wanted something to drink. I asked for an ice-coffee and asked her out of curiosity whether it was obliged for people to order when they sat here. She told me the beach was open and that it is no problem and asked me to pay straight away.

When she returned with my ice-coffee, we got into a chat about where she was from and what she was doing on the island. She was a student working there part time. I asked her whether it was allowed for people to be topless on the beach here, since I had not seen anyone

taking their top off yet. The waitress told me that the island is kind of traditional and that it is not very normal, but sometimes tourists do it. I asked her what she thought of it, but her willingness to chat or ability to seemed to had vanished and she ran off to get more orders.