# HOSPITALITY DURING "AN INVASION OF GOOD INTENTION"

A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HOSPITALITY IN LESVOS, GREECE

# **AUGUST 2021**



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# Colophon

Title: Hospitality during "an invasion of good intention" (Smith, 2018).

Picture on the cover: UNICEF, Ashley Gilbertson VII (2015) via:

 $\underline{\text{https://news.un.org/en/story/2015/10/512852-rights-victims-trafficking-during-migration-must-be-protected-un-expert-tells\#.VjKWsbcrLIU}$ 

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Submission date: 26 August 2021

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Human Geography Master Conflict, Territories and Identities

2020-2021

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Word count: 32,702

#### Preface

This is my master's thesis, and my finalization for the human geography master, specializing in conflicts, territories and identities. This thesis is focused on the island Lesvos in Greece, a place where my interest lies because of the many people that take refuge here. I noticed more and more articles about the deteriorating situation for refugees, and I felt inclined to learn more about this. By gathering information and investigating the case, I hoped to get to the bottom of the situation, and with that, hopefully provide a source of possible improvements. What started as a wish to make such improvements, has ended in this research. The goal was to follow an internship or volunteer on the island, in order to help other people. Unfortunately, this has not been possible due to the circumstances of Covid-19. Nevertheless, I am still happy with the data that I have been able to collect, the results that I have found, and the research that I have completed.

There are several people that I would like to thank for their help with this thesis. First are my supervisors at the Radboud University, Martin van der Velde and Ainul Fajri. They have helped me a great deal with their feedback, and our meetings have encouraged me to be critical about my own work. Because of them, I felt more confident about my progress each Monday at 9 AM. Our meetings have also kept me on track and prepared me to finish my thesis within the year. Therefore, I am very grateful and happy with all the help they provided.

Secondly, I would like to thank all my respondents. Without them, I would not have been able to gather the information as I have done now. Because of their answers, interest and enthusiasm I have been able to learn a lot about their point of view. After each interview I felt inspired and I am very impressed with all the good work that everyone is doing on Lesvos.

There is still a lot of work to do on the island, and sadly many people still rely on humanitarian aid. Even though I have not been able to contribute practically, I hope that my research does provide scientific insights into the situation on Lesvos.

I hope you enjoy reading this thesis!

Jolien Zweers

# Summary

This thesis investigates the concept of hospitality, which is a complex virtue that exists between different individuals, as well as between states and communities. In broad terms, hospitality is about the engagement between a host and its guest. To this date, scientific research has paid little attention to specific guests who experience hospitality. Therefore, this research focusses specifically on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos, Greece. International media contributes to the complexity of the problem at hand, bringing the issue of framing. A last important factor are recent global developments that have an impact on the relationship between non-governmental organizations and the community of Lesvos, as well as the conducting of research.

The research problem is addressed with methods of qualitative nature. In-depth interviews and a questionnaire bring insight in the perception of non-governmental organizations, and a qualitative content analysis provides insight in the framing of international media on the subject. Following these qualitative strategies, the results have been divided into four research subquestions, providing the following conclusions.

The perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos has experienced some changes over recent years, with the reach of a general low point that involved violent encounters in February 2020. Before these encounters, the community of Lesvos was generally perceived as very hospitable.

The work of non-governmental organizations has appeared to have changed in recent years. On the one hand, organizations felt an increase in their work due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Yet, on the other hand tensions between the local community and refugees caused non-governmental organizations to change their activities.

The relationship between non-governmental organizations and the community of Lesvos is therefore not unilateral. Positive relationships exist between organizations and local shop owners, but there have been violent encounters between the two parties. The Covid-19 pandemic as a recent global development has provided stability between NGOs and the community, as no encounters have occurred since the start of the pandemic. The shock-event has prevailed as a predominant conversation topic, overshadowing the refugee crisis. Hostility has appeared to decrease during the pandemic in the year 2020, although Covid-19 restrictions are lifted, the focus is brought back to the refugee situation on Lesvos.

The international media has contributed to this situation, by means of framing. The community of Lesvos has not always been displayed in the brightest light, but the Greek government has received further criticism instead. NGOs have been framed negatively as well on occasion, but these organizations have a closer relationship to the media in comparison to the community of Lesvos. Where the media spreads awareness on the work and ideals of NGOs, the organizations provide content for the media, exposing a bilateral relationship.

Following the results of this research, it is recommended for the Greek government to improve their relationship with non-governmental organizations. A better relationship will provide working ground for NGOs to improve their work and create a better livelihood for refugees. This in turn brings the ability to improve the relationship between NGOs and the community of Lesvos, which in the end improves the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos.

# Table of contents

CC	LOPHO	ON	1
PR	EFACE	<u> </u>	2
SU	MMAR	Υ	3
TΑ	BLE O	F CONTENTS	4
1.	INTR	RODUCTION	7
	1.1	PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVE	8
	1.2	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	9
	1.3	RELEVANCE	10
	1.3.1	Societal relevance	10
	1.3.2	Scientific relevance	11
2.	THE	ORETICAL FRAMEWORK	12
	2.1	HOSPITALITY	12
	2.2	COMMUNITY AND HOSPITALITY	14
	2.3	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	15
	2.4	REFUGEES	16
	2.5	MEDIA	18
	2.6	AUXILIARY FACTORS	19
	2.6.1	Shock-events	20
	2.6.2	P. Governance and (migration) policy	21
	2.6.3	3 Tourism	22
	2.7	CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	24
3.	METHODOLOGICAL CHAPTER		26
	3.1	RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY	26
	3.2	DATA COLLECTION	27
	3.2.1	In-depth interviews	27
	3.2.2	? Questionnaire	28
	3.2.3	B International media articles	29
	3.2.4	Data collection and the research questions	31
	3.3	Analysis	32
	3.4	DISPLAY OF RESULTS	33
	3.5	RESEARCH LIMITATIONS, RISKS AND ISSUES	34

4.	I. CONTEXTUAL CHAPTER		. 36
	4.1	TIMELINE	. 36
	4.2	THE ISLAND LESVOS	. 37
	4.2.1	Internal differences	. 38
	4.2.2	Reception sites and refugees	. 39
	4.3	THE INTERVIEWED NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	. 42
5.	DES	CRIPTIVE RESULTS	. 44
	5.1	ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE	. 44
	5.2	ÎN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS.	. 45
	5.2.1	Stand by me Lesvos	. 45
	5.2.2	2 Low-tech with refugees	. 46
	5.2.3	B Leave no one behind	. 47
	5.2.4	Yoga and Sports for Refugee	. 48
	5.2.5	5 Starfish foundation	. 49
	5.3	QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS	. 50
6.	ANA	LYSIS OF THE DATA	. 53
	6.1	REFUGEES AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	. 53
	6.2	REFUGEES AND THE HOST COMMUNITY	. 54
	6.3	MEDIA AND HOSPITALITY	. 55
	6.4	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HOSPITALITY	. 56
	6.5	THE HOST AND HOSPITALITY	. 57
	6.6	AUXILIARY VARIABLES AND HOSPITALITY	. 58
	6.6.1	1 Shock-events	. 58
	6.6.2	2 Governance	. 59
	6.6.3	3 Tourism	. 60
	6.7	CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK REVISITED	. 61
7.	CON	ICLUSION	. 64
	7.1	HOSPITALITY OF THE COMMUNITY	. 64
	7.2	ACTIVITIES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	. 65
	7.3	HOSPITALITY AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	. 66
	7.4 GOVERN	FRAMING OF INTERNATIONAL MEDIA AND THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA ON HOSPITALITY AND N	
	7.5	MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION	. 69

8.		DISCUSSION	70
	8.1	1 CONTENT AND RELEVANCE	70
	8.2	2 METHODS	70
9.		RECOMMENDATIONS	72
	9.1	SOCIETAL RECOMMENDATIONS	72
	9.2	2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	73
RE	FE	ERENCES	74
ΑF	PE	ENDICES	80
	A.	ACTIVITIES ORGANIZATION STAND BY ME LESVOS	80
	В.	INTERVIEW GUIDES	81
		Online questionnaires	81
		In-depth interviews	81
	C.	INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS	83
		Written interview Starfish foundation	83
		In-depth interview Stand by me Lesvos	83
		In-depth interview Low-tech with refugees	83
		In-depth interview #Leave no one behind	83
		In-depth interview Yoga and Sports for Refugees	83
	D.	Interview coding	84
	E.	QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS: THE ARTICLES	85
		The qualitative content analysis of the articles	90
	F. (	QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS: CODING	90
		Coding	92

#### 1. Introduction

Whether and how humanitarian aid provided by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is affected by the host community is the central subject to this thesis. Involved in this subject is the international media. The importance of international media as an actor has already been suggested in the title, which questions if one would be hospitable during an invasion of good intention. It is quoted from the article of Smith (2018), who discusses the situation on Lesvos in the Guardian. The quote refers to the arrival of numerous non-governmental organizations, and statements like this as well as other articles in the media have an influence on their readers in different ways. Recent global developments have also been included in this research, as they have an impact on non-governmental organizations and communities in general.

This thesis is focused on the case of Lesvos. Lésbos, Lesvos or Mitiíni are all different terms for the same island. But, in regards to this thesis, the term 'Lesvos' will be used continuously. It is a green island, stated to be like no other in the world (Barrett N.D). That statement does appear to be true, but not in the positive sense of the word. After a country-wide economic crisis that led to record unemployment rates (Malkoutzis 2011), Lesvos had to endure a big part of the European refugee crisis. During this crisis, thousands of refugees have entered Europe through Lesvos, causing substantial chaos on a small island. The image of refugees arriving on the coast with small boats has often been portrayed by the international media. Spread of these images was the cause of the arrival of numerous non-governmental organizations and volunteers, who wanted to help the refugees on Lesvos. It is conceivable to think that help would be desired by the hosting community in such situations, yet news reports about Lesvos show otherwise. A Dutch news site, called Trouw, reported in March 2020 about a clash between opponents of Lesvos' migration policy and volunteers who were working in the refugee reception site Moria. The clash eventually caused the volunteers to leave the island (Gruppen 2020). As this example suggests, international media influence the presence and engagement of non-governmental organizations. Because, images spread by the media have caused NGOs to learn about Lesvos, and have made them feel inclined to travel to the island, in order to bring humanitarian aid to places where help is apparently needed. The hospitality of the community of Lesvos is related to the non-governmental organizations, as it caused certain organizations to leave the island. In this case the opposite of hospitality can be apparent, which is hostility. These relationships are central to this thesis.

The exact problem and objective at hand will be explained first, in section 1.1, followed by guiding research questions. Then, the scientific and societal relevance to this thesis will be addressed. The second chapter holds a theoretical framework to the subject, explaining all related theories and concepts. Chapter 3 provides an explanation of the methodology to this research. This includes how the data has been collected and analyzed, how the results are presented, and ends with limitations, risks and issues important to this research. Chapter 4 is the contextual chapter, providing a timeline of important events, additional information and internal differences that exist on the island, and the refugees and reception sites on Lesvos. Lastly, section 4.3 provides an insight on the interviewed non-governmental organizations in this thesis. Chapter 5 and 6 present the results, by reporting the objective findings and subsequently providing an analysis of these results. The findings are summarized in chapter 7 to provide an answer to the research sub-questions, concluding with an answer to the main research question. Chapter 8 contains a discussion. The content and relevance of this thesis will be discussed in section 8.1, followed by the methods used in section 8.2. Chapter 9 concludes with societal recommendations and recommendations for further research. Additional information for the interested reader can be found in the appendices.

## 1.1 Problem and objective

In the year 2018, the Greek island Lesvos had earned the unenviable position of being home to the worst migrant facility of Europe (Smith 2018). This was an enormous step back from the initial kindness that prevailed on the island. A kindness that even provided the community of Lesvos with the inaugural John McCain award for their "heroic support of refugees fleeing mayhem throughout the Middle East and Africa" (Smith, 2018, p.1). Nevertheless, the provided sympathy after receiving the award has not produced the wished result. Hosting communities such as Lesvos already tend to feel that there is an overload of foreigners arriving in their community (Höijer 2004). These foreigners exist of an accumulation of regular tourists, refugees and volunteers from non-governmental organizations. An alleged overload of refugees can generate considerable sympathy, causing helping hands to solemnly focus on helping refugees. This in turn creates emergency aid that is tailored to those arriving on shore, in neglect of the hosting community. A reference to this situation is made by "invasion of good intention" (Smith, 2018, p.1), that prevailed specifically on Lesvos in Greece. This invasion is therefore what has caused problems on the island. Yet, the question remains if this is associated with the hospitality of the community of Lesvos.

The practice of hospitality was one of the most important virtues in ancient Greece and Rome. It has developed into a distinction between private hospitality between individuals, and public hospitality established between two states. This distinction is stated to be unstable at its core (Calvo 2013), because it is a complex virtue that can exist between different actors, individuals as well as states and communities. Hospitality exists in different manifestations, belonging to ethics as well as laws. The complexity of the concept is what brings instability. This instability could also emerge in the opposite of hospitality, hostility.

The media as an actor contributes to the complexity of the problem at hand. The issue of framing is involved, because the media can have a subtle, yet powerful impact on its audience (Tankard 2001), for instance, because volunteers and employees of non-governmental organizations presumably learned about the situation on Lesvos via the media, which instigated them to travel to Lesvos. The state of the hospitality of the community of Lesvos could also depend on the images and messages that members of the community have seen on the news. Whether the community itself has been portrayed as welcoming, or if they are pictured as inconsiderate and rude, both messages could create a different sentiment for the recipient. This causes the community to feel a certain way about welcoming others on their island.

Considering the investigation of this problem, there is yet another important factor to take into account. The recent global development or shock-event, the Covid-19 pandemic, which impacted the world throughout the years 2020 and 2021, in many different ways. The community of Lesvos, the refugee reception sites, and the work of non-governmental organizations have been impacted by the pandemic. And it is thus an important factor to consider in the research at hand.

Through this problem, the actors and factors are combined in one research goal. That is to gain a greater understanding in the relationship between non-governmental organizations and their host community on Lesvos. With that, this research aims to investigate the work the organizations intent to do, what activities are actually conducted, whether the work has changed in any way, and why the work has changed. The international media as an actor is included in this research, with intend to gain understanding in the role that the media plays to the relationship between the community and non-governmental organizations.

Firstly, through investigating how the media has portrayed the community of Lesvos, in comparison to the portrayal of NGOs on Lesvos. Secondly, this research aims to gather information on the impact the international media has on the relationship between the two. In order to guide the problem and goal at hand in a clear direction, several research questions have been formulated. These questions will be discussed in the following section.

## 1.2 Research questions

In order to guide the problem at hand, several research questions have been formulated. The following question is central to the research at hand:

How does the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos affect non-governmental organizations on Lesvos, what impact does the framing of international media have on this relationship and what influence do recent global developments have?

This question has been divided into the following sub-questions. Collectively, these questions will provide an answer to the main research question.

- 1. What is the state of the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos, how has it developed in recent years, and why has development taken place?
- 2. What activities do the non-governmental organizations on Lesvos conduct, how have these activities developed in recent years, and why have their activities developed?
- 3. How is the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos related to non-governmental organizations on Lesvos?
- 4. How has the international media framed the community of Lesvos in comparison to non-governmental organizations in recent years, and how has the international media had an impact on the community and non-governmental organizations?

The first question focusses on the perceived hospitality of the community specifically. This includes the possible development the hospitality has succumb to, and why this development has appeared. The question focusses on the recent years, because this brings the opportunity to investigate the influence of recent global developments, due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic that emanated in the year 2020. The underlying theory on this concept will be discussed in section 2.6.1 Shock events.

The second question in its turn focusses on the non-governmental organizations on Lesvos. This sub-question revolves around the activities the organizations conduct on Lesvos, along with the development of these activities in recent years and the reasons behind this development. The question contributes to the main question from the perception of the non-governmental organizations. What work they are conducting on the island and how this work has changed can be in relation to the development of the hospitality of the community of Lesvos.

The third question is concentrated on the relationship between the community of Lesvos and non-governmental organizations. This sub-question will therefore provide an answer to the first section of the main research question. By investigating how the perceived hospitality is related to non-governmental organizations, the relationship between these two actors takes shape.

The fourth and last sub-question revolves around the international media. The question first focusses how the media has framed the community of Lesvos in comparison to the framing of the non-governmental organizations. The second part of the question involves the impact the international media has on the community as well as non-governmental organizations. This sub-question therefore provides an answer to the middle part of the main research question, which involves the impact of international media. Together, these four sub-questions will be able to provide an encompassing answer to the main research question at hand.

#### 1.3 Relevance

This section discusses the relevance to this thesis. First, the societal relevance is discussed, which explains why this research is important to society, and what it could eventually bring to the society involved in this subject. Second, the scientific relevance discusses the niche in current existing research that this thesis is trying to fill.

#### 1.3.1 Societal relevance

The societal relevance is about what this thesis could bring to society. In this case, this research could be important to several factors of society, starting with the community.

For one, gathering information on the relationship between non-governmental organizations and the community of Lesvos will be useful when it comes to improving societal wellbeing. For instance, when the relationship appears to be harmful, and information is gathered on the reasoning behind this harmful relationship, this will provide a basis for improvement. By investigating a relationship, gaps of improvement will be apparent. The hosting community could feel heard by more research on their situation, by looking at the state and change of their hospitality. Because now, the community feels overlooked (Nianias 2016). With scientific research, a community can be empowered (Stoecker 2012).

This research is also relevant for non-governmental organizations and their work. By gaining understanding in their work and its changes, and more importantly why their work has changed, important information for the future of NGOs is gained. Because their work can impact a local community, this community would also be influenced (Lewis 2010). By knowing what to take into account, whether that is media framing or a shock-event, planning work in the future could become easier for the organization and the community would know what to expect from them.

Other than the community and NGOs, there is a third actor involved in this thesis, and results have the ability to provide indirect implications for refugees on Lesvos. For instance, by gaining understanding in the relationship between hospitality, the community of Lesvos and NGOs, suggestions for improvement can be made. If such improvements are put into practice, by creating a more hospitable environment, the work that NGOs conduct will be developed and the living situation of the refugees will be improved.

Lastly, the findings can be helpful for the governance that is involved in hospitality of the community and the NGOs. For instance, when municipalities gain insight in the hospitality of their community, this can help with adjusting policies for people arriving in their community accordingly. And knowing that it is not only important to look at the hospitality towards refugees, but also at other stakeholders such as non-governmental organizations that arrive in the community. Therefore, this thesis will be relevant to several different factors of society. For the community, non-governmental organizations, refugees and governance implications can be made in the end.

#### 1.3.2 Scientific relevance

The concept of hospitality in general has been researched by several scholars. Jaques Derrida has for instance debated and contributed considerably on the concept of hospitality (Still 2012), as well as Habermas, who has investigated this concept with an interpretation of tolerance. Hospitality has also been debated in regards to the subject of migrants and refugees. For one, by Plummer and his ideas on intimate citizenship and intimacy groups (Gunaratnam 2020). Though all of these studies bring several insights, they do not contribute to the connection between a community's hospitality and non-governmental organizations. If it is discussed in a study, no direct connections are made between the hosting community and how they welcome NGOs (King 1995). King (1995) does mention that the appropriate hospitality relationship in a certain setting is difficult to define. Some guests might for instance prefer formality over friendliness, especially if there appear to be wide social class differences between the guest and the host (King 1995). Nevertheless, specific guests, such as NGO employees or volunteers, are not mentioned in this research. There are studies that develop on the work of NGOs and their ability to influence a local area (Lewis, 2010), but these lack insight in the connection between that and the hospitality of this local area. Because NGOs can in fact bring social transformation to an area, the degree of change must differ when communities differ in their hospitality towards these NGOs. The study of Tsartas, Kyriakaki et al. (2020) does touch upon the relation between the hosting community and NGOs, yet the importance of hospitality is missed.

Media framing has been investigated by several scholars, on numerous topics (Tankard 2001, Lawlor and Tolley 2017). For instance, the effects of framing on its audience has been researched by Höijer (2004). The media creates public imaginations which are crucial for the imagination of places, as Nikunen (2016) proposes. The imagination of places is about the ability to connect people and places, which is important to the development of hospitality. Nevertheless, the dynamics of media framing, especially media framing of refugees, has not been researched predominantly. Heidenreich, Lind et al. (2019) have conducted research on this topic, yet it was placed specifically in the refugee crisis from January 2015 to December 2016, and there has been no coverage of media framing on this topic after that time.

There has been focus on the situation on Lesvos in general. Numerous international newspapers have already reported on the situation. Online newspapers such as the Guardian (Smith 2018) or Al Jazeera (Fallon 2018). There has also been attention for the improvement of the livelihood of refugees, and how this must come to be, even when it comes to the effects of Covid-19 on refugee camps (BBC 2020). This involves the work of NGOs and the willingness of the community. The perspective of refugees has been investigated in forced migration studies in the fields of anthropology, sociology, geography and law. Generally, these fields study migration from a bottom-up perspective, placing displaced people at the center of the analysis (Betts 2009). Yet, there has been little research on the hosting community. Some articles do highlight the neglect that some citizens in the community feel (Smith 2018, Hemels 2020), but there is no significant focus on their situation.

Because the Covid-19 virus is still present nowadays, its effects have not been taken into account in notable research yet. Nevertheless, the effects of shock-events like this can have great implications, especially in areas with many people living together with scarce medical resources (Vonen, Olsen et al. 2020). The effects shock events have on hospitality in relation to the work of NGOs has yet to be researched. As this research focusses on recent years, the Covid-19 pandemic is almost an unavoidable factor and will therefore be investigated.

#### 2. Theoretical framework

The following chapter discusses the different concepts that are important to this thesis. The basis lies with hospitality, and this is therefore the first concept to discuss. Non-governmental organizations, community, refugees, and auxiliary factors will be addressed respectively. In the end, in section 2.7, a conceptual model will provide visualization of the most important concepts to this research and their relations to one another.

## 2.1 Hospitality

There are different types of hospitality to be distinguished. In broad terms hospitality can be described as the engagement between a 'host' and its 'guest'. The host offers hospitality and serves as the sovereign authority a specific public space (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000, Noten 2016). Moreover, hospitality is an everyday experience that every person, consciously or unconsciously, has knowledge of (Still 2012). Plato for one, has placed hospitality amongst the first and foremost obligations of citizens (Calvo 2013). As these definitions of hospitality are all very broad, researchers have attempted to generate a more specific definition, in order to facilitate a discussion on the concept. Elaborations of different researchers have been considered by Hepple, Kipps et al. (1990), and brought to the following encompassing four characteristics of hospitality:

- 1. "It is conferred by a host on a guest who is away from home
- 2. It is interactive, involving the coming together of a provider and a receiver
- 3. It is comprised of a blend of tangible and intangible factors
- 4. The host provides for the guest's security, psychological and physiological comfort" (Hepple, Kipps et al, 1990, p. 308)

This definition represents hospitality in the modern sense, and these characteristics are based on an examination that applies hospitality to guests and patients in hospitals. This results in the idea that hospitality is about "feeling at home" (King 1995). This is thus an example where the concept of hospitality is applied to an organization or company. As it could with hotels, restaurants or other companies. These are named to be in the hospitality branch. This distinction can also be made through private and public hospitality. Private hospitality being between individuals, and public hospitality is that between two states (Calvo 2013).

The concept of hospitality therefore does not necessarily need to be applied to one organization; it is also a broader idea. There is a social meaning of hospitality, which derives from ancient civilization. During that time, travelling was extremely dangerous without having a place to stay for the night. So consequently, an ethic of hospitality was created by different societies. This allowed some safety for travellers. The host had the moral obligation to keep their guests safe, for instance from robbery. And in its turn, the guest was trusted not to harm the host. The origin of hospitality therefore lies with the laws of innkeeping in ancient society (King 1995).

Since its origin, hospitality has been a researched concept. An example of hosting in the late modern society, conform to the definition of Hepple, Kipps et al. (1990) can be found in the concept of 'intimate citizenship', developed by Plummer (2011). The term intimate citizenship is used to explain unorthodox household formations that come into existence through accommodation for migrants (Gunaratnam 2020). The concept is a product of earlier discussions on the search for ontological security. In international relations, ontological security generally refers to "security not of the body but of the self, the subjective sense of who one is, which enables and motivates action and choice" (Gustafsson and Krickel-Choi 2020).

Studies concerned with ontological security seek to find the primacy of physical security in international relations. The concept has originally been developed by Giddens (1991) to further understanding of individuals, but the application to states has been increasingly argumentized (Gustafsson and Krickel-Choi 2020).

The development of intimate citizenship shows that the late modernity has developed towards a more intimate scope, instead of aiming at universal codes of conduct. As civil society groups come together, they ensure that migrants are safe and accommodated during the pursuit of residency and citizenship. These are intimate groups that have the potential to stimulate political agendas, because they enforce migrant accommodation, and such "micro-openings of welcome in the domestic sphere are emotionally and ethically demanding and politically ambivalent" (Gunaratnam 2020). This political ambivalence raises questions on the meaning and extent of hospitality, and it has led to new ethical dilemmas of intimate citizenship. These ethical and political debates are raised during a time of intensified nationalism, xenophobia and racism (Gunaratnam 2020). And these factors contribute to a negative hospitality, or the opposite of hospitality, being hostility. Hospitality is not self-evident; it does come with certain conditions. As Derrida explains, the very fact of identifying someone as a stranger brings limitations to the applicability of hospitality. This, because the identification of a stranger puts conditionalities to that person in terms of family, nation, state and citizenship (Calvo 2013). Hospitality could be applied to any guest, whether that is a tourist, or a refugee. When it comes to immigrants, hostility can sometimes come in a disguised form. This happens when a nation invites immigrants in because they are needed for economic or demographic purposes. That certain nation is not being hospitable, according to Rosello (2001). This is all the more related to commercial hospitality, leaving the nation to be described as a hotel of some sorts. Moreover, these concepts strongly relate morality, and with that to Derrida's unconditional and conditional hospitality theory. Derrida demonstrates that unconditional hospitality is about accepting and embracing a stranger without conditions or questions. It is a moral imperative (Chiovenda 2020). This is what Kant would state as a form of universal law that is valid for every rational actor (Paton 1971).

Lastly, hospitality is not necessarily created by concepts of intimate citizenship, ontological security or political debates. The construction of a hospitable place is relevant to the community's capacity to imagine opportunity and responsibility in change, as argued by Wilding (2007). This is connected to the hospitality politics and geographical imagination. Geographical imagination is defined to be a process in which an individual is able to: "recognize the role of space and place in his own biography and to understand the relations between social structures and space" (Nikunen 2016). The process of geographical imagination is conceptualized by the 'time-space expansion', which references to local worlds being shaped by global cultures. By the local world opening up and being forced to take place in new dynamics, a change takes place. Relevant to this change are the geographical imaginations. The ability to imagine connections between people and places is important for refugees and migrants, as well as for the creation of hospitable places (Nikunen 2016). The construction of such hospitable areas is predominantly dependent on the host community. The community can be hospitable towards different guests. Focus in this research lies on hospitality towards non-governmental organizations specifically, and the hospitality towards refugees will only come into focus indirectly. The non-governmental organizations will be discussed in section 2.3, but the concept of community in relation to hospitality will be discussed first in the following section 2.2.

## 2.2 Community and hospitality

"Definitions of "community" are usually vague and of great variety and number" (Freilich 1963, p. 117). Despite the depth of the term "community", there are several operationally defined criteria to be distinguished, as summarized by Freilich (1963). These criteria are: "people in relatively high-frequency interaction, exchanging information at a set of related centres, and practicing and developing local interaction culture based on past information shared" (p. 127).

To what extent the community displays hospitality towards strangers, is a valuable part of the attitude, and the behaviour they have towards others. As Solnit (2010) writes, how you behave or act depends on "whether you think your neighbours or fellow citizens are a greater threat than the havoc wrought by a disaster or a greater good than the property in houses and stores around you" (Solnit, 2010, p.2). Therefore, actions of the community are based on the perceptions they have, or "what you believe shapes how you act" (Solnit 2010, p.2).

The perception of the community is influential for refugees arriving in that certain area. For instance, it would be disadvantageous for the hosting community to see refugees as passive victims who are waiting for charity, and to think that refugees are only causing trouble for the hosting community. This way of thinking causes the hosting community to fail to see the economic contributions the refugees are able to make (Jacobsen 2002). In Tanzania for instance, the hosting community did pay attention to the possibilities, and the refugee flow into the country caused an increase in agricultural products produced and consumed by the locals (Alix-Garcia and Saah 2010). Nevertheless, the effects that refugees have on the health, environment or the labour market in the hosting community still need to be investigated, as is concluded by Alix-Garcia and Saah (2010). The concept of refugees will be further discussed in section 2.4.

Related to the hospitality of a community is the compassion they have towards victims of war. Not every person feels compassion for the victims of war and other conflicts. Some people tend to take a strategy to reject the truth claim of news reports, facing away from the humanitarian tragedies. Another strategy would be to apply an us-them perspective, by distancing from the suffering people and dehumanizing them. This is a form of othering, and it is accompanied by substantial news reports about suffering. These often cause a community to feel numb or immune towards human suffering. In line with this pessimistic view on the community as an audience of media, are the ideas of Tester (2001), as he suggests that media means the destruction of moral values of solidarity (Höijer 2004).

Ideologies and recent developments have proven to be influential to a community and its hospitality. In Greece specifically, undercurrents of xenophobic nationalism appear to have become accepted parts of popular culture. The ideology has been legitimized by national populism of PASOK in the 1970s, and the 'Macedonian Question' since the early 1990s, throughout the Greek society at large, in the media and across the political spectrum. PASOK is a fairly dominant socialist party, which has been founded in 1974. The party has ruled Greece next to the conservative Nea Dimokratia in the last two decades. The parties were able to build xenophobic nationalism throughout Greece upon deep rooted notions of national exceptionalism, and boost this after the mass immigration into Greece (Doxiadis and Matsaganis 2012). Mass immigration and the development of the refugee crisis were seconded by the development of the Greek economic crisis. The society often experienced this crisis as causing impotence and humiliation.

These developments of ideologies and crises do apply to all of Greece, yet consistent effects throughout the community are not a necessity. Because the attitude or perception of a community is not likely to be consistent throughout the entire community. There are internal differences that play a role in forming a perception, and with that developing an attitude. These differences could be geographical, social or cultural, economic, educational or political. What such differences entail for the island of Lesvos specifically will be explained in the contextual section 4.2.

## 2.3 Non-Governmental Organizations

A non-governmental organization (NGO) can be defined as: "key third sector actors on the landscapes of development, human rights, humanitarian action, environment, and many other areas of public action" (Lewis 2010). Humanitarian aid forces, such as these NGOs, are occupied with daily care, education, emergency health care, logistics and management. They are often more occupied or involved than local authorities are, which explains them to be a key third actor (Franck 2018). A distinction can be made between two activities NGOs stand for. First, providing services to those in need, and second, organising policy advocacy and public campaigns to establish a social transformation (Lewis 2010). Therefore, NGOs play an important role when it comes to not only helping and supporting refugees, but doing so with regard to the hosting community (Alix-Garcia and Saah (2010).

NGOs have become more prominent in international development over the last few years, with a dramatic increase in the 1980s and 1990s. Organizations were first found and celebrated by international donor communities, because they were seen as the solution to longstanding development problems in countries with insufficient governments (Lewis 2010). NGOs appeared to be a "cost-effective alternative to public sector service delivery" (Lewis 2010). NGOs have a far longer history before the emergence in the 1980, with organisations such as Save the children founded in 1919. But they have gained importance as a subject of research only in the recent decades, as well as growing support in the Western world. Citizens in this region of the world appear to engage less in traditional political institutions over the last years, and more with NGOs (Thörn 1999, Höijer 2004).

With growing support, organisations are able to increase their extent of work. And with that increase, the impact they have on an area rises as well. This impact NGOs have on an area, community or country can lie in different fields. For one, organizations can have an environmental impact on the area that they are working in. As has been the case for the implementation of a certain waste management on the island of Lesvos. Causing positive effects for refugees living on the island, and moreover bringing profitable effects for Greek residents (Kounani and Skanavis 2018). Such environmental impacts can also have political implications. As explained by Cook, Wright et. al. (2017), NGOs working in forestry appear to have disproportionately more influence on local policy processes than the local grassroots actors have. This causes the local citizens to have a decreased value of trust in their governance responsiveness. Therefore, even though NGOs are essentially 'nongovernmental' their presence does have implications for the local government. And, as Lewis (2010) states: "NGOs also need to be viewed in the context of the government against which they seek to distinguish themselves" (p. 4). Because the organisations are dependent on and gain from their relationship with the government. This dependency can be seen as one of the key issues of non-governmental organizations. Government attitudes towards NGOs appear to vary considerably between places, and whether this attitude is hostile or hospitable, the "room to manoeuvre" of the NGOs changes (Clark and Mitlin 1992).

A different governmental issue is expressed by Cook, Wright et al. (2017), stating that NGOs exert pressure from local governance in pursuit of their own policy goals. This is criticism that is met by critics who argue that NGOs have helped the developing world to shift attention from state institutions and towards other, more privatized, forms of public sector reform (Lewis 2010).

Besides the political criticism, there are also critics who focus on the accountability of NGOs. Stating that the organisations often become self-indulgent and impose their agendas on those that they are trying to help (Lewis 2010). One of these critics is Vonne Hemels (2020), who has expressed concerns on NGOs who are working with refugees. As Hemels (2020) states, the organizations are not listening to what the refugees want. Whilst claiming that they are trying to help them, at the same time they are failing to fill the requests of the refugees. Moreover, the aid of NGOs is clustered. Their funds are spent unevenly around the world, as some places are favoured above others. On a regional scale clustering also seems apparent, with projects often being located near NGO offices, and rarely reaches the most remote places (Keese 2011).

Nevertheless, a solution to increase the accountability of NGOs does appear to be found on Greece. This solution requires NGO workers to become an accomplice, and help someone to commit a crime (Hemels 2020). Because nationalism, xenophobia and racism are intensifying in Greece, right-wing organizations are gaining influence. The right-wing political party Nea Dimokratia has thus been able to create extra anti-immigration laws. Consequentially, NGOs and their workers feel the need to break these laws, in order to help the refugees. By breaking laws, one becomes an accomplice, and accepts that the placed laws and rules are unjustifiable. These accomplices are therefore prepared to take risks and still try to listen to those that are oppressed, increasing the accountability of the NGO. Instead of imposing their agendas on refugees, accomplices try to listen. These NGO workers do receive trouble from the police as they are breaking laws. And these accomplices also have a troubled relationship with the local community (Hemels 2020). Therefore, a solution to the discredited accountability is not necessarily a solution to the relationship between NGOs and the government, as well as the community, even though the aid for refugees is slightly improved by the accomplices. Debates on humanitarian intervention, and humanitarian aid by NGOs is very closely intertwined with the displacement of refugees. The concept of these refugees will be discussed in the following section.

# 2.4 Refugees

Humanitarian aid from non-governmental organizations is necessary because around the world, people have been forced to flee their homes and leave their own communities to search for protection elsewhere. Numerous causes for such flights have been listed by Betts (2009):

The two world wars, the colonial liberation wars, the proxy conflicts of the Cold War, a range of internal conflict in the Balkans, Africa and the Caucasus in the aftermath of the Cold War, occupation in Afghanistan and Iraq in the context of the 'War on Terror', state partitions and nationalist claims to territory in South Asia and the Middle East, authoritarian regimes, human rights violations, large-scale development projects and environmental disasters resulting from hurricanes, tsunamis, and climate change. (Betts, 2009, p. 1)

Because these causes are forced upon people who do not have a choice, the consequence is forced migration. Reference to 'migrants' is not necessarily adequate here, as the concept of migration is premised on the distinction between forced and voluntary migration (Betts 2009). Nevertheless, the terms refugees and migrants are often used interchangeably in public discourse and media, despite being different terms with different meanings. For one, refugees are related to forced migration. With refugees fleeing an area of war, armed conflict, or a dangerous climate situation, seeking safety nearby in another country. It is dangerous for refugees to return home and one is in need of sanctuary elsewhere. That is why refugees are protected by international law. (Voluntary) migrants on the other hand are not protected by such international laws in the same way. Migrants who have chosen to move, not because of direct violence, but to seek a better life somewhere else. For them, it is not dangerous to return home.

The distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration is especially important for individual governments. As each country has their own rules and laws for dealing with migrants, refugees are processed through protection and asylum measures that have been established through both national and international law (Edwards 2016). Forced migration lies at the heart of global politics (Betts 2009). As refugee movements are stated to be inherently political, whether internal or international movements are involved. Because interests and rights of local residents and non-citizens are at stake, and cross-border movement of people is involved. Forced migration and refugee movements are, with their inherent political status, debated issues. And refugee movements have arguably been portrayed as a threat for security by state policy makers and the international media. This development particularly occurred since the terror attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States, and it links intrinsically to the concept of security (Hammerstad 2010). The 'securitization of refugee movements' evolved in security studies since the early 1990s. The concept of securitization is defined by Hammerstad (2010) as: "the process wherein an issue is presented as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure" (p. 238). The investigation of securitization, specifically for refugees, is important because refugee movements have had a significant impact on how refugees are discussed, as well as how measures of dealing with refugees are considered to be acceptable (Hammerstad 2010). The significance of investigation of security on an individual level is underlined by Lohrmann (2000), and the concept of "human security", developed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Because the most important security implications of certain refugee movement are experienced by the refugees and migrants themselves (Lohrmann 2000).

Despite the significance of individual security, the issue of forced migration has grown beyond investigation of security, as established in the following statement: "Population displacement, whether internal or international, has gone beyond the humanitarian domain to become a major political, security and socio-economic issue, affecting regional and global stability, (...)" (Hammerstad, 2010, p.237). Refugees therefore impact global stability, yet it is important to observe this concept on a regional scale as well.

In consideration to refugee movements to Greece specifically, there is a new feature to be distinguished. The population that is moving to Greece exists of refugees with fewer numbers (50,000), but they have become more visible and present than the immigrants residing in Greece (800,000). This means that the refugee reception crisis has overshadowed other immigrant issues.

The refugees who have been residing in Greece since March 2016, during the time the Balkan route was blocked, have limited legal exit rights. This opposed to 2015, when they were crossing Greece to find refuge in Europe (Tsitselikis 2019). Many refugees are therefore waiting in Greece to legally move towards the West. Three classifications can be made to distinct these different asylum seekers. (1) those who will be recognised as refugees in Greece, (2) those who will seek a chance to relocate to a different European country and (3) those who are eligible for a family reunification (Tsitselikis 2019). This distinction is important to whether the asylum seekers will remain in Greece, and in what way they will welcomed. Refugees that arrived in Greece in the Eastern Aegean islands after March 2016 have fewer legal rights than other refugees, arriving at a different time.

The last factor to discuss is the reception of refugees. Refugees can have straining effects to the receiving society, particularly in more indigent areas. Strains can vary from natural resources, to burdens on medical care and economic damage (Lohrmann 2000). The economic impact of refugees has been discussed elaborately. It has been argued that in certain situations, refugees indeed cause economic damage, but others state that refugees benefit the receiving economy. Through cash aid, refugees are able to provide significant positive income for the hosting community, businesses and households (Taylor, Filipski et al. 2016). These scholars defend the positive impact refugees have for local trade and development, whereas other scholars argue that refugees increase the unemployment rate of the hosting community (Lohrmann 2000). This discussion is continued on the subject of criminal effects. Where it should not be concealed that certain refugees are involved in criminal activities. Lohrmann (2000) states that the overall impact of immigration on the hosting societies is misjudged and overestimated. Lastly, the reception of refugees can be dependent on the duration of hosting. As time progresses, the hosting community can develop an increasingly negative attitude towards refugees (Schmeidl 2002). This negative attitude is enforced by the international media, an actor that is discussed in the following section.

#### 2.5 Media

Media is defined by Hoag (2008) as a term that refers to "traditional mass communication systems and content genres as well as other technologies for mediated human speech" (P. 94). This definition includes traditional publishing, traditional electronic media, motion pictures, video gaming, recorded music, advertising and other services (Khajeheian 2017). Media can be divided in different categories: printed media and social media. Both are considered to be means of communication, but one is in print and the other takes place online (Carr and Hayes 2015).

Media plays a significant part in the in disseminating information, spreading knowledge and shaping ideologies (Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti 2016). The media has influence on the external, existing image of different actors. This applies to non-governmental organizations, as well as communities. Non-governmental- and humanitarian organizations both have a certain policy that views every refugee, displaced person, victim, or any person that needs help, as treated equally. These organizations do not hold any social boundaries for qualifying someone as worthy for help. The media on the other hand, does not hold on to such policy (Höijer 2004). This provides the media with freedom in terms of framing. The way an event or situation is framed is important, because it affects its audience. The result can lead to subtle emotional responses, or cause powerful acts of the audience (Tankard 2001).

The relationship between the media and its audience is therefore important, as the media is dependent on the public as an audience. By paying attention to texts and programmes, the public supports the media. And without that attention, media would not exist. On the other hand, the public's exposure to media can influence the attitude of the audience. The media for one plays a role in the creation of compassion. This compassion is created because international media, as well as Western politics, focus all the more on human suffering and crises. With exposing pictures of (distant) victims of different sorts of crimes and violence, the media plays a basic role in giving publicity to human suffering. Its audience is expected to respond as good citizens with compassion and rational commitment (Höijer 2004). Such compassion and rational commitment can appear in the humanitarian aid provided by NGOs. This supports the explanation of Höijer (2004), who states that the media plays a mediating role between humanitarian organizations and the public on one end, and politics and public opinion on the other end.

The media is even further related to politics, as it can be influential to the political agenda, for instance, by awareness campaigns that might be aimed to grow public consciousness (Wright 2014). An attempt to grow public awareness via the media has been made to amend the media coverage of refugees and forced migrants. Yet, the overall cultural mindset of the media remains unchanged, which means that there appears to be inconsistent media coverage when it comes to the subject of forced migration. Nevertheless, as Wright (2014) states, research on media coverage are largely limited to printed journalism. Broadcast media had thus been little addressed, at least until the year 2014. The rapidly expanding online media culture had also yet been investigated in 2014.

Other than compassion, the media can also enforce a negative attitude upon the audience. By broadcasting reports that focus on the duration of the hosting, the audience can perceive the hosting period as longer than it is in reality. This results in an increased negative attitude towards refugees (Wright 2014). Negative attitudes are enforced in Greece specifically as well, because refugees are argued to be predominantly framed in a negative way by the media (Gialama and McGilloway 2020). Probable cause to this is apparent racism in Greek media, which exists due to the aforementioned existing xenophobia. Nevertheless, the Greek media seems to have taken a uniform approach to the covering of the refugee crisis, in comparison to media from Great Britain and Germany (Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti 2016). In all outlets, British, German, and Greek, the refugees who enter Europe were portrayed as victims of the civil war in Syria, as helpless and desperate, with additional numbers of the crisis (Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti 2016).

Therefore, the media appears to be an important factor in relation to NGOs, to the public, and to politics. The concept of politics and migration governance will be discussed in section 2.6.2, which is included in the following section 2.6 Auxiliary factors.

## 2.6 Auxiliary factors

Other than the concepts that have been explained in the earlier sections, there are auxiliary factors that are important to this research. Auxiliary factors are not the main interest of theoretical framing, yet they are important concepts to add to the research, to optimize the results (CROS 2019). The factors discussed in this chapter are shock-events, governance and (migration) policy, and tourism. All of these factors have an influence on hospitality, the community of Lesvos, non-governmental organizations, refugees, or the media.

#### 2.6.1 Shock-events

The terms crisis, disaster and shock-events are often used synonymously. They all deal with events that belong to the category of the so-called 'un-ness': unexpected, undesirable, unimaginable and often unmanageable situations (Hewitt 1983, Boin and Hart 2007). All cannot be stopped, but the impact of a crisis, disaster or shock-event can be limited. Managers have the ability to make strategic and operational decisions that can limit the negative consequences of a crisis, disaster or shock-event (Bonn and Rundle-Thiele 2007). However, when it comes to academic discourse these terms do refer to different situations. A crisis often represents a threat, but simultaneously it represents an opportunity. A definition of a crisis that represents a broad explanation of the term is presented by Boin and Hart (2007): "a serious threat to the basic structures or the fundamental values and norms of a system, which under time pressure and highly uncertain circumstances necessitates making vital decisions" (p.43). This definition covers crises from financial meltdowns and environmental threats to epidemics. All crises are argued to represent situations where the cause is internal and associated with certain actions (or inactions). Other than such internal cause, disasters can be defined as having an external cause, either by natural phenomena or by external human actions (Bonn and Rundle-Thiele 2007). By only referring to situations with external causes, the term disaster is limited, compared to shock-events.

Therefore, the term shock-event can be preferred, as it refers to sudden and unexpected events that may cause significant stress in organizations, bringing serious threats to their profitability and existence. As well as crises, shock-events do not necessarily lead to negative outcomes, as they may have "transformational connotations", which lead to positive outcomes (Bonn and Rundle-Thiele 2007). The most severe type of shock-events are those that are not anticipated, come with a certain surprise, and may be the result of a crisis or disaster (Bonn and Rundle-Thiele 2007). As a crisis can cover an adversity of different situations, shockevents can also refer to different situations. Environmental shock-events could for instance affect different lives within a community, the lives of refugees and lastly, the work of NGOs. Additionally, shock-events are occasionally the cause of refugees' displacement, such as climate change disasters (Vonen, Olsen et al. 2020). The most influential shock-event in this day and age would be the Covid-19 pandemic, which has influenced many, if not all, lives on earth. It has been proven that Covid-19 is especially dangerous for those living in poor conditions. This causes a great threat to numerous refugees residing in camps all over the world. Camps where medical resources already are scarce, and the implementation of disease prevention recommendations are nearly impossible to implement (Vonen, Olsen et al. 2020). Those residing in camps are therefore most likely to be disproportionately affected by a shock event, such as the Covid-19 pandemic. Their risks are increased by the fact that the World Health Organization's public health recommendations are nearly impossible to follow in refugee camps. Recommendations such as social distancing, hand-hygiene and self-isolation are not likely to be implemented in a place with minimal resources and a high volume of residents. Nevertheless, a solution has been offered to change the 'transit' nature of a camp to a long-stay situation, along with an increased focus on social hygiene and overcrowding to reduce the spread of the infectious disease. All governments are urged to take immediate action to implement public-health measures for all its residents, including the migrants and refugees living in camps. This connects to the following external factor: governance and (migration) policy.

#### 2.6.2 Governance and (migration) policy

The term "governance" is concerned with the relationship between government and the governed. The term is used most often "to refer to the changing nature of government and the distribution of power and control in society" (Frahm and Martin, 2009, p.409). The governance paradigm has emerged from two duelling paradigms in the 1980s and 1990s, the government paradigm and the market paradigm. The government paradigm is explained by Frahm and Martin (2009) as: "the classical Weberian hierarchical rule based bureaucratic model updated for the 20<sup>th</sup> century" (p. 408). Whereas the market paradigm is defined as: "predicated primarily upon non-governmental solutions that stressed competitive market principles and consumer choice" (p. 408). Alongside these duelling paradigms, other paradigms did exist. Including the new public management, participative government and flexible government, but these are essentially variations on the theme "reforming the government paradigm" (Frahm and Martin, 2009, p. 408).

Nowadays, governance receives additional responsibility for the implementation and handling of public health measures to control the Covid-19 pandemic. Governance is required to provide access to understandable public-health information, for the community and for the refugee population. This, to make sure that human rights are applied to everyone. Some added tasks in governance are ensuring safety, and providing for health-care access, food, water, sanitary access and thus information.

Governance affects the lives of refugees by health and safety measures, but more importantly refugees are affected by refugee and migration policies. Governance is influential in relation to refugee movements, because political exploitation appears to be the cause of a threat. This threat being the confrontation between refugees and the hosting community because of different cultural background (Lohrmann 2000). The receiving hosting communities are arguably not the cause for this confrontation, but causes lie with the governance. Refugee movements have thus caused questions involving security, and whether or not politics are to blame. Migration flows have caused political tensions between different governments as well. Tension have risen between European countries, amongst others (Lohrmann 2000). This has also appeared to be true between Greece and other European countries.

Greece was one of the first countries to sign the UN General Assembly in 1951. Nevertheless, Greece's legal asylum system took a long time to be refined, only being developed towards the end of the 1970s. And by the end of the 1990s, Greece was forced to further develop its refugee policy. Caused by a number of factors, amongst which an increase in the number of asylum seekers, the growing influence of the European Union on shaping of the Greek asylum policy and the UNHCR discontinuing its policy to relocate refugees from Greece (Kourachanis 2018).

The Greek government has essentially created five hotspots on the islands that have received the greatest number of refugees. These hotspots are Lesvos, Chios, Samos, Leros and Kos (Kourachanis 2018). The hotspot approach is envisaged by Kourachanis (2018) as "a response to the current changes in the composition of migration towards Europe" (p. 1154). Hotspots are defined as infrastructures that are used for intensified interventions by European agencies such as Frontex, Europol, Eurojust or EASO and are meant to support the border functions of Member states of the EU in areas of intense migratory flows (Kourachanis 2018). Studies of such hotspots show that the EU has adapted repressive management of refugee flows. In Greece, the army has the responsibility to ensure security at the hotspots.

Not only does the EU appear to be a repressive management of refugee flows, European governments in general have shown to have developed a rising hostility towards immigrants over the past years (Kakoliris 2015). This is connected to the rise of right-wing parties. Including the rising xenophobia, intensified nationalism and racism that has been feeding ground for growing hostility (Gunaratnam 2020). With increased support, the Greek right-wing organization Nea Dimokratia has had a political influence on immigration laws over the past year. Public support has been undermined, for instance by the debates on the misuse of the term migrant and refugee. Taking away the importance of the protection that is necessary for refugees, and causing citizens to neglect the significance of refugee asylum at the time that support and protection is required (Edwards 2016).

As mentioned before, governance deals with refugees through national and international law. Internationally, the EU-Turkey agreement has affected Greece's refugee policy in a negative way. As the agreement was followed by a problematic access to the asylum process in Greece. Access tends to be even more problematic on the Greek islands in comparison to the main land, with delays up to ten months (Kourachanis 2018). After the EU-Turkey agreement, the hotspots in Greece, Lesvos amongst others, seem to have developed into detention centres. The hotspot approach has shown to be an approach unsupportive of human rights or basic living conditions in 2016. The situation has further developed after the impact of the Covid-19 crisis.

#### 2.6.3 Tourism

Tourism in general can be defined as travel for leisure, recreation or business by people outside of their usual environment for an overnight stay, no more than one year (Statistics and Department 1995). In relation to hospitality, tourism has been a widely researched topic (Li, Law et al. 2021), because hospitality inherently is about a host and its guest, where tourists would be applicable as guests. Yet, the relationship between hospitality and tourism is mostly based on commercial hospitality. This type of hospitality is based on meals, beverages, lodging and entertainment provided for profit (King 1995). The regular, commercial tourists have decreased in presence on the Greek islands because of the refugee crisis, with the number of forced migrants exceeding the number of residents on the islands (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis 2018). Because the Greek hoteliers are bound to one location, they are not able to adapt easily to such crisis situations. As they are not able to divert tourists to other accommodations. Therefore, the Greek hospitality and tourism branch was bound to work together, locally and nationally, in order to restore the image of the islands (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis 2018).

Aside from the regular, commercial tourists, the Greek islands receive a different type of tourist as well. These are tourists from the Turkish mainland, who usually travel to the island for short day trips. These specific tourists are less affected by the refugee crisis, as they arguably are "quite familiar with the presence of refugees" (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis, 2018, p. 215). The number of Turkish tourists arriving on Greek shores has therefore remained relatively the same throughout the refugee crisis. The number of regular tourists on the other hand, has decreased in 2015, in comparison to 2014. The number of overnights on the Greek island however increased. These are presumably booked by the workers and volunteers of non-governmental organizations (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis 2018).

The overnights that NGO workers book are different from regular commercial, or leisure travels. The NGO overnights belong to volunteer tourism, or voluntourism. A voluntarist is someone who, ideally, does not only have a positive contribution to their own personal development, but also to the social, natural and economic environment in which the volunteer is active (Coghlan 2006). Volunteer-tourism appears to be growing worldwide. It poses as an alternative way to travel for those who are seeking not to have a commercial or leisure-based way of travelling, but a more sustainable, productive and interactive experience (Keese 2011). Volunteer tourism is typically connected to volunteer work at non-profit organizations abroad. Non-governmental organizations are the principal promoters of voluntourism, and these organizations also implement the volunteers. Voluntourism reinforces the local economy during their stay in the area, whilst also contributing to the demand of future tourism. Future demand can increase through revisits, or by recommendations to friends (Tsartas, Kyriakaki et al. 2020).

Place is an important factor to volunteer tourism. Even as important that the volunteers have an influence on where the projects that the NGOs host take place. Where they want to go and what motivates them is taken into account when NGOs choose project locations (Keese 2011). As for the tourists themselves, the reasoning behind the choice for a destination can be found in the 'push and pull theory'. Push and pull factors explain why people travel. Push factors being the reasons to leave home, and pull factors are external factors influencing where someone wants to go (Keese 2011). These push and pull factors do not only apply to voluntarists, but to regular tourists as well.

Keese (2011) differs five characteristics that are important in choosing a location. The first and most important characteristic being safety. If they do not feel safe, tourists will not travel to a location. The second characteristic is the need, which is important to the goals of NGOs. Third is attractiveness. The display of an attractive, so called 'exotic' place will be more attractive to volunteers than a refugee camp would be. The fourth characteristic is related to the importance of place. It is that the location has previous staff experience. Lastly, accessibility was also a characteristic for choosing a location. Distant or expensive locations will not attract the most volunteering tourists (Keese 2011). Therefore, NGOs based on volunteer-tourism will be more concentrated to certain locations than general development NGOs would be. The tourist's choice for a location relates to the subject of hospitality as well, because a voluntarist is more likely to travel to a welcoming, hospitable area, instead of a hostile area where one would not feel safe.

## 2.7 Conceptual framework

All discussed concepts and theories are visualized in the following conceptual framework, in figure 1. This framework poses as a synthesis of what is discussed in the previous chapters.

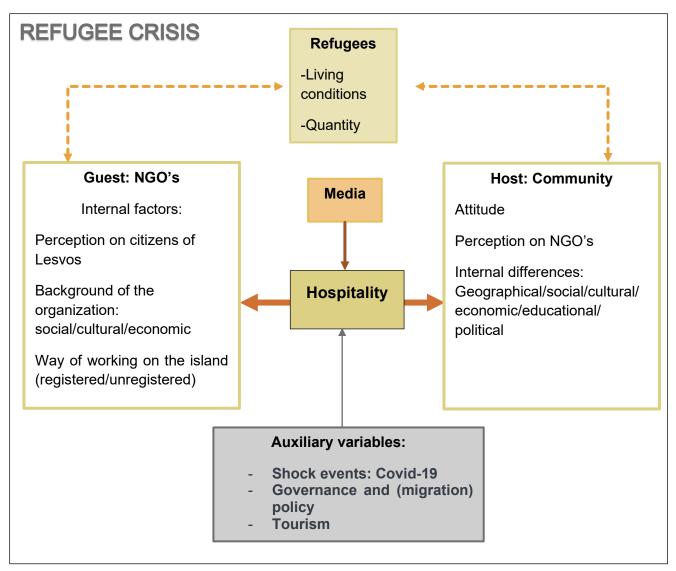


FIGURE 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The most important concept in this research is presented in the middle of the conceptual framework, that is hospitality. The host to hospitality is the community of Lesvos and the guest are the non-governmental organizations. Their relationship is shown by the thick, orange arrow going from NGOs to the community, through hospitality. This arrow is thus the main focus of this research, and it involves how the hospitality of the community is presented and how it affects its guests, the NGOs.

The green frames of NGOs and the community mention some internal concepts that have an impact on the hospitality. For instance, when looking at the social background of an organization, if the employees and volunteers of an NGO can be understood as voluntourism, this has a different impact on their relationship with the community in comparison to a situation where Greek citizens volunteer for an organization. Or Western funding and perspective on

humanitarian aid would be welcomed differently by the community than an organization with Greek-based funding. The frame of community as a host and actor, attitude and perception are mentioned. Here, attitude is about the willingness to act, and the perception is the view they have on different NGOs on the island. Last mentioned are internal differences that are important to the community as a factor.

The entire framework is based on the background of the refugee crisis, as listed in the upper left corner. That brings the importance of refugees as a "passive" actor to these concepts. Refugees are an independent variable to the relationship between the NGOs and the community. Factors that matter in this case are the living conditions of the refugees and the number of refugees on the island. For instance, if the relationship between NGOs and the community is positive, and they collaborate, the living conditions of the refugees would have the ability to improve. Nevertheless, this also works the other way around. A negative relationship could cause NGOs to be prevented from developing the living conditions of the refugees. The striped orange arrows show that refugees are an element of NGOs, as well as the community. The refugees are related to the community because they could be considered as guests to the community's hospitality. In this case, these arrows are not causal, with one leading to another, but they interplay.

The small orange box in the middle holds the media. International media and its framing of the hospitality of the community of Lesvos, and the NGOs will be investigated in this research, in sub-question 3 specifically. This is shown by the dark orange arrow pointing to the hospitality of the community and NGOs.

Lastly, auxiliary variables play a role when it comes to the hospitality between the community and NGOs on Lesvos. These variables are listed below in the grey box. Where the refugee crisis played as a "disaster" that caused exploitation for political and economic purposes, a disaster or shock-event such as the Covid-19 pandemic can have the same effect here (Franck 2018).

# 3. Methodological chapter

In this chapter, the conducting of this thesis is the central topic. First, the strategy and methodology to this research will be discussed. Subsequently, section 3.2 concerns the data collection that has been conducted to gather research results. This section includes how the data collection relates to the research questions. Section 3.3 discusses the analysis of the data, followed by a description of how the results of this thesis will be presented. In conclusion, section 3.5 provides a critical overview of the limitations, risks and issues that emerge from the research at hand.

## 3.1 Research strategy and methodology

As a researcher, you bring your own worldviews, set of belief and paradigms to a project, and these have an impact on the conducting and writing of a study (Creswell and Poth 2016). It is important to be aware that these assumptions or paradigms influence the conduct of inquiry. In this section, the methodological assumptions to the research at hand will be discussed. It holds the question of what the process of research is. As is described by Creswell and Poth (2016), in this case the context of this study will be described in detail.

First, this research is a phenomenological study. It relates to certain aspects of a phenomenological approach. Such studies involve the lived experience of a certain phenomenon for several individuals (Creswell 2007). The differences between individual experiences on a certain phenomenon matter, for instance the differences between the views of employees of a non-governmental organization, versus the view of a local member of the community of Lesvos. The phenomenon here would be identified as the relationship between NGOs and the hospitality of the community of Lesvos.

This thesis is based on a cross-sectional design. This type of design relies on existing differences, for instance in a population or between populations. There is no process of change measured in this type of research. It provides a snapshot at one specific point in time. That means the hospitality of the community of Lesvos as it is perceived today. There is no process measured, and this research does not follow up on earlier research on this subject. A downside to a cross-sectional design is that it makes generalization difficult. It is for instance hard to generalize results to another point in time. Moreover, it would be difficult to generalize the results of this research to other places, because it is specifically focussed on Lesvos. If one would have the time and means available to expand this research, the results of this thesis could be used in a collective study to compare Lesvos to other cases (Creswell 2007).

The process of this research is not based on inductive or deductive methods, but on a combination of both, an abductive research process. This means that you start with some, but often incomplete, theoretical knowledge. Then, you come up with a possible explanation of what is seen, and test this possibility. This testing happens through continuous empirical observations, whilst having some suspicions on conceptual differences. Eventually, the empirical outcomes can be different and create new knowledge (Ernste 2020). Testing of such possibilities will happen through qualitative methods, which causes this thesis to be of a qualitative nature. A global vision of qualitative research is that it discovers people's experiences, and that it helps to understand what is important to people (Silverman 2020).

There appears to be a consensus on the idea that qualitative research is about gaining understanding of the human experience through interviews. And these interviews, as well as focus groups, are seen as a direct access as to the content of people's minds. Yet, the assumption that respondents have their 'emotions' ready if you ask them about it should not be made (Silverman 2020). Therefore, focus in this case lies on behaviour and actions, instead of thoughts and feelings. Moreover, as Patton (2005) describes: "Qualitative researchers engage in naturalistic inquiry, studying real-world settings inductively to generate rich narrative descriptions and construct case studies" (p. 1). By using in-depth interviews, this research is able to gather information about the perception of the respondent. Non-governmental organizations are the respondents in this case. A small questionnaire is an additional method to these interviews, as similar questions are asked. The qualitative nature remains, as the questionnaire is too limited to be counted as quantitative, and it is not possible to generalize the results. Yet, a questionnaire fits to this research because the goal is also to gain understanding in the human experience of the respondent. The third method is a qualitative content analysis, which fits in this research as well, because it provides a complete insight in what international media has written about Lesvos, non-governmental organizations, and the community. As the term indicates, qualitative content analysis is of a qualitative nature, fitting into this qualitative research. With these methods, data can be collected from a distance, as online media articles are used. Therefore, qualitative research will be conducted at today's point in time, studying the real-world setting of the relationship between NGOs and the hospitality of the community of Lesvos. With data being open-ended and gathered with qualitative methods. The methods that will be used in this research will be explained in the following section.

#### 3.2 Data collection

As mentioned before, the data that has been collected for this research is based on the methods of qualitative research. Several methods have been used. In depth-interviews have been conducted with non-governmental organizations, a questionnaire has been issued, and a qualitative content analysis has been conducted to gain insight in media framing. This section ends with a description of how the data collection is connected to each research question.

#### 3.2.1 In-depth interviews

The first method of data collection is in-depth interviews that have been conducted. Beforehand, there was no goal set for a minimum or maximum of interviews. The goal was to achieve saturation, to get to a point where holding an extra interview will not result in additional information. Gathering data through in-depth interviews is especially applicable in this day and time, because they could be arranged online. Therefore, there is no reliance on travels and location or the cancelling of travels due to Covid-19 restrictions. All interviews have therefore been conducted online. Most were face-to-face interviews via the online program Zoom, and one is a written interview, conducted through email.

All interviews are semi-structured. This way, the respondents are aware of a general line of topics important for the interview, but he or she does have the opportunity and freedom to give an answer (Vennix 2016). The in-depth interviews with NGOs have been conducted with staff or organizational members from different organizations that are, or were, present on Lesvos. The respondents from the in-depth interviews are representatives for their entire organization. It is assumed that the information they provide and the answers they give stand for the entire,

if not the majority of the organization. The respondents have been contacted through email, which has been found on the website of the organization that appears to have worked on Lesvos.

The language used in the interviews was dependent on the respondent. A Dutch NGO employee for instance preferred to answer the questions in Dutch rather than in English. Nevertheless, language is not a factor that determined a respondent. It is only a necessity for the respondent from an NGO to have worked on Lesvos and have affinity with humanitarian aid on the island. Language might be a factor to cause some problems with translations. This happens when English is not the first language to the respondent. Yet, such problems have been covered by adding additional questions to the interview, to check if the respondent has understood them correctly. The answers of the respondent have been repeated in some cases to check if I, the interviewer, have understood them correctly. That way, misinterpretation has been avoided. Something that also helped with the problem of translation is the fact that the interviews have been recorded. This, with consent of the respondent. The recording offered the chance to listen to the recording multiple times to fully gain understanding of the information given in the interview. With help of the recordings, the interviews have all been transcribed into documents. Through active reading, all transcripts have been read multiple times. This way, a broad overview of the contents and first impressions are gained and captured. And after that, explicit, concrete codes have been developed from issues that are clear in the transcripts (Hennink, Hutter et al. 2020). The transcriptions made it possible to analyse the interview. This analysis will be explained in section 3.3.

The in-depth interviews have offered further information in some cases. The respondents or the information from the organization has suggested extra documents that were helpful to this research. This extra information has been reported in section 4.3, in addition to background information about all interviewed non-governmental organizations.

#### 3.2.2 Questionnaire

Additional to the in-depth interviews, an online questionnaire has been issued amongst members of non-governmental organizations. The questionnaire has been conducted in order to gain information from organizations that were not available to be interviewed face-to-face. Therefore, the questionnaire could provide further perspectives from other NGOs. The questions that the questionnaire holds are similar to the questions in the in-depth interviews.

The questionnaire has been created within the online program Qualtrics. The respondents have been contacted through email, by messaging different NGOs directly. This email included an invitation to plan an interview, and provided a link to the questionnaire if the NGO was not able to plan an interview. The included link simplified the distribution of the questions. Respondents have been incited to fill in the questionnaire by keeping it concise. With 24 questions, it only takes a couple of minutes to complete. The online questionnaire has been issued in English, enabling the respondents to take their time in answering the questions. The questions are composed of closed and open questions. Open questions provide the opportunity to receive answers that were not expected in advance (Vennix 2016), and closed questions on the other hand provide an increase in the reliability of the questionnaire. The reliability in general will be further explained in section 3.5.

The questionnaire received a response from members of four different NGOs, which are Fenix humanitarian legal aid, ReFOCUS media labs, Dirty Girls and The Hope project. Because of this small number of respondents, there exists some difficulty in generalization of the results. Nevertheless, especially the answers to the open questions can be used to describe the perceived hospitality by these organizations. The data that has been found in the questionnaire will be discussed in section 5.2, which holds the description of these results. The exact questionnaire that has been issued is included in appendix B.

#### 3 2 3 International media articles

To investigate international media framing, a qualitative content analysis has been conducted. Twenty online articles from different international newspapers have been found online via Google, and selected on the condition if they are on the topic of the community of Lesvos and NGOs working on Lesvos. Table 1 presents the selected articles, providing their news outlet, and the title of the article. Appendix E provides an additional table that includes the different types of outlets, and a short description of what the article reports.

TABLE 1: ARTICLES IN QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

#### Article (News outlet, Title):

- 1. Het Parool: "Vluchtelingenorganisaties in Moria: ze wilden helpen, maar nu maken ze ruzie" (Marcel Wiegman 2021)
- 2. Al Jazeera: "Do not close Pikpa down, replicate it" (Latsoudi 2020)
- 3. Al Jazeera: "How the Greek island Lesbos became a stage for Europe's far right" (Fallon 2020)
- 4. BBC news: "Science in action: Covid-19 The threat to refugees" (Pease 2020)
- 5. BBC News: "Moria migrants: fire destroys Greece's largest camp on Lesvos" (BBCNews 2020)
- 6. The Guardian: "We were left in the sea: asylum seekers forced off Lesbos" (Fallon 2021)
- 7. Trouw: "Wel of niet meewerken aan een tweede Moria? Een onmogelijk dilemma voor hulpverleners" (Kettenis 2020)
- 8. The New Humanitarian: "What grassroots groups can teach us about smart aid" (Theodorou 2018)
- 9. Greek reporter: "Migrant camp at Lesvos to be shut down soon, Greece says" (Kokkinidis 2021)
- 10. Zougla: (1) [GR] "Συνολικά 620 αιτούντες άσυλο αποχώρησαν από το Καρά Τεπέ" [EN] "A total of 620 asylum seekers left Kara Tepe" (Zougla 1, 2021)
  - (2) [GR] "MKO αντιτίθενται στο κλείσιμο του δημοτικού καταυλισμού του Καρά Τεπέ" [EN] "NGOs oppose the closure of the municipal camp of Kara Tepe" (Zougla 2, 2021)
- 11. NOS: "Bewoners Lesbos blokkeren weg Moria: 'Dit moet het einde zijn van dit kamp" (NOS 2020)

- 12. Αυγή: [GR] "Προσφυγικό / Χωρίς νομική υποστήριξη οι αιτούντες άσυλο της Λέσβου" [EN] "Refugee / No legal support for asylum seekers on Lesvos" (Zotou 2021)
- 13. Αυγή: [GR] *"Προσφυγικό / Χιλιάδες αναγνωρισμένοι πρόσφυγες κινδυνεύουν να μείνουν άστεγοι"*
- [EN] "Refugee / Thousands of recognised refugees at risk of becoming homeless" (Αυγή Newsroom, 2020)
- 14. Ta Nea: [GR] *"Αντιδράσεις σε Χίο και Λέσβο για τις νέες δομές"*
- [EN] "Reactions in Chios and Lesvos to the new structures" (TANEA-team 2021)
- 15. Rizopastis: [GR] "ΛΕΣΒΟΣ: Εκρηκτική η κατάσταση εξαιτίας του διπλού εγκλωβισμού που έχουν επιβάλει η ΕΕ και οι κυβερνήσεις
- [EN] "LESBOS: Explosive situation due to the double entrapment imposed by the EU and governments" (Rizopastis 2020)
- 16. eKathimerini: "Operation points to NGO smuggling role" (Souliotis 2020)
- 17. Ekathimerini: "Asylum law seen behind Lesvos tension" (Tania Georgiopoulou, 2020)
- 18. Euronews: "Thousands take to streets in Germany to demand EU action over Moria migrants" (Euronews 1, 2020)
- 19. The Greek reporter: "Mayors of Greek Islands Call for Changes to EU Migration Pact" (Claus, 2021)
- 20. Euronews: "Greece: Lesbos migrants march against new camp facility after Moria fire" (Euronews 2, 2020)

Where the entire research is based on an abductive research process, this specific method is based on an inductive qualitative content analysis, because previous knowledge was fragmented, or there were no previous studies on this specific topic (Elo and Kyngäs 2008). There are three phases to inductive qualitative content analyses: preparation, organizing and reporting. Regardless of these phases, there are no set systematic rules for the analysis of data. The key feature of content analysis is that the many words of a text are classified into smaller content categories (Elo and Kyngäs 2008).

After the gathering of different articles, a catalogue has been created that holds all text of the articles. Then, different keywords have been selected. These keywords derive from the theoretical framework, and thus only hold terms that are important to the subject at hand. The keywords are established in different codes. Each code holds certain keywords, and guided questions which support the interpretation of the keywords. Such guided questions prevent wrongful interpretation of the text. All keywords with their belonging codes and guided questions are gathered and explained in table 8 of appendix F.

After the creation of the catalogue and the establishment of all codes, the articles have been analysed. How this content analysis has been conducted is explained in section 3.3.

#### 3.2.4 Data collection and the research questions

All gathered data will provide an answer to the main research question at hand. Yet, because this answer is divided between four research sub-questions it is important to learn how these sub-questions will be answered. The following table 2 shows each research sub-question, their components and what methods have been used to answer these questions. The last question discussed in this table is the main research question.

TABLE 2: ANSWERING OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research question	Component	Research method used
What is the state of the perceived hospitality of the	State of perceived hospitality now	Qualitative content analysis, in-depth
community of Lesvos, how has it developed in recent	Change in hospitality	interviews.
years, and why has development taken place?	Reason behind change	
2. What activities do the non-	Conducting of activities	In-depth interviews with
governmental organizations on Lesvos conduct, how have	Change in activities	NGOs, and the online questionnaire with
these activities developed in recent years, and why have their activities developed?	Reasons behind change	NGOs.
3. How is the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos	Connection between perceived hospitality and	In-depth interviews, online questionnaire
related to non-governmental organizations on Lesvos?	non-governmental organizations	and qualitative content analysis
organizations on zeovos.	organizatione	analysis
4. How has the international media	How the international	Qualitative content
framed the community of Lesvos in comparison to non-	media has framed the community of Lesvos	analysis
governmental organizations in recent years, and how has the		
international media had an impact on the community and non-governmental	How the international media has framed NGOs	
organizations?	Impact of international media on community	The in double intermited
	modia on deminidinty	The in-depth interviews and the online
	Impact of international	questionnaire.
	media on NGOs	

How does the perceived hospitality of the community Lesvos affect nongovernmental organizations on Lesvos, what impact does the framing of international media have on this relationship and what influence do recent global developments have?

Accumulation of all research sub-questions

Accumulation of all used methods. Qualitative content analysis, all indepth interviews and the online questionnaire.

First, the state of the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos is measured by the qualitative content analysis as well as the in-depth interviews with NGOs. The hospitality thus concerns the perceived hospitality. The in-depth interviews therefore hold questions about the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos.

Second, the in-depth interviews and the online questionnaire both hold questions about the activities that the NGOs have conducted on Lesvos, how their activities have changed throughout recent years, and why this change has occurred. Change that has occurred has also been investigated at the hand of documents, for instance by investigating year reports of NGOs.

The third question is important formulate an answer to the main research question, and focusses on the relationship between the perceived hospitality and the non-governmental organizations on Lesvos. This question is answered by the use of in-depth interviews, to gain insight in the perception that NGOs have on their relationship with the community, in addition to the online questionnaire which has a similar goal. Additionally, the qualitative content analysis will provide an insight in the relationship between NGOs and the hospitality from the perspective of international media.

The fourth and last sub-question completes the circle and involves the framing of international media. First, how the community of Lesvos has been framed, subsequent to the framing of NGOs. And the second part of this sub-question investigates the impact that international media has on the two. The answer to this question retrieves from the qualitative content analysis as well as the in-depth interviews and online questionnaire, to gather information on how these organizations perceive the impact of the media.

## 3.3 Analysis

After conducting the different methods of research, an analysis is important to be able to provide a concluding answer to the leading research questions.

As mentioned before, the qualitative, in-depth interviews have all been transcribed afterwards and these transcriptions have been included in appendix C. The interview that has been conducted in Dutch, has first been literally transcribed in Dutch and coded in English afterwards. This way, it is possible to apply the same analysis to every in-depth interview. Quotations of this interview have been included in English throughout this thesis, and the literal Dutch translation has been included in a footnote. This ensures the information transparency.

Inductive strategies have been used for the development of codes. These codes are labels that capture issues, topics, concepts and processes that are present in the interviews. The inductive strategies that are used in the development of such codes involve reading data, identifying issues, reflecting on their meaning and capturing these in codes. These codes are valuable, as they reflect on the issues that appear to be important to the respondents themselves, because these might be different from those anticipated at forehand. The codes give the possibility to 'let the data speak for itself', as the codes are derived directly from the words of the respondents (Hennink, Hutter et al. 2020). Coding has been done in the program Atlas.ti, and all codes are listed in the codebook which is added in table 8 of appendix F. This improves the consistency throughout the research.

Lastly, the different international newspaper articles, from the qualitative content analysis, have been examined in terms of their language, with a focus on the content and context of language (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Mentioned prior to the analysis, different codes with fitting keywords and guided questions have been set up. These are important to the framing of the community and NGOs. The keywords derive from the theoretical framework and a pre-study of the articles. This consists of subjective interpretation of the articles. After the pre-study, the articles have been analysed. Analysis in this case means to check if the keywords appeared to be in the articles. If a keyword occurred to be in the article, it has been marked with the fitting colour of the specific code. A copy of the article catalogue, with all marked keywords has been added in an additional file in appendix E.

## 3.4 Display of results

After the analysis of the qualitative data, the results of this thesis are taking shape. These results have been divided in two chapters, followed by a third conclusions chapter. First is a descriptive chapter of the results and second the analysis of these results.

The descriptive chapter 5 is divided between the different methods of data collection, which are the in-depth interviews, the questionnaire, and the qualitative content analysis. This descriptive chapter holds an objective report of the findings. For the questionnaire and in-depth interviews, sections 5.1 and 5.2 contain recurring patterns and significant or representative responses, all structured around the key themes in the research sub-questions. For the qualitative content analysis this entails that the codes and their numbers are reported, and a comparison is made between the Greek and other international articles. As mentioned before, the transcriptions and coding of the interviews have been added to the appendix, as well as the descriptions and complete coding of the articles from the qualitative content analysis. Because this information is not necessarily indispensable in the results chapter. Yet, this does give the opportunity to refer to certain quotes that have been stated in the interviews and articles.

The quotes and information are especially useful in chapter 6, which holds the analysis of the results. Here, conclusions can be drawn, and these are achieved with help of the predetermined conceptual framework. The analysis of the results brings an opportunity to determine if there appear to be differences between the conceptual framework that has been created with the theories, and the framework created with the provided data. The actual content of the articles from the qualitative content analysis will be discussed and analysed in this chapter, because the descriptive chapter five only reports on the coding of the content analysis in a descriptive manner.

Subsequently to the two results chapters is the conclusions chapter, where the results will be explained and used to present an answer to all research questions. Starting with answering all sub-questions, and ending with a summary that provides an answer to the main research question.

Therefore, the results chapters will provide objective text, with tables and important quotes, which will be interpreted in the analysis of the results of chapter 6. These chapters are followed by the conclusions chapter which will provide answers to the research sub-questions and the main research question at hand.

#### 3.5 Research limitations, risks and issues

As with every research, this thesis has its limits, risks and issues. It is important to be aware of these beforehand, so it is possible to keep those in mind and adjust the conducting of the research accordingly.

The generalizations of results have been mentioned before. As this thesis is focussed on Lesvos, and the methods only include certain members of NGOs and the community of Lesvos, it is not possible to generalize the results to other areas. Therefore, it is good to keep in mind that the results to this research solemnly apply to the situation on Lesvos.

Another limitation to this research is again mentioned before, which is the factor of language. This plays a role in interviews with members of NGOs. The interview that has been conducted in Dutch, can cause problems with the English translation. Therefore, it is necessary to interpret the answers given in the interview correctly, followed by a correct translation. Language can also play a part in other interviews. It is useful to keep in mind during the preparation and during the interviews that English does not necessarily need to be the first language of the respondent. This problem has been solved through reflection during the interview, by for instance repeating an answer of the respondent to check if it has been understood correctly.

The use of a questionnaire brings additional insight in the perception of non-governmental organizations, because respondents who are not willing or able to contribute to an interview are able to answer the same questions in their own time. Nevertheless, a limitation to the use of a questionnaire is that the respondents are not able to elaborate on their answers as much as they are in an interview. Therefore, the results from the questionnaire can be considered to be not as elaborate as they would have been if the respondents had been interviewed. By the use of open questions in the interviews as well as the questionnaire, the reliability to this research is affected. The reliability is decreased because of these open questions, in comparison to the use of closed questions. Validity on the other hand considers the means of measurement, whether the means are accurate and measure what is intended to be measured (Golafshani 2003). As this research is based on qualitative data, the information is fairly subjective. By focussing on triangulation and with the use of different qualitative methods, the reliability and validity of this research will be effected positively (Van Thiel 2014).

There are also some risks involved with this research. Especially due to recent global developments, because the Covid-19 pandemic has had substantial influence on this thesis. Because it is not possible to travel to Lesvos to conduct the research, the information will not be gathered face-to-face. In advance, this produced the risk that it would not have been possible to gather the desired data. Yet, the methodology is shaped in a way that most has been done to gather as much data as possible, as all methods are arranged online.

Other than limitations and risks, all research, especially those in the social sphere, face certain ethical issues. It is important to keep these in mind before, and during the conducting of the research. As the contemporary guidelines to ethical research that involves humans cannot cover all situations, it is important to think about ethics in relation to specific research. A summary of ethical guidelines include: "codes for honesty, objectivity, integrity, carefulness, openness, respect for intellectual property, confidentiality, responsible publication, responsible mentoring, respect for colleagues, social responsibility, nondiscrimination, competence, legality, respect and care for research animals, and human subjects' protection" (p.112) (Artal and Rubenfeld 2017). In this research, these ethical guidelines have been valued. For instance by asking permission from each respondent to use and publish their names and responses, to protect their privacy. The concept of hospitality itself comes with certain ethical issues. It is a virtue belonging to ethics, and hospitality is always partial and conditional (Calvo 2013).

# 4. Contextual chapter

This fourth chapter provides context on the topic of this research. First, a timeline is presented. This demonstrates the most important events that happened on Lesvos in relation to the time of the events happening. Subsequently, this chapter provides context on the island of Lesvos, in terms of internal differences and information involving refugees on Lesvos. The third section discusses the different non-governmental organizations that have been interviewed.

#### 4.1 Timeline

The following timeline in figure 2 provides a visual image of the events that have happened in Lesvos over time. Consequently, this figure shows in what timeframe this research takes place. Giving an insight into what events have taken place on Lesvos and what events could affect the hospitality of the community of Lesvos.

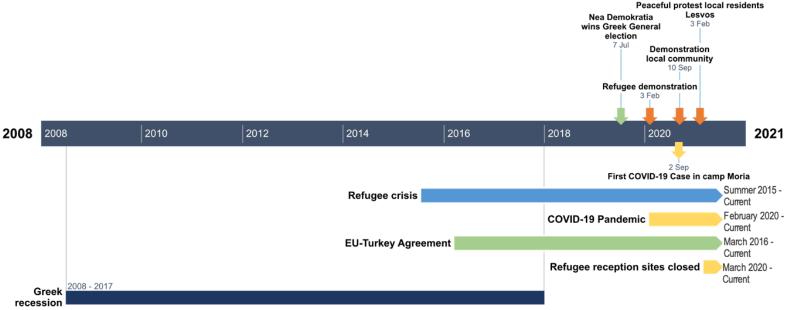


FIGURE 2: TIMELINE EVENTS ON LESVOS (OWN WORK)

The timeline shows a different array of developments and events all evident on the island of Lesvos. All of these events have, to a large or small degree, an impact on the community of Lesvos, NGOs on the island or on the refugees on the island. On the bottom, ongoing or longlasting developments are displayed and at the events displayed at the top have happened on one day. For instance, there are two developments marked blue. First, the Greek recession in the bottom is marked dark blue, and it refers to the economic crisis in the country that has taken effect from 2008 to 2017 (Amadeo 2020). As is visualized, this crisis was still in effect when the refugee crisis started, which is the second blue marked event. Because these events overlap, they can affect each other as well. This applies to all developments or events that overlap. The events marked in yellow are for instance related to the Covid-19 crisis. These include the first case of Covid-19 inside refugee reception site Moria, that has been marked on September 2<sup>nd</sup> in 2020 (Reuters Staff 2020). Events that relate to the subject of governance are marked green in this timeline. For instance, the first, green arrow marks the winning of the Greek general elections by the party Nea Dimokratia on July 7<sup>th</sup> 2019. This event has impacted the development of the refugee crisis on Lesvos as well, as the party implied new immigration laws for example. Therefore, as this timeline represents, the different developments and events have influenced each other during different times, and in different ways. Additional information and sources on this timeline have been included in the following table 3.

TABLE 3: TIMELINE INFORMATION (OWN WORK)

DATE:	AFFAIR:	SOURCE:	
2008 - 2017	Greek recession	Amadeo (2020)	
From summer 2015/2016 - Current	Refugee crisis Lesvos	Afouxenidis, Petrou et al. (2017)	
March 2016 - Current	EU-Turkey agreement	Kourachanis (2018)	
7 July 2019	Nea Dimokratia wins Greek General Elections	Keeffe (2019)	
February 2020 - Current	COVID-19 Pandemic (First case on Lesvos)	Reuters_Staff (2020)	
3 February 2020	Demonstration of refugees	Maddox (2020)	
1 March 2020	School in refugee camp Moria closes	Assen (2020)	
March 2020 - Current	Refugee reception sites close (first lockdown)	Interview Gwedolina Gérard (2021), Low-tech with refugees	
March 2020	Attack on volunteers	Gruppen (2020)	
2 September 2020	First COVID-19 Case in camp Moria	Reuters_Staff (2020)	
8 September 2020	Fire in refugee camp Moria, Lesvos	Guardian (2020) and BBCNews (2020)	
10 September 2020	Demonstration local community	NOS (2020)	
12 September 2020	Opening new camp Moria 2.0	MacGregor (2020)	
3 February 2021	Peaceful protest local residents Lesvos	TANEA-team (2021)	

#### 4.2 The island Lesvos

After the timeline of the important events on Lesvos, this section provides a contextual background of the island Lesvos. As shown in the conceptual model, there are some internal differences on the island to take into account. These differences are presented in section 4.2.1. Section 4.2.2 then provides background information on the refugees on Lesvos, together with the situation in the asylum seeker reception sites, providing an image of the refugee crisis on Lesvos.

#### 4.2.1 Internal differences

Lesvos is conceptualized as a medium to large island, with approximately 90,000 habitants if the refugee population is not counted. The economic activities of Lesvos are tourism, agriculture, livestock breeding, olive oil pressing and other processing and light industries (Giannoulis and Haralambopoulos 2011). Yet, these activities are not conducted equally throughout the entire island.

For one, there is a difference to be distinguished between rural and urban areas. The rural areas on Lesvos mainly exist of agricultural olive plantations which play a role for the delivery of ecosystem services on the entire island (Zagaria, Schulp et al. 2017). Extensive olive oil plantations mainly exist in the area of Gera on the Eastern coast of Lesvos. An area that is locally named as terraced "olive forest". These areas appear to have experienced abandonment over the last years (Zagaria, Schulp et al. 2018). As is the case in the Gera area, with recent demographic and landscape transitions that followed a decline of almost 40% of the population of the area, a negative natural balance and a low percentage of active habitants (Zagaria, Schulp et al. 2017). The abandonment of areas such as Gera is mostly driven by declining olive oil prices and the difficulty that comes with the mountainous, and thereby poorly accessible, smallholder olive plantations (Zagaria, Schulp et al. 2018). In these rural areas, there is a high dependency on livestock and little opportunity for other forms of income (Iosifides and Politidis 2005).

The urban areas of Lesvos are visualized in the map in figure 3. The most dark grey areas are the urban areas, and the lighter grey zones surrounding those show areas 500m from residences (Kontos, Komilis et al. 2003). The biggest urban area on Lesvos is the city Mytilene and its suburbs, with 40% of the population living here in 2001 (Kizos and Koulouri 2006).

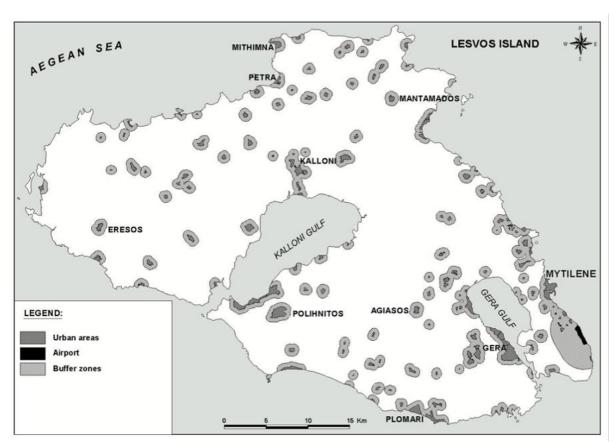


FIGURE 3: URBAN AREAS OF LESVOS (KONTOS, KOMILIS ET AL. 2003)

The main urban area of Mytilene is part of the municipality of Mytilene. This municipality does not regulate the entire island of Lesvos, because municipalities have been split in two. The municipality of Mytilene is located on the Eastern side of the island, and has become known as the 'refugee municipality' due to the presence of refugee reception sites (Smitaki's-Lesvos 2020). On the other side of the island is the municipality of West Lesvos. This area mainly consists of volcanic landscape, with numerous thermal springs that remain and show the severe earthquakes that the unstable subterranean area has endured throughout history (Lotha 2020). West Lesvos is predominantly visited by tourists, causing the economic profits made from tourists to be mainly gathered on the West side of the island. A divide between the two municipalities can be made as "the tourists go to West Lesvos, refugees and NGO's go to Mytilene" (Smitaki's-Lesvos 2020).

Considering the political situation in Greece, in 2011, the political system of Greek society was represented by two parties: PASOK and Nea Dimokratia (Malkoutzis 2011). With PASOK presenting a fairly dominant socialist party, and Nea Dimokratia a conservative, right-wing party. Together, these parties were able to build xenophobic nationalism throughout the Greek society, as mentioned before in section 2.2. As xenophobia is an inherently Greek word, it is very applicable as a result of the political landscape. Xenophobia is considered to be a mainstream ideology, plead by parties such as Nea Dimokratia (Doxiadis and Matsaganis 2012). The Nea Dimokratia party has been active since 2011, and it has been important since that time. And its prevalence is said to reflect a change in the Greek political behaviour. A third party, active alongside PASOK and Nea Dimokratia, is the left-wing populist SYRZIA party. This party focuses more explicitly on the excluded, the marginalized and the underprivileged (Mavrozacharakis 2020). The SYRZIA party has been in office for four years, but had to admit defeat in the 2020 elections, with 32% of the votes gathered. With the gathered 40% of the votes, Nea Dimokratia is said to lead Greece on to a path with a revitalization of the perception on modernization, if the right-wing is able to restore the consequence of the distorted modernization that was introduced by Greece's former, more left-winged government (Mavrozacharakis 2020). The new government has had an impact on the Greek immigration laws, which is important to the refugees residing on Lesvos. These refugees and the reception sites on Lesvos specifically will be discussed in the following section.

#### 4.2.2 Reception sites and refugees

The terminology of "camp", according to Jauhiainen (2017), does not refer to the temporary character of a reception sites. The term asylum seeker reception site is therefore used because it goes irrespective of the sites size, openness or organization. There can be different sites found on Lesvos, reception sites as well as assembly points. Therefore, the term reception site has been used throughout this thesis. All different refugee reception sites and assembly points on Lesvos are visualized in the following map in figure 4. The map furthermore shows a distinction between the municipality of Mytilene, on the bottom right and the municipality of West Lesvos, which is coloured slightly darker on the left.

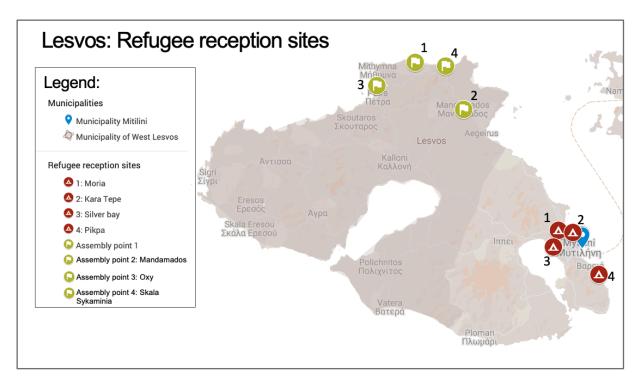


FIGURE 4: REFUGEE RECEPTION SITES ON LESVOS (JAUHIAINEN 2017)

The biggest location on the island used to be camp Moria, until the fires of September 2020 destroyed the site. A new site was opened on September 12th 2020 (MacGregor 2020). Other than that, the temporary Kara Tepe site was also set up after the fire. This location was said to be equipped to accommodate up to 10.000 residents. Yet, the German catholic relief organization Caritas International disagrees, stating that the camp already lacks capability of hosting for the 7.000 residents that currently live in Kara Tepe. The European refugee policy is blamed by the following statement: "Flooded tents, far too few toilets and shows, barely any protection from storms and rain: The newly set-up refugee camp on the Greek island of Lesbos manifests Europe's failed refugee policy" (Prange, 2021, p.1). Due to the situation involving the Covid-19 pandemic, photographers and television crews from outside the site are not allowed to go in. Causing the residents to take it upon themselves to share their situation with the world. Pictures are taken and shared on Instagram, and on the separate platform 'Now you see me Moria'. The online sharing of their situation is important to portray their dire situation. As Jauhiainen (2017) in 2017 already found that 42% of the residents of the refugee reception sites find that social media makes their life easier. Online communication also tends to be the most important tool during the asylum journey (Jauhiainen 2017).

In 2015, up to 600 refugees came ashore on Lesvos on a daily basis, causing the local authorities to struggle with fulfilling their needs. Even with the inhabitants working hard to provide for the refugees coming to shore. The inhabitants of the area Skala Sykaminia, which is shown in figure 4 at assembly point 4, were very welcoming towards the refugees in 2016. Even so that the inhabitants were nominated Nobel Price of Peace (Smitaki's-Lesvos 2020). Despite the welcoming attitude of the community, a great number of refugees still came ashore every day, as many that the locals continuously faced more struggles each day, causing the mayor of Lesvos to call on the government for immediate support. This call was immediately answered by the arrival of different NGOs. In 2016, 81 NGOs were counted to operate on the island, but with only 30 organizations registered at the municipality (Nianias 2016).

This reveals that the government did ask for support, but that does not necessarily imply that helping organizations are working together with the government. The municipality thus did not control all organizations arriving on the island. The disproportionality between registered and unregistered NGOs has caused concerns in the community. A local hotel owner for instance shares her concern about the big quantity of people rushing to the island, causing more confusion and commotion than helping the refugees. She reports further concern about the little consideration the foreign employees of the NGOs bring for what the locals have gone through and how it has affected their lives. "They never came to ask: 'How can we help you?' Because it's not only a crisis for the refugees, it's a crisis for every local community that the refugee crisis passes through" (Nianias, 2016, p.1).

To what extend the refugee crisis has passed through Greece appears clearly from the numbers of the refugee crisis. The following table 4 displays the number of refugees that arrived in Greece in different years, as well as the specific numbers for the island Lesvos for the years that these numbers are available. As shown in the table, the refugee origin predominantly from Syria, and this is also the case for the refugees on Lesvos specifically (Afouxenidis, Petrou et al. 2017).

TABLE 4: ARRIVING REFUGEES IN GREECE AND LESVOS (IVANOV AND STAVRINOUDIS 2018, KOURACHANIS 2018, UNHCR 2021)

Year	Arriving refugees in Greece, total	Nationality of refugees	Number of arriving refugees on Lesvos specifically:
2015			506,919
2016	173,864	Syrian (81,951) Afghanistan (41,825) Iraq (26,138) Pakistan (8,793) Other nationalities (15,157)	99,361
2017	36,310		
2018	50,508		
2019	74,613		
2020	15,696		

The Covid-19 pandemic has already been presented in the timeline of figure 2, and it coincides with the refugee crisis in Greece. As the pandemic affects communities throughout the world, the refugees on Lesvos are not exceptional. The island has implemented numerous restrictions, causing the refugees to have limited access to services for help, and the recognition of the help that is necessary is also poor. This is causing an urgent need for the right mental support and service, especially for the children. Gialama and McGilloway (2020) have worked and met with refugee children on Lesvos, and they experienced first-hand what problems these children face in their day-to-day lives. Access to school would be a vital help for these children, but the Covid-19 pandemic has caused these to close. Non-governmental organizations are on the island trying to provide help wherever it is possible. Few of these organizations have been interviewed for this research, and context about these organizations will be discussed in the following section.

## 4.3 The interviewed non-governmental organizations

Before the discussion of the results, this section provides an insight in the different non-governmental organizations that have been interviewed. Five different organizations have been interviewed: Stand by me Lesvos, Low-tech with refugees, Leave no one behind, Yoga and Sports for refugees and the Starfish foundation. Before discussing the responses in relation to hospitality, this section provides an insight in the context of these organizations.

First, the organization Stand by me Lesvos started in 2017, it is Greek based and exists of local Greek citizens together with 250 refugees who volunteer for the organization. There are three teams to be distinguished within this organization: the Moria Corona Awareness Team (MCAT), Moria white helmets and Moria academia. These three teams conduct different activities on the island, not only to help refugees but the local community as well. All activities that have been conducted in the year 2020 have been summarized in three fact sheets, which have been included in appendix A. The activities have been divided over education, waste management and awareness, and community support, and they include for instance, the support of over 320 students of community schools in the new camp Moria. In comparison to previous years, the 2020 report from Stand by me Lesvos is very extensive. From the year 2019 there is only a financial report provided, and there is an activity report from 2018 which is more concise than the 2020 report. The 2018 activity report promises much for the future: "The start of 2018 was just the beginning of a long-term program to help" (Team 2018).

Second, is the organization Low-tech with refugees, which has started a year later than NGO Stand by me Lesvos, in 2018. The idea of the organization is "to have a maker's space where people can come and fix some objects, mostly fixing bikes and phones, to let people have a space where they can fix stuff or create objects for their own (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021)." It is an organization that is originally French, and it is active in two different countries. On Lesvos, the organization is housed in the One Happy Family facility, outside of the refugee reception sites. It is a very small organization that includes six international volunteers from France, Germany and England, and the coordination team includes fifteen more international volunteers. Low-tech with refugees provides a trimestral report on their website, giving insight in the work that the organization has conducted over the months January to February 2021. On Lesvos, 56 workshops have been organized, with thematic such as sewing, repairing bikes or knitting. Seven participants have been able to join each workshop, resulting in 77 participants in total since January and 359 materials of low-tech have been created or repaired in this period. Another activity that Low-tech with refugees has completed on Lesvos is the transformation of an old school bus. It has been transformed in such a way that it can now be used as a school. The bus has been placed inside of the refugee reception site, solving the problem of children inside the site without access to a form of school.

The third organization is Leave no one behind, which is better described as a network. It started with the German politician Erik Marquardt who invented the hashtag #leavenoonebehind. This hashtag received much acknowledgement, causing the network to be founded in March 2020. The starting point was to put the topic of refugees on Lesvos on the agenda, because most of such humanitarian issues were put into the background due to the Covid-19 Pandemic. The Leave no one behind network consists of two teams, one in Berlin and one in Greece. There are five members involved in the Greek team, four of whom are internationals from Germany, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Somalia and one member is Greek. Apart from these employees, who are all in a coordinator position, the network has 16 volunteers who are all camp residents. The network organizes different projects on Lesvos, and raises money to fund numerous other organizations. Information transparency is an important factor to the network, which is why all funding the network has collected for each organization can be found on the website of Leave no one behind.

Fourth is Yoga and Sports for refugees. It is a small organization that exists firstly of two representatives, Estelle and Nina. Then, there are five coordinators who consist of two internationals and three refugees, followed by 25 teachers who are all refugees except for Nina herself. Lastly, the organization consists of ten volunteers of which five are refugees and five are internationals at this point. As the name of the NGO reveals, the organization provides yoga and sports lessons for refugees. They provide 18 different sports on Lesvos, and it is also active in Athens where they provide 10 different sports.

The last organization that has been interviewed for this research is the Starfish foundation. This organization is solemnly active in Greece and is consists of ten permanent staff members and ten volunteers, which is the minimum number of workers, because the foundation has had 2,500 volunteers to work with them since their establishment in 2015. The volunteers and employees originate from numerous countries such as Greece, Afghanistan, Germany, Iran, Iraq or the Netherlands.

This context on the interviewed non-governmental organizations provides a stepping stone to the further description of the results, which will be discussed in the following chapter 5.

# 5. Descriptive results

This chapter brings a descriptive report of the findings. Starting with a description of the results from the online questionnaire, followed by section 5.2 which describes the results of the indepth interviews, conducted with the non-governmental organizations. Lastly, section 5.3 provides the results of the qualitative content analysis, providing two tables with resulting codes.

## 5.1 Online questionnaire

The online questionnaire for members of non-governmental organizations has been completed by four respondents, who are members of four different organizations. This section provides a summary of what answers have been given in the questionnaire.

The responding organizations are Fenix Humanitarian Legal aid, ReFOCUS Media labs, Dirty girls of Lesvos and the Hope project. The size of these organizations differs from locally active in- or around refugee receptions sites on Lesvos to active in different countries. And in terms of workers, the smallest organization is Dirty girls with 8, and the biggest is Fenix Humanitarian Legal aid with 35 workers. The organizations state that they agree that collaborations between them and other NGOs are good to extremely good. This is comparable to the relationship these organization have with refugees. There is less agreement on the collaboration the organizations have with the municipality of Mytilene. Where the Fenix Humanitarian Legal aid notes a good relationship, ReFOCUS media labs suggests that there is no relationship there. The organizations indicate that the relationship they have with the community of Lesvos is generally good, even though they appear to have had hostile encounters with members of the community. And the respondents indicate that they have never or occasionally have experienced specific acts of hospitality from members of the community of Lesvos. ReFOCUS Media labs is the only organization that states that they have had to change their activities due to the relationship with the community of Lesvos, with the following statement: "Extreme elements against the presence of refugees, asylum seekers, NGOs and journalists on Lesvos have on many occasions forced us to suspend or modify activities for the safety of our team and beneficiaries. Covid-restrictions on movement in town calmed these extreme elements down a bit, but an intensity of hostility from the authorities to anyone with media equipment has continued. Freedom of the press on Lesvos has become extremely restricted" (online questionnaire).

All organizations appear to have tried to include the community of Lesvos in their work. This, by helping struggling local families, creating an open space in attempt to bring together locals, refugees and aid workers, and lastly by creating strong relationships with local business owners. Some organizations also indicate that they employ locals in their organizations.

The organizations all agree that their activities have changed since the Covid-19 Pandemic. For instance because it was not possible to visit refugees, and activities that have been organized were restricted to Greek Covid policies. Covid restrictions appear to have an influence on the hospitality of the community, because movement restrictions in towns have calmed down the extreme acts of hostility slightly. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that hostility has been tempered by covid restrictions, but the general hostility towards refugees and those who work in support has remained. The hostility exists of two groups in society, those who oppose the reception sites because of human rights violations as well as those who want refugees to leave Lesvos completely.

Recent developments involving the refugee reception sites are source for local resistance. Starting in February of 2020, during the creation of centres for refugees, resistance is expected to resume when the government attempts to break ground on a new proposed site. In the time the government determines which company is to break ground for a new site, the local government of Lesvos has closed all other dignified living areas such as Pikpa and the original Kara Tepe site, forcing vulnerable people to live in the il-equipped Mavrovouni site. This respondent notes that these developments and the general silence and financial support by the EU have intensified the abusive policies in Greece, causing the situation to "get worse by the day" (online questionnaire).

# 5.2 In-depth interviews

Several in-depth interviews have been conducted with four different organizations. These organizations are: Stand by me Lesvos, Low-tech with Refugees, the network Leave no one behind and Yoga and Sports for refugees, who have all been interviewed face-to-face. The Starfish foundation has provided a written version of the interview. Summaries of the main findings of these interviews have been included in this section. As all interviews have been conducted with NGOs who are working on Lesvos, the same interview guide has been used for each interview. This guide has been included in appendix B.

#### 5.2.1 Stand by me Lesvos

The first interview was conducted with the organization Stand by me Lesvos, with representative Michael Aivaliotis. He is the director of the organization, which is Greek-based, and exists of local Greek citizens. This causes Stand by me Lesvos to have an advantage opposed to other, foreign NGOs because only local Greek citizens are allowed to be in the reception site during the Covid-19 Pandemic, as explained by Aivaliotis. Causing Stand by me Lesvos to present as a bridge between the refugees and other NGOs who provide the funds for materials and resources. This has caused work and activities to have increased for the organization since and during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Stand by me Lesvos is divided into three teams: MCAT, Moria White helmets and Moria Academia. These three teams are all occupied with different activities. MCAT spreads awareness on health- and safety measures within refugee reception sites, and the team is specialized in recycling. "We have two recycling points, and by recycling, we are giving things back to people. For example, refugees are collecting empty bottles every day, they bring these to recycling points and they can take something back for that" (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021). The second team, Moria White helmets, is concentrated on cleaning and electricity within the Moria reception site. Lastly, Moria Academia offers schooling for refugees. Schooling for one, through peer mentoring. This happens by taking people from the community that already know the Greek language and who have experience in teaching, and prepare them to be teachers. These peer mentored teachers in turn are able to teach other refugees different languages. Where MCAT and Moria White helmets have had an increase in their work during the Covid-19 Pandemic, the Moria Academia has had to close their teaching space within the Moria site.

Because members of this organization are Greek themselves and with that, part of the community, they appear to have a different mindset from those who oppose the presence of NGOs on Lesvos. It is explained to be different for Stand by me Lesvos because the organization had the means and the opportunity to help. Not being as affected as others by the economic crisis that struck the island. The desire to help is amplified with the statement "we have a duty as humans to help other humans" (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021). Moreover, the fact that the workers in the organization are Greek does not affect their way of working with refugees. "Although I am local, although I am from Mytilene, I do not know your problem, because I am not living inside the camp. So, we believe that refugees know better than anyone what the biggest problems in the camp are, so they know what the best solution is" (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021). The organization therefore puts the solution in the hands of the refugees. Claiming that "they are young, they know how to do things, they can do things, and the only thing they do not have is the opportunity, the material and the tools" (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021).

#### 5.2.2 Low-tech with refugees

The second interview has been conducted with the organization Low-tech with refugees, with representative Gwendolina Gérard. It is a small organization which is settled in a community centre organized by the organization One happy family. Here, they try to include refugees with manual tasks such as fixing bikes or phones, or with sewing workshops. The community centre has been closed for the past year due to the measures for the Covid-19 pandemic, causing the refugees to not be able to help with fixing items in the workshop. Nevertheless, workshops organized for women from the refugee reception site can continue because they are said to be part of a mental health program.

The NGO Low-tech with refugees has not been registered with the municipality of Mytilene. The reason behind this being that at least one member of the organization should have a specific status, or form, and none of the members of Low-tech with refugees has been able to achieve such status, as it is explained to be a very long process.

It is stated that there is a gap between "the NGO-life and the Lesvos life" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021). Which is further explained by the statement that: "for me personally, I have very good contact with the local people but it has nothing to do with the organization" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021). The organization does try to participate to the local community as much as possible, and with that, they also have good collaborations with locals, specifically local stores.

Low-tech with refugees feel that there are two barriers to be distinguished between the members of the NGOs and the local community of Lesvos. First, a language barrier causing the members of the NGO who do not speak Greek to be unable to get Greek employees for their organization. As is stated in the interview: "I would say it's kind of a bad circle, because I think we would like to involve more people here on the island. But if we don't communicate in Greek, it's kind of more difficult to reach them" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021). Second, a money barrier can be found between NGOs with a big cash inflow and NGOs with a smaller income.

#### 5.2.3 Leave no one behind

The third interview has been conducted with representative Patrick Muenz from the organization Leave no one behind, which is better to be described as a network. Because it started as a hashtag, in March 2020, the organization has a lot of recognition with its name. That recognition is used to raise money for projects on Lesvos. These projects are organized by Leave no one behind itself, or the funding goes to other NGOs to help them with their projects.

As mentioned before, the Greek team on Lesvos of Leave no one behind is very small and consists of four internationals and one Greek employee, alongside 16 volunteers. These volunteers all live in the refugee reception sites on Lesvos. The network feels that hiring international volunteers would not be most desirable. On the one end, internationals would get more sensitive to the topic, so "when they go home, they will communicate in a completely different way to their family" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). Yet on the other end it is not preferable to employ internationals "because we do not want to present the people as a zoo here" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). The organization is still finding its way in this, because the organization is still very young, "and we are still in a way to find our structure" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021).

The network recognizes that the situation on Lesvos is also not desirable for the locals. By being involved politically, the network is trying to make a change from above instead of merely working on the ground in humanitarian projects. In their political statements, the network is very critical of the European Union. For instance, by stating that the number of 6,200 refugees should not be a substantial issue for the European Union. Because: "when they want to solve this problem, it would be done on Monday" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). The relationship between the network and the municipality of Mytilene is on the other hand relatively acceptable. "Everyone in the end is just doing his job, so we try to be on a calm level with everyone" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). Numerous locals are additionally very happy with the presence of Leave no one behind. As they see that the network notices them, and acknowledges that the situation is far from ideal for the locals as well.

The network has experienced great impact from the Covid-19 pandemic, stating that "it is a big mess, honestly" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). For instance, during the lockdown period on Lesvos, the Covid-cases in the reception sites on Lesvos "were 0 more or less" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). But since the curfew has been raised and lockdown measures have been slowly lifted, the cases in the reception sites have increased to 110 cases on Friday My 21st. This in turned brings plausible arguments for the government to shut down the camps.

#### 5.2.4 Yoga and Sports for Refugee

The organization Yoga and Sports for Refugees, as mentioned before, provides lessons in yoga and sports for refugees on Lesvos and in Athens. International workers are included in Yoga and sports for Refugees because the organization wants to mix people, and sees importance in telling the story of what the organization does and what is happening on Lesvos this way. Considering it a "moral obligation to show people what they are doing<sup>1</sup>" (Interview Yoga and sports for refugees, 2021).

Additional to the inclusion of international workers, Yoga and Sports for Refugees is an organization that sees importance in the inclusion of the community of Lesvos to their activities. The most prominent example of this is the bouldering wall for climbing that the organization has created. It is the only climbing wall available on Lesvos and with that, it attracts locals as well. As climbing is said to be a relatively popular sport on the island. The local population is sometimes very enthusiastic about the activities and the sports of the organization. This is explained with stories of local running competitions where the refugees who joined the competition through Yoga and Sports for Refugees ended winning numerous medals and being praised by the local participants. Furthermore, after a marathon in Athens in 2019, a refugee performed in such a manner that on arrival on Lesvos, the local Lesvos Running association offered him a trophy. Nevertheless, there are also hostile encounters to be mentioned, for one the situation in February of 2020, which Nina herself has no experience with. But when planning sporting activities, one does take the place and the locals into account. This, because comments from locals are expected in certain places. That is why the organisations keeps from running through Moria village for instance. Yet, an activity has never been cancelled or stopped early because of hostility.

The Covid-19 pandemic has affected Yoga and Sports for Refugees. This, because the gym of the organisation has been closed since November 2020 until a few weeks ago in May 2021. In Athens, sporting activities were organised in a park nearby the refugee reception sites. This has not been possible on Lesvos because the sites have been closed due to Covid-19 restrictions, causing the refugees to not be able to visit the gym. Nevertheless, almost all teachers are refugees themselves so they were provided with equipment so they could still continue their lessons from inside the reception site.

The organization is inherently French, and it has not been registered with the municipality of Mytilene. Greek authorities are stated to make this a hard process for NGOs, costing the organizations much time, effort and money. Because Yoga and Sports for Refugees is not working directly inside a refugee reception site, absent registration is not a big issue yet. But with the organization continuing to grow, registration is gaining significance. "But the Greek authorities are not cooperating with that<sup>2</sup>." Cooperation with other NGOs on the other hand, do tend to be important to Yoga and Sports for Refugees. "As an organisation on Lesvos, you almost depend on cooperation with other organizations<sup>3</sup>" (Interview Yoga and Sports for refugees, 2021). For one, the organization is hosted by the community centre of One happy family, who also helps the organization financially.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [NL] "En ook omdat we het belangrijk vinden dat het verhaal over wat we doen en het verhaal over wat hier gebeurt wel verspreid wordt in andere landen. Dus dat vinden we ook wel een beetje onze morele verplichting om mensen ook te laten zien wat we doen."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> [NL] "De Griekse autoriteiten werken daar niet echt in mee."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> [NL] "Daar ben je als organisatie op Lesbos überhaupt wel een klein beetje afhankelijk van."

The organization also works with medical organizations that send people with psychological or physical problems on to Yoga and Sports for Refugees, because sports could really help with their problems. This also works the other way around, if the workers at the organization notice someone who is in trouble or having problems, they can send them to the Better Days organization that in turn helps them with psychological-social help or juridical issues.

#### 5.2.5 Starfish foundation

Lastly, a written interview has been conducted with the Starfish organization. This represents an online, written version of the face-to-face interview guide that has been used in the interviews with other organizations.

The Starfish foundation focusses on integration, with activities centred around supporting refugees and migration in integrating into society. And "building bridges between the host community and those arriving onto the island" (Written interview Starfish foundation, 2021). Practically, this entails Greek and English classes, CV workshops, and other activities based on integration. These activities are available for everyone on the island, and the Starfish foundation hopes to help everyone this way. Where the organization first focussed on immediate response in 2015, the focus has therefore shifted to integration activities over the years. Other than the existing connection with the community of Lesvos, the Starfish foundation sees importance in collaboration with other NGOs. Especially in the new RIC Lesvos camp, where collaborations feel to have increased. The organization itself collaborates with others on a daily basis. There might be a slight divide between organizations who refuse to work in the new refugee reception site and those who do not, but in general the Starfish foundation would feel like there is a positive relationship between the different NGOs on the island.

With the Starfish foundation trying to improve integration between the refugees and the community on the island, the organization also has encountered some hostile situations, as the organization has on occasion been subject of negativity from locals. This includes "damage to properties and vehicles, online abuse, threatening letters-reactions due to Starfish's support for refugees and asylum seekers" (Written interview Starfish foundation, 2021). The foundation has these experiences even though five of its permanent staff members are locals of Lesvos.

The Covid-19 Pandemic has had a great impact on the activities of the organization, because their workshops were all cancelled. Nevertheless, in response to the Covid-19 outbreak, the foundation initiated a hand sanitation project called Safe Hands outside the Moria reception site. The project includes multiple handwashing stations with access to clean water, soap and protective masks for all camp residents. The majority of these handwashing stations are overseen by resident volunteers trained by medical actors. The organization states that the Covid-19 Pandemic has had an effect on the hospitality of the community as well. With the pandemic increasing economic difficulties of locals, tensions have risen slightly. Which has arguably increased because of the decline in tourism, which in turn has already been impacted by the humanitarian crisis.

## 5.3 Qualitative content analysis

The coding in the qualitative content analysis has resulted in the codebook as presented in table 5. This table holds all codes that have been found, including the number of times these codes appeared in total in the articles. For instance, the code group "refugees" has appeared the most in all articles, with 438 counts. This code group is divided between refugees as a code in general and refugee reception sites. Refugees as a code has been mentioned predominantly as well, with 222 counts. The three codes at the top of the table do not belong to any code groups. This, because the codes in itself are explanatory enough and during the coding itself, these codes did not require any distinction. Whereas the code groups did provide space for distinction between different codes. The articles for instance mention governance in general (83 times), but they also specifically refer to only the European Union, or the Greek government. Therefore, the code "governance" has been divided into governance in general, European Union, and Greek governance. And this entire code group in itself belongs to the group of auxiliary variables, as it has been determined in the conceptual framework of section 2.7.

TABLE 5: CODEBOOK OF THE QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Code	Code group	Totals	
Hospitality	-	44	
Community	-	87	
Economy	-	4	
		193	
Non-Governmental Organizations		123	
NGO Name		70	
	Refugees		438
Refugees		222	
Refugee reception site		216	
	Media		81
Media		58	
Social media		23	
	Auxiliary variables		158
Shock-Events		70	
Tourism		5	
Governance		83	
	Governance		242
Governance		83	
European Union		70	
Greek governance		89	

With completion of the coding of the articles, an insight can be given into the number of codes that have been used in each article. The two tables that represent these numbers are included in appendix F. These tables also give an insight in the differences between the Greek and international articles. As 9 of the twenty articles are Greek, and 11 are other, international articles. These differences are presented distinctively in the following cross-table 6. The code groups NGOs and governance have been selected, as they appeared to have the most interesting differences. The separate codes have also been included in the table.

In general, the reports of the Greek media do not tend to differ substantially from other international media outlets. Because all articles report about a similar subject and all codes are applicable to the Greek and international articles. Nevertheless, small differences can be indicated, as is shown in table 5. The international articles tend to refer to NGOs more often than Greek articles. This applies to mentioning of the names of NGOs as well as NGOs in general. It should be mentioned that the extent of the international articles was greater, as the grand total number of codes also exceeds the number of Greek articles. But a comparison of the percentages of the Greek NGO counts to the international NGO counts reveals that the international articles relatively refer to NGOs more in their articles as well. As the Greek articles refer to NGOs 39 out of 332 times (11,7%), and international articles 154 out of 832 times (18,5%).

Something that stands out in the code group of governance is that Greek articles tend to mention Greek governance more often than the European Union. Whereas international articles contrarily refer to the European Union more than the Greek governance. Comparing the percentages of these code groups to the total codes again reveals that the Greek articles (32%) mention governance far more than international articles (18,6%). What exactly has been reported about the government in these articles is analysed in chapter 6.

TABLE 6: CROSS-TABLE CODES GREEK AND INTERNATIONAL ARTICLES

Type of article	Article	Code group: NGO (NGO Name, NGO in general)	Code group: Governance (Governance, EU, Greek governance)	Grand Total
	9. Greek reporter	4 (3, 1)	6 (1, 0, 5)	38
	10. Zougla	7 (4, 3)	7 (7, 0, 0)	37
	12. The Dawn (1)	5 (1, 4)	10 (0, 0, 10)	26
	13. The Dawn (2)	6 (1, 5)	10 (1, 5, 4)	53
Greek	14. Ta Nea	0 (0,0)	12 (6, 0, 6)	20
	15. Rizopastis	2 (0, 2)	20 (12, 2, 6)	50
	16. eKathimerini	9 (0, 9)	5 (3, 0, 2)	27
	17. eKathimerini	4 (0, 4)	10 (6, 0, 4)	30
	19. Greek reporter (2)	2 (1, 1)	29 (10, 12, 7)	51
Sub-total		39 (10, 29)	109 (46, 19, 44)	332
	1. Het Parool	45 (25, 20)	27 (12, 9, 6)	129
	2. Al Jazeera (1)	2 (0, 2)	10 (6, 2, 2)	74
	3. Al Jazeera (2)	17 (2, 15)	39 (10, 19, 10)	218
International	4. BBC Podcast	5 (3, 2)	1 (1, 0, 0)	63
	5. BBC News	2 (1, 1)	0 (0, 0, 0)	12
	6. The Guardian	9 (6, 3)	11 (1, 4, 6)	50
	7. Trouw	27 (15, 12)	23 (3, 9, 11)	116
	8. The New Humanitarian	42 (6, 36)	5 (0, 1, 4)	73
	11. NOS	3 (1, 2)	5 (1, 0, 4)	43
	18. Euronews (1)	2 (1, 1)	5 (2, 3, 0)	29
	20. Euronews (2)	0 (0, 0)	29 (10, 12, 7)	25
Sub-total		154 <i>(60, 94)</i>	155 (46, 59, 50)	832
Grand total		193 (70, 123)	266 (52, 78, 94)	

# 6. Analysis of the data

Now the results have been displayed descriptively, an analysis can be provided. Analysis has been conducted on the basis of the prior composed conceptual framework. The relationships between all concepts, portrayed as the arrows in the framework, will be analysed in this chapter. In the end, in section 6.7, the conceptual framework will be displayed again including the possible changes that have appeared from the analysis.

## 6.1 Refugees and non-governmental organizations

First discussed is the relationship between refugees and non-governmental organizations. Refugees are described as a "passive" actor to the relationship between NGOs and the community in section 2.7, and they are counted as an independent variable. Yet, the role refugees play could be described as less passive as expected. This, because numerous NGOs indicate that refugees play a role in their organization. Where the organization Stand by me Lesvos consists of 250 refugee volunteers (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021), as well as Yoga and Sports for Refugees, which has 8 refugee workers, as coordinators and volunteers (Interview Yoga and Sports for Refugees, 2021). The Leave no one behind network has 16 volunteers who are all camp residents as well (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). Other than refugees, numerous organizations are joined by international volunteers or employees. It can be preferred to have European volunteers or workers at an organization, because when they return home, they will communicate to their friends and family in a different manner. Moreover, by including international volunteers, the subject of refugees gains greater importance and attention. On the other hand, it could not be desirable to have European volunteers at an organization, because "we do not want to present the people as a zoo here. It is not like come have a look in which kind of poor conditions people are living in, it should not be like this" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). Refugees are not just included in certain organizations, but all organizations are on Lesvos in service of the refugees. Their goal is to improve the liveability of the refugees on the island, especially small and smart organizations have proven to be valuable in providing aid and support those who need it (Article 8: Theodorou, 2018).

There is also a difference to be distinguished between NGOs in connection to the refugee reception sites. There appear to be two types of NGOs on Lesvos. One who is working inside the refugee reception sites, and those who are working outside the sites. The organizations who are working inside the sites are cooperating with the municipality and military, whereas those outside the sites most often are not. If an organization is operating outside the camps, it is also not strictly necessary to be registered at the municipality of Mytilene, which is something that some organizations have admitted. Reasoning behind operating outside the sites can be "to make the statement that it is important that people can leave the camp" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021).

Not only are there differences between the NGOs on Lesvos, there appears to be cooperation between different organizations that are active on Lesvos. For one, cooperation appears in the joint letter that 74 humanitarian organizations have sent to the Greek government, in "a cry of anguish" (Article 13: Au $\gamma$ ή Newsroom, 2020). Cooperation between NGOs affects the work they do for refugees. For one, when it comes to sharing information, for instance, the Leave no one behind network shares information with other NGOs about families who receive food packages. This way, there is no overlap between the refugees who receive food packages

from one organization and the other. The list of these receiving families and people is shared between all organizations on Lesvos. By sharing information, more refugees can receive help in terms of food and supplies and these can be shared equally, bringing information transparency. Transparency is a very important topic, especially to the Leave no one behind network, who state about the lack of information transparency between NGOs on Lesvos, that: "this is in general a really big issue. For example, you will not find a yearly report on our website. This is normally a really, really bad sign for an organization. But the reason is that we started last year in March, so now we are preparing the report for 2020" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021).

## 6.2 Refugees and the host community

Other than a connection to the non-governmental organizations, the refugees are also connected to the host community of Lesvos. Because of their arrival on the island, at any given point in time, every refugee on Lesvos has an experience with hospitality. Whether their experience with the hosting community is hospitable or hostile.

The relationship between refugees and the community can be described as tense, as refugees could expect harassment in certain places on the island. That is why certain activities take place at particular places where clashes are not expected. An example of this are the running routes of Yoga and Sports for Refugees, which will not pass through the village of Moria because they will be subjected to harassment if refugees pass through this village. These tensions are further expressed in the international media outlets. For instance, with a report of a demonstration where: "locals had attacked and prevented migrants from passing through a nearby village" (Article 5: BBCNews, 2020). Revealing that the relationship between refugees and the community of Lesvos has become violent. Such tensions are also expressed in reports of the poor circumstances in the refugee reception sites. The local community is not the blame for these circumstances, and the Greek government is arguably not the only one to blame for these difficulties, as: "It is difficult to believe that this is all because of Greek incapacity. It is political indisposition. Of Europe, to take these people in. And of the Greek government, to provide decent shelters<sup>4</sup>" (Article 7: Kettenis, 2020, p.1).

This example discloses the importance of the organization of refugee reception sites to the relationship between refugees and the community of Lesvos. The site named Pikpa is for instance, a unique, open shelter that has been run by volunteers. These organisers state that: "When we started Pikpa, we wanted to send the message that refugees can live in dignified conditions and that our community can support them. We wanted to show that you do not need to violate people's rights in order to protect the host society. We have proved this point, in many ways" (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020). The site Pikpa is therefore organized for the refugees, but in consideration with the host community. The site has been beneficial for refugees, because "Not only have refugees received the specific psychosocial support they need in our camp but, through interactions with local and international volunteers, they have become a part of our community" (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020). The Pikpa site shows that refugee reception sites do not necessarily need to be created by the government to be able to exist.

54

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "Het is moeilijk te geloven dat dat alleen maar komt door Griekse onkunde. Het is politieke onwil. Van Europa, om die mensen op te nemen. En van de Griekse regering, om fatsoenlijke opvang te bouwen" (Kettenis, 2020).

Nevertheless, the Greek government has announced plans to close Pikpa at the end of 2020, which is considered to be a great mistake (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020). Where the Moria reception site was "grossly overcrowded, under-resourced, alienating, it was a site that fomented tensions and hate" (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020), even before the fires. Sites such as Pikpa and Kara Tepe "foster community" (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020). The Kara Tepe site has "provided temporary accommodation for thousands of migrants and asylum seekers after the notorious Moria camp was torched" (Article 9: Kokkinidis, 2021). After that, it has received much criticism and the site would be "shut down and to be turned over to the island's residents" (Article 9: Kokkinidis, 2021), exposing the tense relation between this site and its local owners.

In this case, it thus seems that refugee reception sites that have been created by volunteers have a much more positive impact on the relationship between refugees and the host community, than sites such as Moria which has been created and run by the Greek government.

## 6.3 Media and hospitality

The media has been investigated in the qualitative content analysis, which demonstrates amongst others that refugees are the subject most mentioned in all articles combined.

Certain international articles are critical about the presence of NGOs on Lesvos. For instance, the Dutch article in Het Parool offers criticism in the following quote: "What are all those volunteers doing on Lesvos? What is their motivation and what do they want to accomplish? Are they not constructing one another, and most of all: with all that they're doing, are they not creating more damage than good?<sup>5</sup>" (Article 1: Marcel Wiegman, 2021, p.1). This article thus considers the presence of NGOs on Lesvos to be questionable.

The article that refers to the community the most is the article from Al Jazeera of Fallon (2020). The article refers to Lesvos as "becoming the stage for Europe's culture wars" (Article 3: Fallon, 2020), in reference to the arrival of six international neo-Nazis on the island who have shown solidarity with violent vigilantes. This article particularly focusses on the tensions on the island, also referring to protests on the island in 2020 where "Islanders were not the only ones who protested" (Article 3: Fallon, 2020), explaining that not only the local Greek citizens protested against the treatment of the Greek government, but the refugees who were forced to live with 20,000 people in a site that was designed for 3,000 inhabitants also voiced their frustrations.

Existing tensions between the local community and refugees on Lesvos have been reported by numerous online articles, for instance in the following statement: "It was during this time that the first unofficial roadblocks were constructed by local residents who began denying passage to refugees through the village" (Article 3: Fallon, 2020). The situation on Lesvos has even been called a conflict: "(...) the local conflict in Lesbos had now taken on the dimensions of an international crisis" (Article 3: Fallon, 2020). With that, the media frames the hospitality of the community as very hostile towards refugees.

55

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "(...) wat doen al die vrijwilligers daar op Lesbos? Wat is hun motivatie en wat willen ze bereiken? Zitten ze elkaar niet vreselijk in de weg en vooral: richten ze met al hun goede bedoelingen niet meer schade aan dan dat ze goed doen?"

One of the Greek articles exposes the harmful role that certain NGOs play on Lesvos, stating that: "According to classified documents seen by Kathimerini, a total of 35 members of the four NGOs facilitated the movement of illegal immigrants and refugees from Turkey to Lesvos using "illegal methods and procedures" (Article 16: Souliotis, 2020). The article further explains that two migrants were recruited in this operation, in order to discover the methods of these NGOs. Not only does a Greek article expose the NGOs in a negative light, Marcel Wiegman (2021) does as well. Stating that: "There has been a disarray in the world of humanitarian aid and activists for a while now. Since April 23 2020 the parties stand head-to-head <sup>6</sup>" (Article 1: Marcel Wiegman, 2021, p.1). Different media outlets therefore focus on the tensions that exist between NGOs and the community of Lesvos.

These are mainly descriptions of what the media has reported, but the media as an actor has an impact on the hospitality of the community of Lesvos as well. The articles report about NGOs with negative and positive connotations. The relatively positive reports about NGOs work as advertisement for these organizations, which are then able to gather more volunteers or funding. This relationship has developed the other way around as well. NGOs can have an influence on what information is shared in the media and what is not. This happens for instance by organizations such as ReFOCUS Media labs, who generate content for online news messages about situations or activities on Lesvos. With the spread of negative articles, focused on the tensions on the island, the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos decreases and is visualized as being more hostile.

## 6.4 Non-governmental organizations and hospitality

The guest, non-governmental organizations in this case, and their relation to hospitality is one of the central concepts to this thesis. The NGOs are related to their host because collaboration between the two does appear to exist. In most cases, this collaboration takes place between owners of local shops and the organization of an NGO. This is apparent in the in-depth interviews with Low-tech with refugees, the network Leave no one behind, and several organizations from the online questionnaire. Nevertheless, one could say that collaboration between NGOs and the community is not optimal yet, because "a lot of organizations are not working close enough with the locals" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021).

When organizations first started to arrive on Lesvos in 2015, they were very welcomed by the local community. Some would even call it a "volunteer paradise" (Interview Yoga and Sports for refugees, 2021), in reference to the number of volunteers arriving on the island to help. Thinking it was a temporary situation, the local community of Lesvos stood much more positive towards these arrivals. Today, in 2021, this situation appears to be different. With the lowest point the hostile encounters in February 2020 between members of the community and workers of non-governmental organizations.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Het rommelt al een tijd in het wereldje van hulpverleners en activisten. Sinds 23 april 2020 staan partijen met de koppen tegen elkaar."

One could say that there is a difference between the hospitality the community shows towards different guests. As a member of the community indicates that refugees and members of NGOs are treated differently, with the NGOs receiving better treatment. There appears to be a "big gap between the NGO-life and the Lesvos life" (Interview Low-tech with refugees) for NGO workers, causing the employees and volunteers to "have very good contact with the local people but it has nothing to do with the organization" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021). The personal relations between NGO workers and the local community therefore appear to be generally positive, if they are not based on the work of the NGOs.

There is an internal difference between non-governmental organizations to mention. "In general, you have two sides. There is one side that is working inside the camp and cooperating with the government and the military. And then on the other side you have the organizations who know that if you are doing it this way, you are a big part of a political game" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). With that being said, the organizations who do work with the military and the Greek government, are treated better than organizations who do not, especially since organizations that are inherently Greek were allowed to enter the refugee reception sites during the Covid-19 lockdown on the island. These differences connect to the language barrier that exists on Lesvos. This barrier exists between the NGOs and the community of Lesvos, because when organizations try to include the community in their work, it is a necessity to communicate in Greek. And: "If we do not communicate in Greek, it is more difficult to reach them" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021). The organizations who do have employees or volunteers who can communicate in Greek therefore have one step ahead of those who do not. For example, the Greek NGO Stand by me Lesvos has the ability to enter the refugee reception site because the organization is Greek based.

A second barrier can be found in funding, or defined as a "money barrier" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021). Small organizations who do not receive much funding do not have the ability to offer well-paid job positions for locals, so it is not attractive for locals to join such small NGOs. A solution is offered by Low-tech with refugees, by "paying that person a little bit more than normal other volunteers" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021).

# 6.5 The host and hospitality

The community of Lesvos as an actor is connected to hospitality. As they present the host in their engagement to the guest (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000). The attitude that the community poses can be visualized in their actions. For instance, in February and March of 2020, a very negative attitude towards NGOs was revealed on Lesvos. One of the incidents is described by Fallon (2020): "On the night of February 3, a house where NGO workers were living had stones thrown through its windows by angry local residents. A car outside was vandalised" (article 3, p.1).

As the conceptual framework has shown, internal differences contribute to the concept of the host, and these differences appear on Lesvos. For instance, some locals are very happy with the non-governmental organizations and their members, but some are contrarily very upset. These opponents of the organizations are called the fascists by some members of NGOs.

Internal differences do not particularly appear towards NGOs. Positive hospitality is also detectable for certain locals towards refugees, as some refugees are said to have become part of the local community. "Some participate in the local music group; others sing in the local choir. They have become our friends" (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020). Though, this is an uncommon situation as most refugees live in rough conditions, isolated from the local community of Lesvos. This "promotes fear on all sides and is a recipe for hatred. Xenophobia and racism are on the rise on Lesbos. Right-wing groups attack refugees, aid workers, and volunteers. They even beat pregnant women and young children arriving on our shores" (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020). The situation on Lesvos could therefore be described as "tense, changeable and separate" (Online questionnaire).

A factor influencing the community's attitude towards guests on the island is the economic situation. Because the population on Lesvos is increasing, prices are on the rise. "Because so many NGOs are taking up B&B's, prices numerate. The prices in the shops are rising up. The prices for food are rising up, because the number of populations rises up" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021).

## 6.6 Auxiliary variables and hospitality

The auxiliary factors impact the hospitality on Lesvos. The three variables will be discussed separately, starting with the shock events.

#### 6.6.1 Shock-events

The Covid-19 pandemic has had an influence throughout the island Lesvos. Yet, it does not appear to be the first shock-event to have hit the island. There are three crises to be distinguished. First, the economic crisis, second, the refugee crisis, and third, the Covid-19 crisis. These three shock-events of course have had an impact on the local community, because "locals feel that this is enough" (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021).

The Covid-19 pandemic has had an influence on the importance of international volunteers. It is more difficult to enter Lesvos as a foreigner, because of travel restrictions. Difficulties are expressed by NGOs: "Now, we are confronted with a pandemic that is everywhere in the world and it's more difficult for us to get extra human resources, and extra supplies. We have other challenges on top today" (Article 4: Pease, 2020). Moreover, only Greek organizations have the ability to enter the refugee reception sites, leaving international organizations to solemnly work outside the sites. Yoga and Sports for Refugees has for instance met restrictions by employing refugees as teachers. Teachers from the refugee reception site were trained and equipment was delivered to the site, enabling lessons to continue within the reception site. A closed site has not been the ideal situation, nevertheless the best was made out of a bad situation. With that, the Covid-19 pandemic has had an influence within refugee reception sites as well. There had not been known cases within the camp in April 2020 yet, but if there would have been an outbreak, that would have spread very swiftly. Because none of the inhabitants of the reception sites had to be referred to the hospital, it is possible to determine that there has not been an outbreak (Pease 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic as a shock-event has also had an impact on the community of Lesvos, and with that, on its hospitality. The development of the pandemic caused more stress and insecurities for the locals, because there is only one hospital on Lesvos. The presence of refugees and NGO workers is increasing the insecurities of locals, because there are extra people who could fill up a bed at the hospital, leaving less room for the local community (Interview Leve no one behind, 2021). This increase in stress and insecurities thus bring reasoning for a decrease in hospitality. On the other hand, the Covid-19 pandemic has brought a conversational topic, overshadowing the refugee crisis. By shifting the conversation, people are less interested in the situation of the refugees and all the more in the situation involving Covid-19. Because everyone speaks about Covid, no one is talking about the refugees and tensions between the local community and refugees settle down. Now, we enter a time where the conversation of Covid is decreasing in significance, there is more room for conversations about refugees again. This is followed by news about pushbacks and the closing of refugee reception sites. The representative of Yoga and Sports for Refugees is afraid that tensions will rise again now Covid restrictions are lifted, and hostility will increase again. The future of Lesvos is therefore very uncertain.

#### 6.6.2 Governance

In terms of governance there are some differences to be noted. For some organizations there is no noteworthy relationship with the government of Greece, or the municipalities of Mytilene or West Lesvos. This, because some organizations are not registered on the island. An organization would need to apply for a certain status, which is very time, energy and money consuming to do.

The concept of governance is discussed abundantly in the qualitative content analysis of international media articles. A difference that is noted here, is that Greek articles relatively tend to refer to governance in general more, in comparison to international articles. This reveals the importance the Greek media gives to the role of the government. Additionally, Greek articles refer to Greek governance more than to the European Union. Something which is explainable, because as a Greek reporter, you are more likely to refer to your own government than a reporter from a different country would. International reporters therefore refer more to the European Union, because they are more familiar with this than with the Greek government.

The European Union is therefore a reoccurring subject in all articles. Cooperation between the different European governments seems to be necessary, to at least try to solve the problems on Lesvos, because "it is widely acknowledged that no single EU country can effectively handle migration and asylum by itself" (Article 19: Claus, 2021). This is the reason why the Greek government and prime minister have demanded for the "EU to take greater responsibility for managing migration (...)" (Article 20: Euronews 2, 2020, p.1). This demand occurred after the fires in reception site Moria, which were deliberately set by residents of the site "to blackmail his government" (Article 20: Euronews 2, 2020, p.1), as stated by the prime minister of Greece, Kyriakos Mitsotakis. Apart from the prime minister, the North Aegean regional governor, Kostas Moutzouris, is mentioned in multiple articles, yet, not always in the brightest light. He is said to have "blamed some residents at the Moria camp for trying to blackmail his government by deliberately setting the fires that destroyed the camp" (Article 20: Euronews 2, 2020, p.1). However, he also stated that the Moria fires could be an opportunity for the EU to improve the handling of a key challenge.

Further criticism on the Greek government is outed in numerous articles. With statements that governor Moutzouris fuels the fire on Lesvos by backing racist fascist groups on the island. Because the regional governor has expressed statements such as "there will be clashes between locals and foreigners" (Article 15: Rizopastis, 2020). The subject of the new refugee reception site Kara Tepe is also fuel for additional criticism on the Greek government, because the new site has arguably been built on ground contaminated with lead. In a statement by Belkis Wille, who is senior crisis and conflict researcher at the Human Rights Watch, this criticism is expressed: "For seven weeks after the Greek government received test results that showed unsafe lead levels, it took minimal action, and now is continuing to downplay the risk and the need for further action" (Article 9: Kokkinidis, 2021).

The criticism in the media is accompanied by NGOs. In statements such as: "No one is working on a real solution for this island" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021), which refers to the Greek government, who does not appear to want to make change happen. This is also noted by the local community of Lesvos. They tend to feel like the politicians in the Greek government keep making promises, but nothing ever happens. "The locals are very angry. And they are angry not because they are fascist, they are angry because of the situation. All these promises and nothing is proven" (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021). The situation is intensified by the arrival of the NGOs, because they arrive and organize big fundraising for the refugees, whereas there are locals in a similar situation that feel overlooked (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021).

Aside from all this criticism, cooperation between international governments as well as within the Greek system tends to be important. Cooperation with the EU, to be able to handle migration and asylum in Greece. And cooperation within the Greek government is important because, as a Greek spokesman of the government stated: "As far as the concern of the local communities is concerned, we are in constant communication with the regional governor, but also with the mayors of all the islands of the NE Aegean" (Article 15: Rizopastis, 2020).

#### 6.6.3 Tourism

The third and last auxiliary variable to distinguish is tourism. General tourism, in terms of commercial hospitality, has not been discussed by any of the articles, nor the NGOs. The Turkish tourists that travel to Lesvos despite the refugee crisis have also not been disclosed in the qualitative content analysis or the interviews. The only referral to tourism made in the articles is by the use of the word "foreigners", which leaves the question which foreigners are implied with that.

The only, and predominant form of tourism that applies to the case of Lesvos, is volunteer tourism. When the refugee crisis first took shape in 2015, NGOs and their workers were very welcome on the island. One would call it a "volunteer paradise" (Interview Yoga and Sports for refugees, 2021). Such volunteer tourism is connected to hospitality, because the volunteers are a guest to the hosting community. And these volunteers book overnights, residing in the hotels, and preserving the number of bookings even though the general tourism on the island has decreased. The impact to this tourism has been indicated by the Starfish foundation, who state that: "Many argue that tourism was already impacted because of the humanitarian crisis, and the pandemic has intensified the impact" (Interview Starfish Foundation, 2021). This statement again reveals the influence of the Covid-19 pandemic, additional to the refugee crisis. And both have had a negative impact on the tourism on Lesvos.

# 6.7 Conceptual framework revisited

After the analysis of the relationships between all concepts important to the problem at hand, it is possible to revise the conceptual framework of section 2.7. This edited conceptual framework would accordingly look like figure 5.

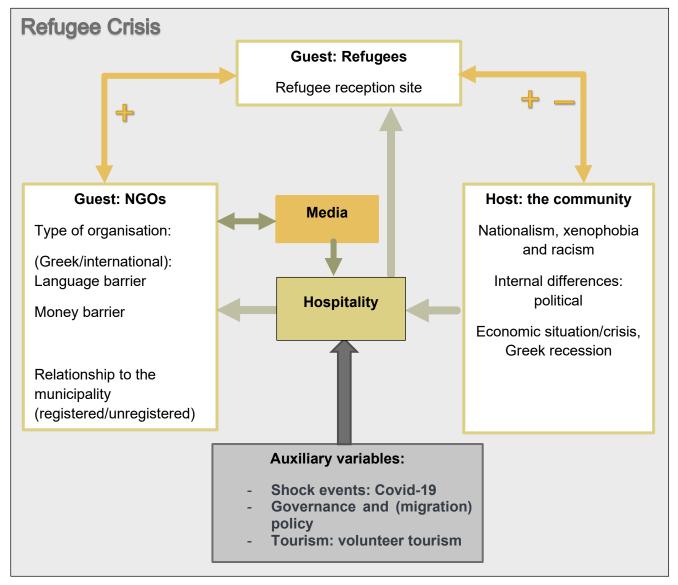


FIGURE 5: EDITED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The framework is still displayed on the background of the refugee crisis or humanitarian crisis (interview Starfish Foundation, 2021), as this crisis is still important to the research at hand. The other two crises that have affected the situation on Lesvos have been embedded in this framework. As the economic crisis has affected the community of Lesvos, it is represented here, along with the Greek recession. The third and last crisis that has affected Lesvos has been embedded in the auxiliary variables, where it has been presented in the old framework as well.

The first framed concept is "refugees", who are considered as guests here. Because in light of hospitality, the refugees should be counted as guests on Lesvos as well. They play as an intermediary variable between the work of NGOs and the community of Lesvos, and with that, refugees are not the expected passive actor, but they are intertwined in the relationship between NGOs and the community. A factor that is important to refugees has appeared to be the refugee reception sites. These have impact on differences between the treatment refugees receive from the community. For instance, the volunteer-run Pikpa reception site appeared to result in inclusiveness for refugees within the Lesvos community, whereas government-run reception sites such as Moria, have led to sites that are "grossly overcrowded, underresourced, alienating" (Article 2: Latsoudi, 2020), and these sites fomented hate and tensions between refugees and the community, amongst others.

The relationship between NGOs and refugees has proven to be positive. Many NGOs hire refugees as employees or volunteers, and rely on them as workers. For one, because they are young and have the skills to help the NGOs (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021), and also because hiring international volunteers from other European countries can result in a situation where refugee reception sites are presented as a zoo. Moreover, this relationship is associated the other way around as well because refugees are dependent on different NGOs to better their livelihood. By handing out food packages (Interview Leave no one behind), managing cleaning and electrics (Interview Stand by me Lesvos), repairing certain items (Interview Lowtech with refugees), and numerous more activities. There are different factors important to the concept of NGOs, which are listed in the box. These include the specific type of organization. Whether the organisation is Greek or international determines what work they are able to do. especially inside the refugee reception sites. Whether the organisation includes Greek workers also affects the extent an organisation suffers from a language barrier, because Greek workers do speak the Greek language, and are able to diminish the boundary between the NGO and the community. The second listed barrier is a money barrier, because small organisations with little funding experience a greater separation from the community. With more funding to spend, one could offer a bigger salary to attract Greek employees to their organisation. The last factor important to the NGOs is their relationship to the municipality of Mytilene. Only the relationship to the municipality of Mytilene is important, as all organisations are active on the ground of this municipality, instead of West Lesvos. The difference in the relationship between NGOs and the municipality is based on whether the organisation is registered or not. Those who are registered have a plain relationship, where the NGOs feel like the governing parties are "just doing their jobs" (interview Leave no one behind, 2021). Whereas the organisations who are not registered state not to have any relationship to the municipality at all.

The relationship between refugees and the community of Lesvos seems to be less constructive, in comparison to the relationship between refugees and NGOs, because there appears to be a substantial amount of tension between the two groups. This emerges, for instance, at the closure of the Kara Tepe refugee reception site which needed to be "shut down and to be turned over to the island's residents" (Article 9: Kokkinidis, 2021). Implying that the location has always belonged its local owners, and the presence of refugees on this site has generated tensions in the areas. As well as the concept NGOs, there are also some factors mentioned for the hosting community of Lesvos. First, is the nationalism, xenophobia and racism that play a role on the island. This development is not only theoretically proven, but the media expresses that these are on a rise on Lesvos. Other than these ideologies, there appear to be internal differences within the community between fascist and non-fascist locals. Where the fascists are proven to be hostile towards refugees, as well as members from NGOs.

Lastly, is the economic situation and recession that has had impact on the community. How greatly one has been impacted by this recession could have an impact on how one feels towards refugees and NGOs. Because if one has not felt an economic impact in their daily lives, one could still be willing to help the refugees, as is the case for the organization Stand by me Lesvos.

The community of Lesvos and the NGOs are still related by means of hospitality. A connection that has been added is that between hospitality and refugees. There is an indirect relationship between the community and refugees by means of hospitality as well as a direct relationship on the ground. Where connection with hospitality was more prominent in the beginning of the refugee crisis, and has become more hostile over time, leading to direct contact and certain violent incidents

The media does not affect NGOs through hospitality indirectly, but the media has a direct effect as well. That relationship is represented by the green arrow between media and the NGOs as guest. The relationship works both ways because, as explained, media influences NGOs directly by spreading awareness, and NGOs influence the media by spreading news and social media messages themselves, which can be used in different media outlets. The media still has an effect on the hospitality of the community.

Lastly, the auxiliary variables are displayed similarly in this framework as in the theoretical conceptual framework. An addition has been made to tourism, because volunteer tourism has appeared to be exceptionally important to the situation on Lesvos.

# 7. Conclusion

With the information from the description and the analysis of the results, it is possible to formulate answers to the previously drafted research sub-questions. These exact questions are:

- 1. What is the state of the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos, how has it developed in recent years, and why has development taken place?
- 2. What activities do the non-governmental organizations on Lesvos conduct, how have these activities developed in recent years, and why have their activities developed?
- 3. How is the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos related to nongovernmental organizations on Lesvos?
- 4. How has the international media framed the community of Lesvos in comparison to non-governmental organizations in recent years, and how has the international media had an impact on the community and non-governmental organizations?

The answers to these questions will be formulated subsequently in sections 7.1, 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4. After the answers to the sub-questions, an encapsulating answer has been formulated to the main research question, which is discussed in section 7.5.

# 7.1 Hospitality of the community

As mentioned before, the first sub-question is mainly focused on the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos. Starting with the state now, followed by the changes that have occurred in recent years, and the reasons behind this change.

The community of Lesvos has proven itself to exist of generally hospitable people. And, "over the years, Lesbos has shown itself capable of remarkable acts of solidarity" (Article 3: Fallon, 2020). Different NGOs have shared this positive experience with the local community of Lesvos. Yet, it is important to mention that these positive experiences sometimes consist of personal encounters with the local community. As there is "big gap between the NGO-life and the Lesvos life" (Interview Low-tech with refugees, 2021). On occasion, positive relationships have nothing to do with the NGOs, but are based on a personal level. Nevertheless, there are also other positive factors about the relationship between NGOs and the community. These result in numerous agreements between NGOs and local business owners. Various business owners are supporting NGOs. For one, because they are undoubtedly profiting from these understandings. Which confirms that increase in trade and local development due to the arrival of refugees is possible (Taylor, Filipski et al. 2016). And the locals are definitely aware that the situation for the refugees on Lesvos is awful and try to help with the means that they have (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021).

Plummer's concept of intimate citizenship suggests that accommodating migrants can be the source for political debate. This is indeed the case on Lesvos, because despite the positive experiences with the local community, the situation on Lesvos has also been described as "tense, changeable and separate" (Online questionnaire). This is the case for the community and refugees, but between the community and NGOs as well. And these tensions are rising up again in 2021, because attention is brought further to pushbacks on the coast of Lesvos, and the fact that the reception site for vulnerable people has been shut down in May of 2021.

The hospitality of the community of Lesvos was at a general low point in February of 2020. The situation between the community and NGOs was generally seen as hostile and tense at that time, with occasional violent encounters. Where angry local residents for instance threw stones through a window and vandalized a car belonging to an NGO worker (Article 3: Fallon, 2020). The situation in the beginning of 2020 had even been described as explosive (Article 15: Rizopastis, 2020), and turning into a conflict.

Fortunately, such hostility has decreased over the year 2020, as no violent encounters have occurred further into the year. Yet, different protests have been documented on Lesvos, accumulating to the hospitality. Not only has the local community protested against refugee reception sites, the refugees have organized different protests as well. The decreased hostility attributes to the development of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. Because all attention was focused on the pandemic, attention to the humanitarian situation declined. The hospitality of the community of Lesvos has arguably been on hold during the Covid-19 pandemic. But since the situation is improving on that front halfway through 2021, locals have the space to think about other subjects again. Giving them the opportunity to decide that now is the time to change the situation concerning refugees on Lesvos. Thus, explaining the growing attention to pushbacks and hostility.

# 7.2 Activities of non-governmental organizations

The second sub-question is focused on the work of non-governmental organizations on Lesvos. Starting with the general activities the NGOs conduct on Lesvos, followed by the changes that have appeared in these activities and why these changes have occurred.

NGOs are concerned with a wide array of activities on Lesvos. Some organizations are focused inside the refugee reception sites, for instance in cleaning or electricity work, or spreading awareness for hygienic measures in prevention of Covid-19 (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021). But more organizations are working outside the refugee reception sites. By cleaning the cities in cooperation with the municipality of Mytilene (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021), organizing sports activities (Interview Yoga and Sports for Refugees, 2021), handing out food packages (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). Or by posting videos or messages online. ReFOCUS media labs spreads awareness this way on different projects on Lesvos. With increasing online awareness, funding of different organizations could be increased.

Important to the work of NGOs is transparency. This is for instance displayed on the website of Leave no one behind, where the exact funding for each project or organization is mentioned. Furthermore, information transparency is crucial in relation to the execution of projects of these organizations. By sharing information with each other, as much refugees as possible can be helped.

For numerous NGOs the development of the Covid-19 pandemic has generated more work. Stand by me Lesvos has for instance created a team to increase the Covid-19 awareness in the refugee reception sites, called MCAT. And the Leave no one behind network has come into existence because of the great attention the Covid-19 pandemic received. Nevertheless, the amount of has not been as much as expected. Even though the people who are residing in camps are most likely to be disproportionately affected by a shock event such as the Covid-19 pandemic (Vonen, Olsen et al. 2020), the result on Lesvos appears to be limited.

As the reception sites have been closed and remained closed throughout the pandemic, the spread of the virus has been contained. Instead of increase in work, this closure did increase the difficulties in the work of NGOs. Because of restrictions, it is "difficult for us to get extra human resources, extra supplies. We have other challenges on top today" (Article 4: Pease, 2020). Despite these restrictions, NGOs do keep active from abroad. For instance, by organizing protests in Germany to urge the European Union to take action and help the refugees who stranded on Lesvos after the Moria fire (Article 18: Euronews 1, 2020).

Not all adaptations have been caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. Some adjustments had to be made due to the local community of Lesvos. Because there are certain places on the island where refugees and NGO workers are expecting to be harassed. Therefore, the activities of non-governmental organizations have developed by cause of the Covid-19 pandemic, which generated more work, but local hostility has also been a cause of changes in the work of NGOs.

## 7.3 Hospitality and non-governmental organizations

The third sub-question is focused on the relationship between the community and non-governmental organizations.

One insight in the relationship between non-governmental organizations and the community of Lesvos is apparent in the perspective of tourism. Volunteers from non-governmental organizations are considered to be voluntarists. These are inherently guests who arrive in the community of Lesvos, who are in turn expected to treat these guests with hospitality. The voluntarists caused the amount of overnights in Greece to increase, whereas the number of regular tourists in Greece declined from 2014 to 2015 (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis 2018). NGOs therefore achieve to fill in a gap in tourism on the Greek island, making sure that local hotels and apartments are still booked, and providing economic benefits for the local community. The relationship between the host and the guest NGOs can be considered to be positive on the one hand, but on the other hand there appear to be negative encounters to mention as well.

As mentioned before, the relationship between non-governmental organizations and the community of Lesvos is considered to be positive on some levels. For one, because of numerous agreements between local shop owners and NGOs. The positivity in the relationship is also visible in the necessity of locals for NGOs. This is mainly due to the factor of language. As a non-governmental organization, it is an advantage to have a native, or Greek-speaking member at your organization. Organizations that are not involved with locals, experience disadvantages, for instance in conducting legal work.

Maintaining an important relationship is considered to be an important ideal for certain NGOs. NGOs, such as Leave no one behind, are actively seeking to include the community of Lesvos in their work. Organizations such as Stand by me Lesvos contribute to this ideal by providing community support, which is one of their three main points of activities. By not only helping refugees on Lesvos, but offering help to the community as well, these organizations are able to improve their relationship with the local community. Because non-governmental organizations are offering job opportunities or aid, locals feel noticed and will stand more positive towards NGOs.

The relationship between the community of Lesvos and non-governmental organizations cannot be considered as merely positive. Occasional violent encounters have proven that tensions exist on the island, as mentioned before. Encounters in February of 2020 have caused numerous NGOs to leave Lesvos, and this demonstrates what a harmful relationship between the host and its guest is able to cause. These specific encounters are therefore an example of hostility between the community of Lesvos and non-governmental organizations.

The relationship between non-governmental organizations and the perceived perception of the community of Lesvos is therefore not to be described as unilateral. There are examples of positivity and hospitality, but there also appears to be hostility between the two actors. It is dependent on the situation, at what point in time the hospitality is measured, how valuable an NGO considers their relationship with the local community and whether the locals are able to benefit (economically) from a relationship with NGOs.

# 7.4 Framing of international media and the influence of media on hospitality and non-governmental organizations

The fourth and last sub-question incorporates the framing of the international media. The framing of the hospitality on Lesvos will be discussed first, and subsequently the framing of non-governmental organizations will be discussed. The second part of this sub-question involves the impact international media has on the hospitality and non-governmental organizations, and this will be discussed in the final part of this section.

Different protests on Lesvos have been documented by different news outlets. These articles have related the local community of Lesvos to violent situations on the island, and this has created a disadvantageous image for the hospitality of the community. The Greek government is an important actor that is mentioned in the media, because it contributes to the framing of hospitality. Instead of the community, the Greek government is mostly blamed for the situation on the island. Even through local hostility, the actions of the locals can be justified with the argument "Who would not be mad, after three crises? Locals are mad, not because they are fascist but because of the situation" (Interview Stand by me Lesvos, 2021). The locals that are very hostile are framed as fascists, or even "racist fascists". These locals are arguably backed by the attitude of regional governor K. Moutzouris (Rizopastis 2020).

The research of Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016) has concluded that Greek media outlets have taken a uniform approach to reports about the refugee crisis, as compared to German and English media outlets. The same appears to be the case in articles about non-governmental organizations and the community of Lesvos. The Greek articles did not differ substantially in their content, in comparison to other, international articles. Because within the 20 analysed articles, the concept "refugees" has been mentioned predominantly. Not only in international articles, but in Greek articles as well. This reveals the importance of refugees as an actor on Lesvos for the media. The Greek media does give more importance to the Greek government as an actor to the situation on Lesvos, as compared to the importance given by other international articles. These other articles in turn consider the European Union to be an important actor to report. Subsequently, Greek citizens presumably read Greek media articles predominantly to other international articles, causing them to see more reports on the Greek government in comparison to the European Union.

The connection between the media and the community of Lesvos is less substantial than the relationship between the media and NGOs. Yet, this relationship is not principally positive. Certain articles express explicit criticism of NGOs. One article specifically references to an incident involving human trafficking, where workers from different NGOs would be responsible for. The presence of NGOs on Lesvos has also been questioned by the media. Because of the large number of NGOs on the island, they might be creating more damage than good (Marcel Wiegman 2021). On the other hand, the media also plays a role in spreading awareness about the goals and needs for NGOs. By providing such platforms for NGOs to deliver the needs they think Lesvos needs, the media speaks to its audience. Expecting the readers to respond as citizens with compassion and rational commitment, and help in funding the organizations (Höijer 2004). The media thus proves to have an impact on non-governmental organizations, as the media spreads awareness on the situation on Lesvos, causing volunteers to apply to NGOs and donors to fund certain projects. The media is therefore an important concept to the funding of NGOs. The Leave no one behind network has shown that the creation of a social media hashtag has developed into a complete NGO, who is responsible for many different projects.

The impact of the media on its audience on Lesvos has appeared to be not as pessimistic as the suggestions of Tester (2001), because the media has appeared not to destruct the moral values of solidarity (Höijer 2004). The media has reported about existing tensions between the community of Lesvos and NGOs or refugees, and occasional protests that display these tensions. But hostile encounters have not appeared after March 2020, and the media has therefore not appeared to have a substantial effect on the hospitality on Lesvos.

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#### 7.5 Main research question

Now the answers to each research sub-question have been discussed, it is possible to define an answer to the main research question. This answer takes into account what changes have been found to the conceptual framework. The exact question formulated for this research is:

How does the perceived hospitality of the community of Lesvos affect non-governmental organizations on Lesvos, what impact does the framing of international media have on this relationship and what influence do recent global developments have?

The hospitality of the community of Lesvos is of a bipolar nature. On the one hand, the hospitality has a positive effect on non-governmental organizations, due to numerous agreements between local business owners and the organizations. These agreements provide strengthening of trade and local development. On the other hand, the hospitality of the community of Lesvos has been hostile. Hostility has caused tensions, not only between the community and the NGOs, but between the community and refugees as well. Tensions have appeared in practice as well, because certain activities needed to be adapted due to harassment of community members. Nevertheless, the hospitality of the community is not exclusively to blame for all tensions, as the Greek governments and European Union appear to be responsible as well. Because the Greek government has lacked in providing appropriate shelters, and the European Union in turn has not provided appropriate accommodation to relief Greece from the growing pressure.

International media has a dominant influence on the NGOs on Lesvos. This appears to be a relationship of a dual nature. Where the media provides awareness for NGOs, and NGOs provide online content for the media as well. Aside from this direct dual relationship, the media also frames the NGOs on Lesvos in a certain manner. Not exclusively in a positive light, by spreading knowledge about the projects NGOs conduct or the resources they require. But also in a negative light, by exposing NGOs if they contribute to illegal practices such as pushbacks or human trafficking.

International media has not appeared to have a substantial influence on hospitality or the community of Lesvos. Despite reports of different protests, by community members as well as refugees, there have been no substantial hostile encounters on Lesvos after March 2020. And thereby no media reports of hostility, beside from such occasions. The Greek media does refer to the Greek government more often than other international media articles, and often in a critical manner. This causes the Greek communities, who are affected more by Greek media compared to other international media, to learn about the Greek government comparatively more than about the European Union.

Recent global developments have played an important role in the situation on Lesvos, as hostile encounters between members of the community and NGOs in February and March 2020 almost coincided with the start of shock-event the Covid-19 pandemic. The effects that this event had need to be considered. Because in a way, Covid-19 provided a conversational topic, overshadowing the humanitarian crisis on Lesvos. Hostile encounters on the island have also settled down during this time. The work of NGOs has also changed in 2020. Work has increased in the health and safety department, where new projects have started. But work has decreased and adapted because of restrictions concerning Covid-19.

#### 8. Discussion

This chapter holds a discussion on this research. Starting with a discussion of the content and relevance, followed by section 8.2, that holds a discussion of the methods used in this research.

#### 8.1 Content and relevance

It is important to mention that in this research, the information gathered about the community of Lesvos, comes from online media and non-governmental organizations. Meaning that the existing attitude is one that is interpreted by them. One cannot assume that this is also the way the community would voice their opinions themselves. Due to travel restrictions and the incapacity to travel to Lesvos, there has appeared a distance between me, the researcher, and the community. Because of this distance, it has appeared not to be possible to gain insight in the perspective of the community. Therefore, this research is based on the perception of non-governmental organizations on Lesvos.

This research has been based on cross-sectional design, which causes difficulty in generalizations (Creswell 2007). This is also the case in this research. It is not possible to generalize the results to, for instance, other Greek islands, let alone to other areas. Generalization would be possible if this research is used in other follow-up research. By using this thesis in a collective or multiple case study, it would be possible to compare Lesvos to other areas (Creswell 2007).

#### 8.2 Methods

Different methods to collect the data have been used in this research, and these all require reflection.

This research is based on an abductive research process. Meaning that theories and possible explanations have been drawn up in advance, and checked with qualitative methods. The presumed explanations of the role of the media did appear to be different after the analysis, thus this process appeared to be fruitful. Nevertheless, it appeared to be difficult to see such changes or differences, because it is likely to see results that you would want to see in the analysis.

During the data collection, a similar online questionnaire to the questionnaire for non-governmental organizations has been issued amongst members of the community of Lesvos, with the goal of gaining insight in their perspective on hospitality. The response from the community was very limited, with a completed response from one respondent. Therefore, this questionnaire has not been used further in this research, as it is impossible to use the information of one respondent in generalization to the entire community of Lesvos. The limited response could be ascribed to little interest and motivation to fill in an online questionnaire. If this research would be executed again in the future, it would be recommendable to travel to Lesvos, to interview members of the community face-to-face. This method would provide a more inclusive image of the relationship between NGOs and the community from the point of view of the community. The limited response could also be ascribed to the online presence that NGOs have, in comparison to the online presence of members of the community.

As all NGOs appear to have a website and email address, it is more difficult to reach community members or community organizations in a similar way. Moreover, NGOs can have more to gain with, for instance, an interview. By spreading their name and goals, it is possible to gather more sponsors for their projects.

Section 3.5 has mentioned the recent global developments to be a risk to this research. The data collection has indeed been conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic, and its effects have been noticed, as all information has been gathered online. In reflection to this method of working, it is safe to say that it is of course not ideal, yet all necessary data to complete this research has been collected, in the current day and time.

# 9. Recommendations

This chapter discusses recommendations that have followed this research. First, societal recommendations will be discussed. These hold ideas that can improve the situation on Lesvos for non-governmental organizations, the community, or refugees on the island. The second section brings recommendations for future scientific research. This includes gaps that this specific research was not able to fill.

#### 9.1 Societal recommendations

The societal relevance in section 1.3.1 has discussed the different actors that this research can have implications for. These actors are: the community, non-governmental organizations, refugees and governance. Now all results and conclusions have been discussed, it is possible to report different recommendations for each actor.

The first actor is the community of Lesvos. A recommendation that can be made for the community is connected to their attitude. It would be beneficial for the community to show hospitality and present an open-minded attitude, because willingness of the community is important when it comes to development of a refugee situation (BBC 2020). Only if the community is willing, not hostile, and does not protest or disrupt the work of NGOs, the refugee situation is able to improve.

Members of non-governmental organizations appeared to be open-minded and willing to share their thoughts during the conducting of this research. It would be recommended for NGOs, on Lesvos specifically, but for all NGOs essentially, to value transparency (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021). This increases the credibility of an organization, and it would improve trust between NGOs and the local community. Trust is beneficial for a recommended, solid relationship between NGOs and the community of Lesvos. Simplifying the planning of the work for NGOs has been set as a possible result of this thesis. In the future, it is recommended for NGOs to include local community members who speak Greek in their organization. This will decrease the impact of the language barrier. By incorporating the community as much as possible, organizations would be indispensable, because in the end, "the biggest goal is to make sure that the work that we [NGOs] are doing here is not necessary anymore" (Interview Leave no one behind, 2021).

One recommendation that can be made for refugees on Lesvos, is to be involved with NGOs. Whether that is by accepting the help they offer, or to volunteer or work for an NGO, these organizations are able to offer guidance.

As the societal relevance in section 1.3.1 has suggested, this research can conclude certain improvements for governance involved in the hospitality of the community of Lesvos. As volunteer-run refugee reception sites tend to thrive better than governmental run reception sites, the government would benefit from cooperation with non-governmental organizations in this field, instead of closing these sites. By providing volunteers with more responsibility, the government takes less responsibility, and possibly less costs. Such refugee reception sites can improve the relationship between refugees and the local community, as it has appeared at the Pikpa site. In order to achieve such cooperation, the governments' regulations on NGO registration should be altered. As organizations experience difficulty in achieving a registered status on Lesvos, numerous organizations operate without governmental support.

#### 9.2 Recommendations for future research

There are several niches that this research has not been able to fill yet, and therefore different recommendations for future scientific research can be made.

First, non-governmental organizations are not solely active on the island of Lesvos. International organizations are active across Greece, and they all have a different effect on their hosting community. This is something that can be further investigated, to see if the impact of NGOs and the relationship they have with their hosts is the same throughout Greece. For instance, by comparing organizations that are active on only one location with those who have experience on different islands, and the mainland of Greece. And this is something that can be extended to different countries as well. For instance, in addition to the research of Alix-Garcia and Saah (2010), which is focussed on Tanzania.

This research does not comprehensively study the perspective of refugees, but for future research, "exploring the perspective of forced migrants is crucial, and should not be neglected" (Betts, 2009, p.2). A top-down level of analysis is crucial to understand the macro-level structures behind the choices political actors make that affect displaced refugees. Refugees are likely to have a different experience in different locations within Lesvos, or across Greece. This perspective therefore offers a subject for further research.

A recommendation can be made on the international media as well. It is impossible to analyse all available international newspaper articles on the subject of community and NGOs, therefore it is not possible to make a generalization to all news media on the topic. Yet, it is possible to generalize the results from the articles that have been analysed in this research specifically. If the same articles are used in future research, the results would be replicable, increasing the reliability of this research (Golafshani 2003).

As Tsartas, Kyriakaki et al. (2020) already mention, further research is necessary to the subject of volunteer tourism, or voluntourism. This is a subject that is very prominent on Lesvos, and in Greece in general, as one should not underestimate the fact that Lesvos is a tourist destination. The effects that voluntourism has on the country is something that could be investigated further.

Lastly, this research has tried to include citizens as much as possible. Yet, future emphasis should lie even more on their perspective, as this research covers mostly the perceived hospitality of the community, but it would be interesting to analyse the perception the community has on its own hospitality.

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# **APPENDICES**

# A. Activities organization Stand by me Lesvos

#### Education

- 36Academiateammembers
- 34Academiateachers
- 2 Security members
- 1500Academiastudents
- 6classrooms
- 54classesaday
- 12MoriaAcademiaTeammembers
- 10 Moria Academia classes in old Moria
- 600 students in old Moria
- + 1000 students supported through SBML's support of community schools in old Moria
- 7 Moria Academia classes in the new camp
- 250 students in the new camp
- +320 students supported through SBML's support of community schools in the new camp

- 1 partnership with School of Second chance of Mytilene for Greek classes 2 classes per week
- **30** students attending each Greek classes until March
- **20** students attending each Greek classes in September
- 1 teacher training program
- 30 teachers trained
- 1 online school program
- 8 online classes
- 75 online students
- 1 first aid training program
- 120 participants to first aid training
- 1 sewing factory
- 26 sewing women
- 70 000 cloth masks
- 12 000 bags
- 3 seminar Erasmus +

# Waste Management and awareness

- 3 open letters to Europe
- Over 500 interviews of SBML and partners
- Over 200 team members in MA, MWH, MWH groups
- 9awarenesscampaign
- 10 200 posters and flyers hung up
- 5languages
- 3 recycling stations in Old Moria camp
- 1 300 000 empty water bottles recycled in old Moria camp between April and September
- 108 000 cold bottles of water given to camp residents through the recycling program between April and September

- 350 tones of rubbish collected in old Moria between April and September 2 recycling stations in the new camp
- 1 440 000 empty water bottles recycled in the new camp between October and December
- 60 000 dirty bottles of water collected
- Over 25 000 various items (food and hygiene) given to camp residents through the recycling program between October and December
- 4 zones inside the new camp covered by electricity team

#### Community support

- 10 houses rented every month
- 40 migrants hosted every month
- Over 200 markets cards given to team members of our partners inside the camp from January to September; refilled of 10euros every 2 weeks
- 2400 emergency bags packed in September after the fire to team members
- 500 camp residents weekly supported with dry food and hygiene from September to December
- Over 4 000 food bags sent to team members between October and December
- 50 abounded cats fed every day since the fire
- 20 bicycles supplied to team members
- 647 pairs of shoes distributed to camp residents to aid winterization
- 350 sleeping mattresses and 400 blankets provided to camp residents in December to face winter climate

- 1 Free bus
- 2100 available passengers/month within the Free bus
- 6 Greek cities of the island weekly supported with dry food and hygiene
- 15 tablets sent to Greek local as Easters gifts
- 1public hospital supported
- 1 3D printer bought to produce face shields for medical staff
- 13 pallets sent to Just Action in Samos
- 6 pallets to Diavata camp
- 6 pallets sent to Leros Refugee Youth Group
- 2500 Christmas packed in SBML warehouse and distributed to camp residents and Greek citizens

FIGURE 6: FACTSHEETS 1, 2 AND 3 (STANDBYMELESVOS 2021)

# **B.** Interview guides

### Online questionnaires

The questionnaires have been built in the online program Qualtrics. The exact questionnaire created for members of non-governmental organizations who are working on Lesvos is the following: https://fmru.az1.gualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV 6Dv34YsXzUMnDAG

#### In-depth interviews

As all in-depth interviews have been conducted with members of Non-Governmental Organizations, the interview guide to these interviews has remained broadly the same. The following guide was therefore used for all in-depth interviews.

### About the organization

- Could you start with telling me something about Stand by me Lesvos?
  - o Where is the organization active?
    - Only on Lesvos? Where exactly on Lesvos?
  - When did the organization start? When was it founded?
- And what about the employees?
  - o Mostly volunteers or paid workers?
  - Where are the workers from? (Greek originated?)
  - o How are the employees trained?

#### About the work you do

- What concrete activities does Stand by me Lesvos do on Lesvos?
- What changes has the Covid-19 Pandemic caused in terms of the activities you are able to conduct on Lesvos?
- Could you tell me something about collaborations you have with other NGOs on the island?
  - o Are there any?
  - With which NGOs? (Names)
  - o How important are these collaborations to you?
- How is the relationship between Stand by me Lesvos and the municipality of Mytilene?
  - o Is it different than the one with the municipality of West Lesvos?
- What goals does Stand by me Lesvos have for the future on Lesvos?

Now, my research is also focussed on the hospitality that the community of Lesvos shows for the Non-Governmental Organizations that are active on the island. The following questions will therefore be focussed on this.

# About the perceived hospitality from the community of Lesvos

- Have you experienced any specific acts of hospitality from the community of Lesvos?
  - What kind of acts? What kind of situation was this?
- On a scale from 1-10, how welcomed did your organization feel by the community of Lesvos?

- In terms of your work and activities, have any activities changed because of the community of Lesvos?
- Has Stand by me Lesvos ever tried to undertake action to include the community of Lesvos with the work you do on the island?
- Do you think the hospitality of the community has changed since the Covid-19 Pandemic?
  - o In what way?
- Lastly, are there any colleagues you can refer me to?

Those were all the questions I have for you today. Thank you very much for all of your answers and with that, your help with my research.

# C. Interview transcripts

#### Written interview Starfish foundation

The questions and given answers in the written interview with the Starfish foundation can be found in the following file:

#### Data collection/Transcript Written Interview Starfish Foundation.docx

# In-depth interview Stand by me Lesvos

The complete transcript of this interview, with the answers of the respondent, can be found in the following file: Data collection/Transcripts.docx

### In-depth interview Low-tech with refugees

he complete transcript of this interview, with the answers of the respondent, can be found in the following file: Data collection/Transcript Interview 2 low-tech with refugees.docx

### In-depth interview #Leave no one behind

he complete transcript of this interview, with the answers of the respondent, can be found in the following file: Data collection/Transcript Interview 3 Leave no one behind.docx

# In-depth interview Yoga and Sports for Refugees

he complete transcript of this interview, with the answers of the respondent, can be found in the following file: Data collection/Transcript Interview 4 Yoga and Sports for Refugees.docx

**D. Interview coding**The following codebook shows the codes that derive from the interviews, including the number of times the codes have been found in the transcripts.

TABLE 7: CODEBOOK OF THE INTERVIEWS

Code group	Code	Totals
	Hospitality	39
	Community	135
	Economy	12
	Health	11
	Juridic	7
Auxiliary variables		72
	Shock-Events	47
	Tourism	8
	Governance	17
Governance		49
	Governance	17
	European Union	12
	Greek governance	20
Media		11
	Media	3
	Social media	8
Non-Governmental Organiz	ations	274
	Non-Governmental Organizations	209
	NGO Name	65
Refugees		138
	Refugees	69
	Refugee reception site	69

The following table shows all codes and the number of times the have been used in each interview.

	Transcript Interview 1: Stand by me Lesvos	Transcript Interview 2: Low-tech with refugees	Transcript Interview 3: Leave no one behind	Transcript Interview 4: Yoga and Sports for Refugees	Transcript Written Interview: Starfish Foundation	Totals
o Community	27	24	28	26	30	135
o Economy	4	5	0	0	3	12
<ul><li>European</li><li>Union</li></ul>	3	0	9	0	0	12
o Governance	0	1	14	1	1	17
<ul><li>Greek governance</li></ul>	6	1	5	8	0	20
<ul><li>Health</li></ul>	0	3	5	0	3	11
<ul> <li>Hospitality</li> </ul>	11	8	3	6	11	39
o Juridic	0	1	1	4	1	7
o Media	0	0	1	2	0	3
o NGO name	13	8	15	15	14	65
<ul><li>Non- Governmental Organizations</li></ul>	25	39	55	52	38	209
<ul><li>Refugee reception site</li></ul>	20	5	24	10	10	69
o Refugees	28	1	18	11	11	69
<ul><li>Shock-events</li></ul>	13	4	13	7	10	47
<ul> <li>Social Media</li> </ul>	0	0	7	1	0	8
o Tourism	4	2	0	0	2	8
Totals	154	102	198	143	134	731

**E. Qualitative content analysis: the articles**The following table presents all analysed articles, including a short description of what each article reports.

Article (News outlet, <i>Title</i> ):	Type of article	Reference
1. Het Parool: "Vluchtelingenorganisaties in Moria: ze wilden helpen, maar nu maken ze ruzie"		Marcel Wiegman (2021)

The article in Het Parool of Marcel Wiegman (2021), concerns NGOs and their presence on Lesvos. The article also explains something about Moria and other refugee reception sites on Lesvos, stating that "Moria is effectively a detention centre: refugees are principally not allowed to leave. There are other, better, sites, but they are not covered by the EU and will be closed<sup>7</sup>" (Marcel Wiegman 2021).

# 2. Al Jazeera: "Do not close Pikpa down, replicate it" Arabic Newspaper Latsoudi (2020)

The second article in Al Jazeera by Latsoudi (2020) involves the refugee reception sites on Lesvos, specifically the site named Pikpa. The article is written in response to the Greek government's decision to close the Pikpa site. Latsoudi (2020) states that "Dignified, community-run shelters like Pikpa are bright beacons of hope in what has otherwise been a tremendously dark experience for refugees on the island of Lesbos. They should not be closed. They should be replicated" (Latsoudi 2020).

# 3. Al Jazeera: "How the Greek island Lesbos Arabic Newspaper Fallon (2020) became a stage for Europe's far right"

The second analyzed Al Jazeera article is written by Fallon (2020), and it concerns the situation on Lesvos in relation to the emergence of far-right violence on the island. The article explains that the Greek population, and the community of Lesvos specifically, has shown solidarity and hospitality over the years, which led to a Nobel Peace Prize nomination in 2016. But the article also explains how the tide has turned, after the implementation of the European Union-Turkey deal. "The camps have started swelling to many thousands beyond their intended capacity" (Fallon 2020).

# 4. BBC news: "Science in action: Covid-19 - British Podcast (First 15 minutes) Pease (2020)

The podcast from BBC has been transcribed and analyzed next. It concerns the effects of the Covid-19 Pandemic specifically in refugee reception sites. The situation is discussed with a doctor from the French organization of medicines without borders (Médecins Sans Frontières), who is active on Lesvos. The doctor explains the difficulties that arise with the Covid-19 Pandemic within the refugee reception sites, and states that there have been no known cases yet. No known cases, because "it is true that we cannot test people. But I am not convinced that there is already a big outbreak, because otherwise we would have more people with diseases or respiratory distress that we have to refer to the hospital"I (Pease 2020).

5. BBC News: "Moria migrants: fire destroys	British News article +	BBCNews (2020)
Greece's largest camp on Lesvos"	Video	

Fifth, is a video included with text from BBCNews (2020). It explains and visualizes the fire in Moria, "Greece's largest migrant camp". It is stated that during the fire and the evacuation of refugees, "police have blocked migrants from heading to the port town of Mytilene, and the

86

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Het is effectief een detentiekamp: vluchtelingen mogen er in -principe niet uit. Er zijn ook -andere, betere, kampen, maar die vallen niet onder de EU en worden gesloten."

refugee support group Stand by Me Lesvos said it was told some locals had attacked and prevented migrants from passing through a nearby village" (BBCNews 2020).

6. The Guardian: "We were left in the sea: British news article Fallon (2021) asylum seekers forced off Lesbos"

The article from the Guardian explains the situation on Lesvos from a refugee's point of view. Illustrating "how 'pushbacks' are creating a crisis for the right to asylum at Europe's borders" (Fallon 2021).

7. Trouw: "Wel of niet meewerken aan een Dutch online news Kettenis (2020) tweede Moria? Een onmogelijk dilemma voor article hulpverleners"

The Dutch article in Trouw discusses the situation inside the refugee reception sites on Lesvos. Along with the difficulties for non-governmental organizations to decide to work within the reception sites, or to do their work from the outside. An example is given from the Dutch doctors without borders who have declined to work within Moria "in protest agains the camp, the inhumane circumstances, and the desperate state the inhabitants live in, due to the endless asylum procedures. It is difficult to believe that this is all because of Greek incapacity. It is political indisposition. Of Europe, to take these people in. And of the Greek government, to provide decent shelters8 (Kettenis 2020)."

8. The New Humanitarian: "What grassroots International online Theodorou (2018) groups can teach us about smart aid" news platform the New Humanitarian

The New Humanitarian discusses the value of grassroots groups in providing aid. Greece has proved to be breeding ground for smart and small volunteer groups, as Theodorou (2018) states. Several of these small and smart organizations are discussed, including their value and projects.

9. Greek reporter: "Migrant camp at Lesvos to Greek news article Kokkinidis (2021) be shut down soon, Greece says"

The first Greek article is from the Greek reporter and it concerns the closure of refugee reception site Kara Tepe. The facility had been built on public land, and "has been heavily criticized by humanitarian NGO's and the United Nations" (Kokkinidis 2021). Because, as the organization UNHCR of Greece had tweeted: "As a cold spell sweeps across Greece, thousands of refugees and asylum-seekers living in tents or makeshift shelters on the islands of Samos. Chios and Lesvos face freezing temperatures and icy winds in precarious conditions" (Kokkinidis 2021).

10. Zougla: (1) [GR] "Συνολικά 620 αιτούντες άσυλο αποχώρησαν από το Καρά Τεπέ" [ΕΝ] "A total of 620 asylum seekers left Kara Tepe" and

Greek newspaper, in (1) Zougla (2021) Greek. Translation of 2 (2) Zougla (2021) articles by deepl.com

(2) [GR] "ΜΚΟ αντιτίθενται στο κλείσιμο του δημοτικού καταυλισμού του Καρά Τεπέ" [EN] "NGOs oppose the closure of the municipal camp of Kara Tepe"

8 "AzG heeft altijd geweigerd om vanuit Moria te werken, uit protest tegen het kamp, de onmenselijke omstandigheden en de uitzichtloosheid waarin bewoners verkeren, vanwege de oneindig lange asielprocedures. "Het is moeilijk te geloven dat dat alleen maar komt door Griekse onkunde. Het is politieke onwil. Van Europa, om die mensen op te nemen. En van de Griekse regering, om fatsoenlijke opvang te bouwen (Kettenis, 2020)."

Two short articles of the Greek online news website furthermore discuss the situation encompassing the Kara Tepe facility. The articles confirm the resistance from the NGOs, and the aftermath of the governmental closure is mentioned. "A total of 620 refugees and migrants, all of them asylum seekers, left the municipal asylum seekers' accommodation facility in Kara Tepe, Mytilene, which will be officially returned by the Minister of Migration and Asylum, Mr. Notis Mitarakis, to the Municipality of Mytilene on Thursday, May 6, so that the space can be reused for the purposes of the municipality" (Zougla 2021).

11. NOS: "Bewoners Lesbos blokkeren weg Moria: 'Dit moet het einde zijn van dit kamp" Dutch Newspaper NOS (2020)
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The Dutch article from NOS news discusses a protest by the community of Lesvos. Stating that the residents experience nuisance because of the refugee reception site. The article furthermore mentions the burdens NGOs experienced by this protest, because "they are not able to reach the people that still remain in the nearly burned down camp. NGOs are very angry about that<sup>9</sup>" (NOS 2020).

12. Αυγή: [GR] <i>"Προσφυγικό / Χωρίς νομική</i>	Greek	newspaper	Zotou (2021)
υποστήριξη οι αιτούντες άσυλο της Λέσβου"	article	Αυγή "The	
[EN] "Refugee / No legal support for asylum	Dawn"		
seekers on Lesvos"			

Another Greek article from the news site translated as the Dawn has published an article on the legal support for asylum seekers on Lesvos. Stating that nine humanitarian organizations "call for the Ministry of Immigration and Asylum to respect the legality and refrain from actions that violate the rights of asylum seekers, (...) (Zotou 2021)." Because the humanitarian organizations have received information that free legal assistance would be available for the refugees on Lesvos. The article also notes the response of the Greek ministry, which states that the free legal aid is not going to stop and that there is a question of a "transitional period".

13. Αυγή: [GR] <i>"Προσφυγικό / Χιλιάδες</i>	Greek newspaper	Αυγή Newsroom
αναγνωρισμένοι πρόσφυγες κινδυνεύουν να	article	(2020)
μείνουν άστεγοι"	Αυγή "The Dawn"	
[EN] "Refugee / Thousands of recognised		
refugees at risk of becoming homeless"		

The second article in the Dawn elaborates further on NGOs, and their protests to the Greek government. Reporting that 74 humanitarian organizations have sent a "cry of anguish" to the government, calling for "urgent, realistic measures to ensure that no one is forced out of their apartments in mid-winter and in ongoing pandemic conditions" and to present "a sustainable social security and integration strategy that provides access to adequate and affordable housing, including social housing" (Newsroom 2020).

14. Τα Nea: [GR] "Αντιδράσεις σε Χίο και Λέσβο	Greek	newspaper	TANEA-team (2021)
για τις νέες δομές"	article		
[EN] "Reactions in Chios and Lesvos to the new	Ta Nea		
structures"			

<sup>9</sup> "De wegblokkade maakt het voor ngo's lastig om de mensen te bereiken die nog in het vrijwel volledig afgebrande kamp verblijven. "Ngo's zijn daar ook heel boos over (NOS, 2020)"

88

A different Greek article from Ta Nea discusses the response of the communities of the islands Lesvos and Chios towards new refugee reception structures. Stating that "Hundreds of residents of the areas of Vrontados, Sikiada, Lagada and Kardamylon held a peaceful protest on Wednesday" (TANEA-team 2021). After the proposal for the new, closed and controlled structure on private land was passed.

15. Rizopastis: [GR] <i>"ΛΕΣΒΟΣ</i>	Greek Article	Rizopastis (2020)
Εκρηκτική η κατάσταση εξαιτίας του διπλού	Rizopastis "the radical"	. ,
εγκλωβισμού που έχουν επιβάλει η ΕΕ και οι	'	
κυβερνήσεις		
[EN] LESBOS		
"Explosive situation due to the double		
entrapment imposed by the EU and		
governments"		
3		

The Greek article in Rizopastis refers to the situation on Lesvos as "remaining explosive due to the mass internment of 21,736 refugees and migrants on the island" (Rizopastis 2020). The article states that North Aegean regional governor, K. Moutzouris, fuels the tensions on the island because of his backing attitude towards "racist fascist groups", and statements such as "there will be clashes between locals and foreigners" or "(...) if some people start acting and others react, we don't know what we can achieve" or "it is a grenade that has been unlocked and can explode at any time" (Rizopastis 2020).

16. eKathimerini:	Greek newspaper	Souliotis (2020)
"Operation points to NGO smuggling role"	article eKathimerini	

The first article of the two articles from eKathimerini discusses an operation that exposes several NGOs that appear to have played a role in people smuggling. "A total of 35 members of the four NGOs facilitated the movement of illegal immigrants and refugees from Turkey to Lesvos using "illegal methods and procedures" (Souliotis 2020).

17. Ekathimerini:	Greek ı	newspaper	Tania Georgiopoulou
"Asylum law seen behind Lesvos tension"	article eKathimerini		(2020)

The second eKathimerini article reviews refugee protests "against the dreadful conditions at the Moria reception center, and the slow processing of asylum requests (...)" (Tania Georgiopoulou 2020). The article further refers to the authorities, who "despite the soaring tension, rejected a call by Northern Aegean Regional Governor Kostas Moutzouris to declare a state of emergency on Lesvos" (Tania Georgiopoulou 2020).

18. Euronews:	Euronews, European	Euronews (2020)
"Thousands take to streets in Germany to	online news + Video	
demand FU action over Moria migrants"		

Euronews discusses protests as well, yet these protests take place in Germany. In a text supported with video, the article explains that thousands of protesters took the streets to urge "the European Union to take action on the asylum seekers left without shelter after the Moria camp blaze on the Greek island of Lesbos" (Euronews 2020).

19. The Greek reporter: "Mayors of Greek	The Greek reporter	Claus (2021)
Islands Call for Changes to EU Migration Pact"		

Another Greek article from the Greek reporter shows critical mayors who call for the EU to make changes to the proposed immigration act. The mayors state that "the embattled residents of their islands, who have been sometimes unwilling hosts to hordes of migrants and refugees since 2015, will remain on alert until the full revocation of all regulations of the new proposal that harm our lives" (Claus 2021).

20. Euronews: "Greece: Lesbos migrants Euronews, + Video Euronews (2020) march against new camp facility after Moria fire"

The last article is again one from Euronews. The article is supported with a video and displays a protest, a march by "hundreds of migrants, mostly women and children" (Euronews 2020). The migrants march against the new reception facility after the Moria fires, and they demand to leave the island to be allowed to travel to the mainland of Europe.

The qualitative content analysis of the articles

The following Atlas.ti file holds all analysed articles, with the marked keywords: Qualitative Content Analysis Articles

# F. Qualitative content analysis: coding

TABLE 8: CODEBOOK CREATED IN ADVANCE OF THE QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

e Key words [EN] Keywords [NL] Guiding questions
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Hospitality	Guest Host Fight, hostility Hospitality Integration	Gastvrijheid, gast, gastheer Gevechten, ruzie	Is there mentioning of hostility? (Fighting, trouble?) Does the article mention any hospitable acts?		
Community	Citizens/Residents/ Community/Locals	Bewoners, maatschappij Gemeenschap van Lesbos/Lesvos	Is (a part of) the community mentioned in the article? Are any specific citizens mentioned or cited?		
Non-Governmental Organizations	Name/Title of a specific NGO Volunteer Employee	Ontwikkelings-, humanitaire organisaties Vrijwilligers, werknemers	What specific NGOs are mentioned? What activities of NGOs or members of NGOs are mentioned?		
Refugees	Personal names Names of refugee reception sites	Vluchtelingen Kamp, opvang locatie	What reception sites are mentioned? (Kara tepe, Moria, Pikpa)		
Auxiliary factors: Shock-events Governance Tourism	Covid- 19/Corona/Pandemic Disaster Government, municipality Tourist(s), foreign, outsiders	Covid-19/Corona/ Pandemie Ramp Gemeente, overheid, beleid Toeristen, buitenlanders	Are shock-events mentioned in the article? Is there mentioning of the (influence of) Covid-19 pandemic?  Is the role of the municipality of Mytilene/West Lesvos mentioned?  Or the government of Greece?		

# Coding

The following tables show the coding of all articles that have been analysed in the qualitative content analysis. The green marked articles are the articles that are from Greek origin.

	QCA_Article 1 Het Parool	QCA_Article 2 Al Jazeera (1)	QCA_Article 3 Al Jazeera (2)	QCA_Article 4 BBC Podcast	QCA_Article 5 BBC Video and Text	QCA_Article 6 The Guardian	QCA_Article 7 Trouw	QCA_Article 8 The New Humanitarian	QCA_Article 9 Greek reporter	QCA_Article 10 Zougla
<ul> <li>Hospitality</li> </ul>	1	7	18	0	1	2	3	2	1	0
○ Community	2	9	37	0	1	4	6	4	1	0
o Economy	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
o Governance	12	6	10	1	0	1	3	0	1	7
<ul><li>○ European</li><li>Union</li></ul>	9	2	19	0	0	4	9	1	0	0
<ul><li>⊙ Greek governance</li></ul>	6	2	10	0	0	6	11	4	5	0
○ NGO name	25	0	2	3	1	6	15	6	3	4
<ul><li>Non- Governmental Organizations</li></ul>	20	2	15	2	1	3	12	36	1	3
<ul><li>Refugee reception site</li></ul>	20	24	28	18	3	3	35	5	14	11
<ul> <li>○ Refugees</li> </ul>	25	17	26	6	3	15	14	12	8	10
<ul><li>Shock- events</li></ul>	3	4	0	31	2	2	6	1	3	2
○ Social Media	3	0	12	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
○ Media	3	1	41	0	0	4	0	0	1	0
o Tourism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Totals	129	74	218	63	12	50	116	73	38	37

	QCA Article NOS	QCA Article The Dawn (	QCA Article The Dawn (2)	QCA Article N	QCA Article Rizopastis	QCA Article 1 eKathimerini (1)	QCA Article 1 eKathimerini (2)	QCA Article Euro news (	QCA Article 19 The Greek Reporter (2)	QCA Article : Euro news (	Totals
○ Community	10	<b>12</b> 0	<b>3</b>	<b>Nea</b> 3	<b>5</b>	<b>1 6</b>	<b>2</b> 2	1 18	<b>2</b> 2	(2) O	87
								•			
∘ Economy	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
<ul> <li>Governance</li> </ul>	1	0	1	6	12	3	6	2	10	1	83
∘ European Union	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	3	12	4	70
<ul><li>Greek</li><li>governance</li></ul>	4	10	4	6	6	2	4	0	7	2	89
○ Hospitality	2	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	44
o Media	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	58
○ NGO name	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	70
<ul><li>Non- Governmental Organizations</li></ul>	2	4	5	0	2	9	4	1	1	0	123
<ul><li>Refugee reception site</li></ul>	13	4	11	4	5	0	2	7	0	9	216
∘ Refugees	3	7	16	0	12	10	10	9	12	7	222
∘ Shock- events	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	3	3	1	70
<ul> <li>Social Media</li> </ul>	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	23
o Tourism	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	5
Totals	43	26	53	20	50	27	30	29	51	25	1164