Living within liminality; An intercultural, anthropological study of home and belonging in two refugee camps in mainland Greece.

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Abstract

This thesis aims to understand how refugees and NGO volunteers (in interaction with Greek locals and authorities) in two refugee camps in mainland Greece (Minoan and Dorian camps) construct a sense of identity, home, and belonging within the space(s) and place(s) of the camps through intercultural communication. The thesis is an anthropological, ethnographic study aiming to centre the voices of refugees. Fieldwork was carried out over a period of five months from late 2019 to early 2020. Busy Bee an NGO operating within Minoan and Dorian camps served as the host organisation. In addition to participant observation, a total of 75 interviews were conducted for this study. In order to address its overarching research aim, this thesis adopts a social constructionist and non-essentialist approach to understanding processes of intercultural communication and identity formation, where people are understood to engage in a dynamic process of meaning-making through a dialectical relationship between self and other as well as through group identification. This means that 'home' and 'belonging' are understood to be co-created and (re)negotiated by people. In the space(s) of refugee camps, this largely operates within intercultural interactions. These occur within a situated context and a relational and mutually co-constitutive understanding of space(s) and place(s). This enables an in-depth understanding of the dynamic complexities involved in how encamped refugees (re)negotiate the symbolic, cultural and intertwined meanings of 'identities', 'home' and 'belonging' within the refugee camps, which importantly connects to time-spaces beyond the camps. Therefore, in this thesis 'home' is understood as 'constellations of home', and 'belonging' as pertaining both to 'place-belongingness' as well as to the 'politics of belonging'. These are cultural meanings which carry deep significance and are fraught with tensions for refugees within the protracted experience of displacement.

This thesis shows that refugees' experiences of the camp space(s) and place(s) construct the boundaries of the camps as both a material and social border which locks them into a place that is geographically segregated from the host population, thus impacting on their identities by making them feel like prisoners who are confined to living in these places, and are hence in some way 'inferior' to locals (who are not bound to the camp). Moreover, for many refugees, the camp is a space of 'bare' life, as opposed to a space of flourishing life, and when interacting with Greek locals and authorities belonging to the space of the camp comes with the identity of 'refugee' which carries a heavy social stigma. However, the thesis also shows that there are space(s) and place(s) within which refugee agency can assert itself. Moreover, it shows that intercultural interactions within the camps among refugees and with NGO volunteers provide opportunities for connecting with identities and time-spaces that reach beyond the liminality of the camp. In so doing, refugees and NGO volunteers construct a certain sense of 'home' and 'belonging' within the camps, without for so much affirming the camps as genuine homes for refugees. Even though NGO volunteers benefit from greater positional power than refugees, Busy Bee's commitment to a non-essentialist approach to intercultural interactions helps foster a culture of respect through which home-making practices are supported within and around language classrooms. In addition, refugees and NGO volunteers co-create a camp culture through which localised practices of sharing, greeting and speaking enable 'small culture' formation.

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Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Glossary

Term	Definition
Artemopolis	City of fieldwork.
Busy Bee (BB)	The partner NGO.
Dandelion Aid	A Greek branch of an international NGO running Dorian camp.
Darling Crafts	Makerspace NGO opposite Minoan camp.
Dorian Camp	Closed camp, approximately an hour's walk from Artemopolis city centre.
Magnolia Aid	A German NGO running Minoan camp.
Minoan Camp	Open camp, located in the outskirts of Artemopolis, about a twenty-minute walk from the nearest, small village and a half an hour bus ride from Artemopolis city centre.
Young Explorers (YE)	Busy Bee activity and children who partake in this activity; English classes, workshops and excursions.

Chapter 1: Introduction

I grew up hearing family tales of displacement. Sitting in the shadow of my paternal grandmother's lemon tree, in the back yard of her 'refugee' house, on the outskirts of Larnaca, in Cyprus, I learned that in the days that followed the outbreak of the war which would divide the island in 1974, like many others, my father's family was forced to flee their home in the north. They were eventually taken in by a Greek Cypriot family in the south and, in time, they were granted use and ownership of a purpose-built refugee house – the one with the lemon tree. Though that house became for all intents and purposes their home, the other home – the one they had been forced to leave behind – remained anchored in family memory as the genuine familial home. My mother's family had also experienced displacement in the 20th century. They were among the ethnically Greek people who were forcefully removed from northern Turkey and placed in northern Greece in accord with the Lausanne Agreement (formally known as the 'Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations') that was signed by the Greek and Turkish governments in 1923, for the sake of preserving the peace, in the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish war of 1919-1922. Though my maternal grandmother was born after this great upheaval, her mother tongue is Pontic Greek (Pontiaka) and when asked, she identifies as a 'Pontia' (an ethnically Greek woman from northern Turkey). These stories surfaced to the front of my mind when I witnessed the dramatic images of people on boats, landing on Greek islands, in the hope of finding refuge, that came to populate European television screens in the summer of 2015. I wondered whether these people would be welcomed in the contemporary Greek world in the manner that my families were. I wondered whether the divides would be too pronounced, too strong to find a way through. I wondered, though I did not yet know the concept, whether something like 'intercultural communication' could be of use in helping make sense of this situation. This doctoral thesis is the product of this wondering.

This thesis explores the experiences of refugees and NGO volunteers in two refugee camps in mainland Greece, where I volunteered in an NGO during the autumn of 2019 and the winter of 2019-2020. In particular, it aims to understand the role of intercultural interactions in processes of identity construction and in the processes of creating a sense of home and belonging in these camps. This introductory chapter presents some key definitions and background to the 2015 'refugee crisis' in section 1.1, focusing particularly on the Greek context. Section 1.2 explains the academic and personal rationale for this research as well as

the overarching research aim and then provides a brief summary of the fieldwork context which informs this study and outlines the structure of the subsequent chapters.

1.1 Background: Key definitions and contextual information

Migration is an important feature of our contemporary world (World Migration Report, 2017). It can be a source of economic, social, and cultural opportunity, but it can also be the cause of significant political tension. The unrest in the Syrian Arab Republic that started in 2011 and erupted into widescale conflict in 2015 elevated the issue of forced migration to the top of the global political agenda because it led to millions of Syrians being internally displaced, fleeing to neighbouring countries such as Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, and ultimately to affluent but crisis-stricken European democracies. In this context, public debate about the place and value of migration has taken on politically polarising features in Europe and North America, with large sections of the democratic world adopting hard-line, anti-migrant sentiments. In this context, an important issue about language arises, as the World Migration (2017: 210) report explains: "In the European debate, for example, there is little distinction in public discourse between migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees. Yet these are separate (but sometimes overlapping) legal and policy categories, which entail different rights and responsibilities." In public discourse, however, especially in relation to the recent large influx of displaced people arriving in Europe, there is much confusion about these terms, and the media and elite political rhetoric often mischaracterise large groups of migrants, for example, when asylum-seekers wishing to gain refugee status are considered 'economic migrants' threatening European jobs (Goodman & Speer, 2007). Forced migrants are also sometimes considered to be security threats (Lynn & Lea, 2003) or engines of the 'Islamification of Europe' leading to a perceived loss of European culture and identity (Esses et al., 2013). Another key feature of media and political discourse is the use of the term 'illegal' to characterise asylum-seekers and refugees, thereby criminalising people and undermining their legal and humanitarian right to seek international protection. These discourses are problematic as they flood the public domain with negative stereotypes when in practice, people's situations are far more complex than these binaries presented, often used for political gain. For the sake of clarifying these formal legal distinctions, I will address these briefly below.

1.1.1 Key definitions

People become 'displaced' when they are forced to flee their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of war, oppression, or natural catastrophe, or fear of these coming to pass (OHCHR, 2023). People can be displaced within their own country (as was the case for my paternal grandparents, since they remained in the Republic of Cyprus), in which case they are 'internally displaced', or displaced to other countries. The status of 'refugee' was enshrined international law in 1951, when signatory nations adopted the Convention on the Status of Refugees, primarily as a response to widespread international displacement which occurred in Europe as a result of the Second World War. Rooted in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the main (though not always honoured in practice) principle of the 1951 Convention is 'non-refoulement', which recognises that people fleeing their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution, conflict, and violence should not be returned to a country where they face the threat of persecution (UNHCR, 2010a). Excluded from the protection of the 1951 Convention are economic migrants, as well as those who are reasonably considered to have committed war crimes or have seriously committed offenses that defy the founding principles of the United Nations (UNHCR, 2010a: 4).[1] Once refugees have received settled 'refugee' status in their host nations, then the 1951 Convention no longer applies to them (UNHCR, 2010a: 4). This Convention was amended by the 1967 Protocol, which expanded the scope of the Convention to allow for universal coverage, irrespective of geographical borders and temporal considerations (UNHCR, 2010a). In an introductory note by the UNHCR on their 60th Anniversary Publication, they reiterate that a refugee "according to the Convention, is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR, 2010a: 3). The Convention also recognises that refugees may be forced to breach immigration laws and asserts that they should not be penalised for this when seeking asylum (UNHCR, 2010a: 3). Additionally, it outlines that host nations, which have signed the Convention, should grant refugees human rights such as access to primary education, work, the criminal courts and refugee travel documentation (UNHCR, 2010a: 3). The 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol were further solidified by the 2016 United Nations New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, which renews Member States'

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[1] Refugees from Palestine are excluded from the protection of this convention as they are protected by another UN Agency, designated to specifically aid them, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNHCR, 2010a: 4).

commitment to addressing the protracted refugee crisis and proposes a more equitable and global sharing of the responsibility towards finding sustainable solutions (UNHCR, 2016). The key output of this declaration was a Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, which primarily focuses on relieving the pressure on current refugee host countries, enhancing refugee agency, expanding access for refugees to resettle in third countries beyond the primary asylum country, and supporting conditions for repatriation in origin countries (UNHCR, 2016).

To be clear, before gaining official 'refugee' status, those waiting for their status to be confirmed are classed in international law as 'asylum-seekers', which means "someone whose request for sanctuary has yet to be processed" (UNHCR, 2014: 5). However, the UNHCR recognises that these people should benefit from the same protections as refugees, even though they have not yet formally received their refugee status. Furthermore, 'internally displaced people' are those who flee persecution but do not cross an international border, remaining instead within their own country. Internally displaced people might colloquially be called 'refugees', but they are not 'refugees' or 'asylum-seekers' in international law. In practice, asylum-seekers enter host countries by land, air, or sea. If they encounter formal authorities and register themselves on their point of entry into their host country, the state begins to assume responsibility for addressing their asylum case. In many European cases, refugees end up waiting for their asylum claim application outcomes in formal UNHCR refugee camps or formal UNHCR urban housing. These circumstances tend to fit the legal definitions provided above. However, asylum-seekers who do not encounter formal authorities on their point of entry can end up living in more dispersed, sometimes informal circumstances in urban centres, which makes the role of the state in governing and managing large numbers of refugees more difficult (Huq & Miraftab, 2020), and makes establishing the precise legal status of these forced migrants more challenging. Under international law, they may well be asylum-seekers, but in practice national legal systems treat them as 'irregular migrants' whose legal status as asylum-seekers is not yet recognised by the state, since they did not enter their host country via the formally recognised border crossing points. And yet, with the unprecedented number of displaced people arriving at Europe's borders in 2015, European states were overwhelmed and found themselves incapable of managing the high influx, leading to many asylum-seekers being placed in refugee camps. According to UNHCR (UNHCR2023a), 'refugee camps' are defined as "temporary facilities built to provide immediate protection and assistance to people who have been forced to flee their homes due to war, persecution or violence. While camps are not established to provide permanent solutions, they offer a safe haven for refugees and meet their

most basic needs such as food, water, shelter, medical treatment and other basic services during emergencies." When the encampment becomes long-term, UNHCR specifies that "the services provided in camps are expanded to include educational and livelihood opportunities as well as materials to build more permanent homes to help people rebuild their lives. These services are also offered to host communities." This thesis is a study of two refugee camps involving longer-term displacement in Greece in the aftermath of the period that has widely come be referred to as the so-called European 'refugee crisis'[2].

1.1.2 The European 'refugee crisis': 2015-2017

The UNHCR (2018a: 13) declared 20 million refugees under its mandate in 2017, with the number steadily increasing for the sixth consecutive year, seeing a 2.9 million people increase from 2016. As of 2018, the civil war in the Syrian Arab Republic remained the largest single factor causing displacement, with 6.3 million people forced to flee – this figure constituted a third of the then total refugee population (UNHCR, 2018a: 14). In 2017, the majority of the Syrian displaced population was hosted by Turkey (3,424,200 people), but there were also large displaced Syrian populations in Lebanon (992,100), Jordan (653,000) and Germany (496,700) (UNHCR, 2018a: 14). The UNHCR has declared the Syrian refugee crisis a protracted situation, which they define as, "one in which 25,000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been in exile for five consecutive years or more in a given asylum country" (UNHCR, 2018a: 22). Whilst for many host nationals and politicians the preferred solution to refugee displacement is repatriation, the ongoing unsettled political situation in Syria renders this an unappealing prospect for many displaced Syrians. As a result, the need for durable resettlement and local integration solutions remains an important political concern in European host nations. Although the UNCHR submitted 75,200 refugees for resettlement in 2017, and half of this population was constituted by Syrian refugees, it remained the case that 94% of displaced Syrians remained in host countries and required durable solutions (UNHCR, 2018a).

By 2017, although intraregional migration was strong within the European Union, with 16 million European people living in an EU country that was not their country of origin,

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[2] However, many people, such as former UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon, have been sceptical about the degree to which the crisis is a matter of numbers, suggesting that it is instead an issue of failed solidarity (Pries, 2018: 1).

European attitudes towards non-EU migrants and refugees has proven to be ambivalent at best and fraught with Islamophobic sentiments at worst (World Migration Report, 2017). For example, in a 2015 survey, 56% of Europeans from 10 European countries exhibited xenophobic tendencies towards the Muslim migrants arriving at their borders, which is reflected in wider negative and contentious political discourse about refugees and migrants, particularly exacerbated by European economic challenges (World Migration Report, 2017).

In addition, many European states maintained a hostile stance towards refugees. Not only did many European states evade responsibility for offering asylum-seekers legal refugee status, but they also actively engaged in practices to deter refugees from entering their borders, such as the closing of the 'Balkan route'[3] and the construction of fences between the Macedonian and Greek border in 2016 (Stanojoska, 2019). Furthermore, there was an imbalance between the various European member states in terms of responsibilities to manage displaced people arriving into Europe in the first instance, due to the Dublin regulation which stipulates that asylum-seekers must apply for refugee status in the first European country they arrive in. This has meant that Greece was the country which bore the largest burden for absorbing refugees in 2015 as it is geographically the first point of entry for many people seeking asylum in Europe arriving by sea (Wilson, 2018).

From 2015 onwards, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other actors from civil society have attempted to compensate for what Pries calls the majority of EU member states' "organized non-responsibility" (2018: 2). Thus, there was a large influx of international individual volunteers and more formally organised groups of volunteers who arrived in the European countries that were points of first entry such as Greece, to offer aid to refugees at the borders, and help with practical and logistical issues, as well as to offer emergency aid (Chtouris and Miller 2017).

The Council of Europe, an international organisation separate from the European Union that aims to uphold human rights, democracy and the rule of law in Europe, and has been clearly dedicated to articulating European values. In 2008, it asserted its deep conviction "that it is our common responsibility to achieve a society where we can live together as equals in dignity" (Council of Europe, 2008: 5). Its 2008 White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue aimed to address

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[3] What came to be known as 'the Balkan route' is the informal paths taken by Syrian and other refugees in the early part of the European 'refugee crisis' from Turkey through Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Croatia and Serbia towards Western European countries.

the shortcomings of the two previous approaches to achieving their vision of European conviviality, namely, assimilationism and multiculturalism. As Wilson (2018: 29) explains, assimilationism is the view that all members of society should subscribe to the same set of values, regardless of personal cultural background, and multiculturalism is the view that members of different cultural communities are to be tolerated and treated with respect as members of different group blocks to enable social cohesion. Both of these outlooks proved problematic as they discursively framed European culture as a fixed entity and envisioned newly arriving people as belonging to cultures that are essentially distinct from European culture. To overcome this essentialist conception of culture, the 2008 White Paper provides a framework for intercultural integration according to which:

> "the intercultural approach offers a forward-looking model for managing cultural diversity. It proposes a conception based on individual human dignity (embracing our common humanity and common destiny). If there is a European identity to be realised, it will be based on shared fundamental values, respect for common heritage and cultural diversity as well as respect for the equal dignity of every individual." (Council of Europe, 2008: 4)

This approach affirms Europe's commitment to respecting both individuality and difference, with a focus on seeking transformative intercultural encounters through dialogue. And yet, in the context of the European 'refugee crisis', this vision for rich intercultural European integration seems to have been lost sight of by many of the European Union's member states' actions and a significant section of the European public's reactions to the reality of an influx of people seeking sanctuary from war. While for some the European 'refugee crisis' might be seen as a clear crisis caused by the numbers of refugees and concrete logistical challenges, for others it is a political or moral crisis which reveals the limits of European ideals in practice. As former United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, explains it, the European 'refugee crisis' is a crisis of failed solidarity towards refugees across Europe (Pries, 2018: 1). Instead of regarding the people arriving in Europe seeking sanctuary as a source of unique opportunity to enrich the European social fabric, many European states responded by engaging in bordering practices that aimed to keep refugees out of Europe. Wilson (2018: 11) thus notes: "Inevitably, over time a 'Europe without borders' has been turned more and more into a Europe of walls, displacing those desperate to flee towards the perilous crossing of the central Mediterranean and enclosing asylum-seekers in camps in indefinite limbo." These European states' responses seem to suggest that they do not regard incoming refugees as potential members of European society or as potentially belonging to the common European project. Rather, policies aimed at

reducing immigration and containing refugees in camps, often away from the gaze of the public, show that governments in charge of those European member states aimed to keep refugees at arm's length, or, at the very least, away from European nationals. Furthermore, as Wilson argues, race and religion play a crucial role in this context, since the crux of the issue at the centre of the so-called European 'refugee crisis' is a struggle with the question of European identity:

> "[T]o manage, within Europe and vis-à-vis the newcomers it attracts, the relationship between Europe's perceived (white, Christian) indigenous Self and the stigmatized Others (refugees and 'Muslims') who have come to comprise its 'folk devils', in the discourse of moral panics (Bauman, 2007: 43). Indeed, unless one were to assume that it would be either feasible or desirable to make a Canute-like attempt to stop the movement of people to its shores in a globalized world, then, as Bauböck and Tripkovic (2017: 1–2) affirm, 'The prospect of a persisting flow of refugees and migrants in the coming years makes integration a crucial issue for the future of Europe.'" (Wilson, 2018: 27-28).

1.1.3 The 'refugee crisis' in Greece

According to the UNHCR, 856,700 refugees arrived in Greece by sea in 2015, during the first wave of refugees arriving shortly after the outbreak of the most extensive fighting in Syria (UNHCR, 2018b). This figure of displaced people requiring international protection in Greece was significantly higher than the number of refugees received by other European member states, such as the 153,800 refugees arriving in Italy in 2015 via sea, and the 16,300 refugees arriving in Spain via sea and land in 2015. In subsequent years, there were 176,800 refugees arriving by sea and land in Greece in 2016, and 35,400 refugees arriving in 2017. As of July 2018, there were 26,000 refugees who had arrived in Greece by sea and land in that year (UNHCR, 2018b). The majority of the refugees arriving in Greece are from Syria, however there are also refugees arriving from mainly Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Chad, amongst others (UNHCR, 2018b). The steady decline of reported refugees entering Europe through Greece and other European countries between 2015 and 2017 is at least partly due to the increased border restrictions implemented by European authorities to curb irregular migration coupled with a lack of action on behalf of the European member states to ensure legal and safe routes of entry for people seeking sanctuary (UNHCR, 2018b). The demographic breakdown of refugee arrivals between January and July 2018 is 36% children, 24% women and 40% men, indicating a high number of family groups (UNHCR, 2018b). Of the 5,750 Syrian refugees arriving in Greece between January

and July 2018, 93.9% were granted asylum in the EU region, as opposed to for example, only 54% of 3,450 refugees arriving from Iraq, the reason being that their country of origin is seen as a clear indicator of the legitimacy of the need for humanitarian aid (UNHCR, 2018b). The ESTIA programme (Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation) was set up by the UNHCR to support refugees' transition to urban accommodation that integrates refugees into normal urban life, and provides cash assistance for them (UNHCR ESTIA website, 2018d).

The Greek state's response towards the 'refugee crisis' has been mixed. Whilst Greece has received a large number of refugees, it remains a country that has faced an economic crisis and suffered austerity driven by the European Commission, and hence was not in a solid position to support the great influx of refugees (Wilson, 2018). However, the EU and the Greek state sought to to restrict access to Greek borders as a politically motivated attempt to manage the influx of people requiring state attention, such as through the EU-Turkey Agreement, in which the EU offered Turkey various financial and social incentives for its citizens if Turkey agreed to settle more refugees (Chtouris & Miller, 2017). This action had the desired effect of restricting the number of refugees crossing to Greece as the number of Syrians arriving per month to the Greek islands between March and May 2018 was 1000, and this figure dropped to 400 in June and 500 in July (UNHCR, 2018b). At the land border between Greece and Turkey, there have been reliable reports of the Greek authorities denying asylum claims and forcibly removing refugees and returning them to Turkey via the Evros River (UNHCR, 2018b). Decreasing arrival numbers are also due to the fact that the 'Balkan route' was closed in March 2016.

There has been a wave of public outcry, as well as media and academic literature lambasting the European Union for not mutualising the responsibility towards the refugee crisis arriving in Greece (Kousoulis et al., 2017; Evangelinidis, 2016; Abbasi et al., 2015; New York Times Editorial, 2015). For example, Evangelinidis (2016) contends that Greece has been unable to cope with the influx of refugees largely because the EU has been unsupportive. Furthermore, he partly blames the thousands of avoidable migrant deaths in the Mediterranean Sea on the EU and its incoherent immigration policy, its incapacity to protect its external borders and its unwillingness to comply with international laws protecting refugees' right to asylum. Even more troubling is the notion that the EU has indicated that it will treat Greece's debt more favourably if Greece plays its part in reducing the inflow of refugees into Europe (Evangelinidis, 2016). In 2012, an 11km fence had already been erected at the Greek-Turkish border and this has served to close Greece's northern border and to create a deportation station,

thus redirecting the inflow of refugees to the Greek islands instead of reducing refugee arrivals in Greece (Evangelinidis, 2016). In 2015, there was a European Commission meeting in which Greece agreed to increase its influx capacity to 50,000 people, so that refugees and migrants could remain in Greece and not move towards other European countries, thereby denying refugees free movement and restricting them to 'hot-spots', the most important of these are on the Greek islands of Lesvos, Chios and Samos. These policies have been widely criticised as producing spaces that resemble detention camps to monitor intense flows of migration, particularly through the use of the army (Kourachanis, 2018) than as safe places of sanctuary for people seeking international protection (Evangelinidis, 2016).

Local populations have also expressed concerns about the effects that these refugee camps have on tourism, a vital source of income for many on these Greek islands (Evangelinidis, 2016). Other studies demonstrate that the Greek 'refugee crisis' has resulted in an increase in the voting patterns of the Greek population towards the extreme right-wing party, Golden Dawn (Vasilakis, 2018). Although the Greek state has struggled with providing support for the masses of refugees arriving on the islands where there is not enough space, food and housing, the civilian population and NGOs have often filled the gap and transported refugees from the seashores into the cities (Evangelinidis, 2016). Cabot (2018) discusses how the refugee crisis in Greece has allowed for the emergence of 'humanitarian citizenship', which is a unique kind of citizenship based on helping people in whatever ways are possible. He argues that this emerged in Greece, a country whose citizens were recently brought to the limit of their abilities to participate in the conventional modes of citizenship due to the 2015 economic crisis.

The EU responded to Greece's plea for help to manage the overcrowded situation for refugees on the Greek islands by introducing an emergency relocation scheme, which enabled approximately 20,000 refugees to be relocated to other European states. However, this still left large numbers of refugees on the Greek islands. forced to apply for refugee status in Greece, and this even for refugees who had hoped that Greece would be just a transit country on their journey to resettlement (European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2019). The living conditions in the refugee camps on the islands were characterised by international media as 'inhumane'; as Wilson (2018: 14) highlights, "[a]s winter 2017 approached, *Der Spiegel* described the insanitary conditions on the overcrowded Lesbos camp as 'ground zero of European ignominy'." By 2019, in an attempt to alleviate the pressure on the islands, the Greek state had begun to relocate refugees to mainland Greece, where there were over 16,000 refugees living in 25 refugee camps in September 2018 (European Institute of the Mediterranean 2019).

Arguably, these refugee camps were not much of an improvement on the living conditions on the islands as they were located in remote areas, away from local populations, and they still saw refugees living in difficult circumstances, such as in overcrowded conditions, in tents rather than more stable accommodation, and with multiple families sharing the same spaces (European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2019).

1.1.4 Public Rhetoric About Refugees in Europe

Public rhetoric about refugees in Europe is an important issue to note, as it has an impact on democratic states, as well as impacting how citizens engage with refugees. The Council of Europe reports that European media coverage of the 'refugee crisis' shifted from being initially sympathetic and empathetic towards refugees in the summer and autumn of 2015, to a hostile stance shortly after, which continued to frame the subsequent European media narratives as the forced migration patterns continued to rise. The voices and perspectives of refugees themselves were largely absent from the reporting (Council of Europe, 2017: 3). Goodman et al. (2017: 107) outline the shifting public discourse explaining how the UK media described the influx of refugees into Europe first as the "Mediterranean migrant crisis", then the "Calais migrant crisis", then "Europe's migrant crisis", then "Refugee crisis", which has looped back to being the "migrant crisis". The over-use of the term 'migrants', though technically not misused – as it encompasses refugees – has a deleterious effect in public discourse, conjuring images of 'undeserving' migrants who have made a choice to move for self-interested reasons and who 'threaten' European jobs, and is far removed from the legal definitions (UNHCR, 2023). The term 'migrant' thus occludes the standing of asylum-seekers and refugees in international law and the dire circumstances in which people seeking refuge from violent war find themselves. Following terrorist attacks in Western Europe, media and political portrayals of refugees as potential terrorists has further occluded the legal standing of asylum-seekers and refugees (Goodman et al., 2017). Thus, the public narrative has gone from presenting refugees as an economic 'threat' (Crawley et al., 2016), to a security 'threat' (Goodman et al., 2017). This further positions refugees and settled Europeans citizens in a dichotomy of 'us' vs. 'them' – 'us': the 'safe' Europeans vs. 'them': the 'dangerous' refugees (Lynn & Lea, 2003). Counter speech has been developed in public fora with some media and political actors working to educate the public about migration rights and the plight of refugees. However, still others worry that even this more pro-refugee discourse, however well-intentioned, betrays a latent post-

colonial, Eurocentric hegemonic outlook where the agency of refugees is limited to seeking aid from Europeans, which ultimately occludes the full complex humanity of forced migrants in the name of moralistic humanitarian intervention (Chimni, 2009).

Similarly in the Greek context, the rhetoric surrounding the 'refugee crisis' has spanned from portraying refugees as 'helpless victims' in need of Greek support to portraying them as 'threats' that need to be contained. On the one hand, Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016) argue that the Greek media has illustrated refugees as people in desperate need, especially emphasising the inhumane living conditions for children. On the other hand, Serafis et al. (2020) suggest that there have been tendencies in the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* to portray the 'flow' of migrants into Greece as a metaphor for a 'natural disaster' like a flood of people overwhelming the country. Bosilkov & Drakaki (2018) contend that political affiliation plays a major role in determining the discourse used and that conservative mainstream papers such as *Kathimerini* tended to use the discourse of framing refugees as 'illegal' immigrants, whilst more left-wing papers tended to use the discourse of portraying refugees as 'victims' who suffered perilous journeys to reach Greece. Bosilkov and Drakaki (2018) further argue that there was a large emphasis in the Right wing Greek media on the impact that refugees were having as 'social intruders/burdens' on Greek civil society, and they imply that the Greek public was particularly preoccupied with the impact that large refugee influxes would have on the socio-cultural fabric of Greek society. Indeed, Kirtsoglou & Tsimouris (2018) explain that the Greek state is not as secular as most other European states, since the Greek Orthodox Church is intertwined with civic life and plays a crucial role in the Greek state's policies. Their study demonstrates that Greek public attitudes and state policies conceive of migrants "as racially, religiously and culturally differentiated subjects supposedly threatening to the cohesion of particular nations and of 'western' liberal values" (Kirtsoglou & Tsimouris, 2018: 1887). However, Triandafyllidou (2018) argues that left-wing public and media discourses uphold a moral dimension of the crisis and mirror the discourse of the European ideals of humanitarianism and solidarity, as opposed to right-wing discourses which reproduce refugees as 'threats' and 'risks' to Europe, reifying rigid, nationalistic identities that seek to divide rather than unify Europeans. In fact, the European Union, and Greece's role within it, is a central object of discursive concern that is put in direct connection with the refugee crisis. Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou (2018: 195) remark:

> "The topos of threat dominates the Greek press, while each of the newspapers under study shapes its arguments on the basis of its ideological mechanisms. The conservative

> *Kathimerini* underlines that the country is under the threat of isolation because of the governmental inefficacy. The populist newspaper *Proto Thema* cultivates a climate of fear and xenophobia, while portraying the EU as Greece's punisher and Tsipras as a defender of the nation. Finally, the left-oriented *Efimerida ton Syntakton* criticizes the EU for the refugee crisis."

Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou go on to explain that the reaction to refugee crisis in Greece is therefore structured around 'two antithetical poles', one that is pro-European and one that is anti-European. In both cases, the question of European solidarity, values and integration are placed at the centre of the public response to the refugee crisis. This is not wholly surprising, since the project of European integration was already the object of intense public scrutiny in Greece after the 2015 'Ochi' ('No') referendum on Greek sovereign debt and the Troika's (i.e. the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund) hard-line response to Greece's democratic refusal to obey European requirements to impose draconian austerity measures (Varoufakis, 2016). However, the refugee crisis brought even more clearly to the fore the central questions of European solidarity and European values.

1.2 Research Rationale

One way to move beyond the fraught politics of opposition in the context of the European 'refugee crisis' is to look to the promise of intercultural dialogue (more on this in section 2.2). The UNESCO survey on Intercultural Dialogue (2017) asserts that intercultural dialogue plays a crucial role in the integration of refugees and migrants into host societies. Though what exactly 'integration' means is far from clear. At some level of generality, this would seem to be a commitment which any responsible country would hopefully recognise as desirable for people who have been granted refugee status within their host nation. However, given the significant number of refugees currently encamped across the world and in Europe, the question arises of what responsible states see themselves as owing to refugees and asylum-seekers living inside refugee camps within their national border. Since refugee camps are often considered to be spaces of political exception for states acting on the basis of urgent and temporary decision-making, providing opportunities for intercultural interactions is not usually a priority for host nations. However, many refugee camps have, in fact, become protracted living situations. Given that these spaces are no longer merely temporary places but are becoming more permanent places that people end up calling 'home' for potentially many years at a time whilst awaiting the outcome of their asylum applications, the question of 'integration'

becomes more pressing. Thus, establishing which kinds of intercultural interactions are beneficial to refugee camp dwellers is an important area of inquiry. In many refugee camps, residents are often people of diverse cultural backgrounds and end up spending time in intercultural contact with people from different cultural backgrounds who operate international NGOs. This, minimally, presents opportunities for fostering beneficial intercultural interactions, and ideally, a culture of welcome and sanctuary. How this is to be achieved is a matter worthy of serious investigation.

It is to go some way towards helping in this that this study explores the processes of intercultural interactions within the space of refugee camps. It ultimately aims to explain how these intercultural interactions interplay with the processes of identity construction and the construction of a sense of home and belonging, as these are important aspects of life for people who have left their home and homeland behind for the sake of escaping war and persecution. My ultimate hope is that paying attention to the intercultural interactions that occur in the lives of refugee camp dwellers can help illuminate how we can more meaningfully realise the Council of Europe's vision of 'living together as equals in dignity'. Furthermore, this thesis consciously prioritises the perspectives and lived experiences of refugees, through an in-depth ethnographic study, so as to provide a rich and layered understanding of multiple voices, centring these as an integral part of the social fabric, worthy of consideration in their interactions with other refugees, NGO volunteers working within the refugee camps, and with host populations for the sake of better informing research and policymaking in this area. Therefore, the overarching research aim of this thesis is *to explore how encamped refugees in mainland Greece engage in intercultural interactions to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities, and how these intersect with processes of constructing a sense of home and belonging within the space(s) of refugee camps.*

At the intersection of the disciplines of Refugee Studies and Intercultural Studies, scholars have already contributed to our understanding of refugee integration into host societies (Lacroix & Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2013; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2013; Gidley, 2013; Kleist 2013; Nguyen 2013; Riber & Tur, 2013). However, intercultural research has not yet much sought to improve our understanding of the very processes of intercultural communication and intercultural dialogue *within refugee camps*. Moreover, though the field of Refugee Studies has paid much attention to refugee camps in the Greek islands, few studies have focused on the context of mainland Greece. This thesis therefore aims to help make sense of the experiences of refugee camp dwellers in mainland Greece by drawing on bodies of literature regarding the

social construction of space, home and belonging, identity and intercultural interactions, presenting an ethnographic study aiming to understand the everyday experiences of refugees and how they construct their identities through their intercultural interactions within these spaces and with international NGO volunteers and local Greek host populations. Another underlying motivation for engaging in this study is to seek respond to the call emitted by Hans Ladegaard and Alison Phipps (2020: 70) in their introduction to a special issue on social activism in *Language and Intercultural Communication* for intercultural studies to "recommit to a social justice agenda". Refugee camps appear to be one of the many salient sites where social injustice is most pronounced. This thesis thus aims to help us better understand the lives of displaced camp-dwelling people and how host nations and civil society actors might be able to respond to forced migration more effectively and sensitively. This study seeks to contribute to documenting refugees' experiences and to help combat the negative stereotypes produced and reproduced in the public domain. This thesis might not lead to findings that can directly impact on policy, but the hope is that the understanding it generates can be the basis for improved policymaking as much as for helping formulate a counter-narrative.

In this vein, I intend for this study to constitute a form of engaged anthropology, which "does not itself *speak for* (advocate), but *speaks with* by helping to amplify the voices of the vulnerable, marginalized, and silenced through the co-construction of knowledge about problems affecting the study community" (Maida & Beck, 2015: 7). Throughout this research project, I have endeavoured to weave the tasks of bearing witness to a group of people's experiences in a specific moment in time, and of taking an active political stance of seeking social justice, conscious of the fact that an engaged anthropologist "cannot avoid "seeing" and providing critical social assessment of inequality and power as central world-shaping forces" (Singer, 2015: 145). I understand this 'seeing' as involving both a robust ethnographic account but also a recognition that 'seeing' is a political act which involves critical reflection and action on behalf of the researcher to think about the ways that 'seeing' shapes and reshapes the social world. Throughout this research project, I have engaged in volunteer work, becoming in many ways part of the study community, or as Ingold puts it, 'being' with people:

> "The paradox of the armchair is that in order to know one can no longer be in the world of which one seeks knowledge. But anthropology's solution, to ground knowing in being, in the world rather than the armchair, means that any study of human beings must also be a study with them" (Ingold, 2011: 239).

1.2.1 Ethnographic Research and Personal Motivation

Throughout this study, I have employed an ethnographic research approach and adopted an 'emic' or 'insider' approach (Fetterman, 1998), since the ethnographic method demands a slow and detailed mode of inquiry which allows for subtly understanding the refugee camp community members' perspectives and the rich, multi-layered experiences that create meaning, identities, and a sense of belonging. Moreover, I was driven by a double motivation: on the one hand, I wanted to see if I could practically help people in need in a country which I, in a sense, come from; and on the other hand, I wanted to undertake an ethnography as part of a philosophical and scholarly commitment to engage in research processes that are by their very definition concerned with horizontal equality, inclusion, and deep respect for research participants. As Shah (2017: 56) remarks, ethnography is "deeply democratic through its very premises, that requires, even forces, one to throw away one's assumptions about the world and seeks to understand social life anew through our engagement with distant others and their social relations". In other words, the entire ethnographic research process has demanded that I, as a researcher, engage empathetically with others and make use of self-reflexivity to acknowledge my own limitations and socio-cultural baggage. Furthermore, however imperfectly, I sought to make actual my commitment to putting into practice the processes of intercultural dialogue throughout the entire research process, from design to fieldwork, to data analysis and synthesis, and to research dissemination.

On a personal level, I was highly motivated to engage in this particular ethnographic research project because of my own positionality, as my own identity overlaps with and is at the intersection of the communities living in and around the refugee camps in which I conducted my fieldwork. As I mentioned at the outset of this thesis, I am the daughter, niece, and granddaughter of Greek Cypriot refugees internally displaced by war. I am also an immigrant and the descendent of two generations of immigrants. I am nevertheless Greek – by language, by ethnicity, by culture, and, in a distinctly Christian Orthodox sense, by faith. I therefore had something in common with refugees living in the camps, NGO volunteers, and the host population surrounding the camps. Although a more detailed account of the complexities involved in data collection regarding my positionality can be found in Chapter 4, I would like to foreground the importance of researcher positionality at this stage, as it is a crucial aspect of anthropological work. Throughout my study, I often occupied various positions in light of various aspects of my identity, and this involved placing my trust in the process of ethnography itself rather than in my own sense of belonging, self-efficacy or

competence. I had to learn to continually flow in and out of relationships and social roles that ended up placing me in unexpected situations. This felt, at times, overwhelming. At other times, I could glimpse how serendipitous connections were perhaps facilitated by my continual evolution within the Heraclitan flux of the perpetually new. Behar captures this sense of anthropological bewilderment when she writes:

> "For me, anthropology is about embarking on just such a voyage through a long tunnel. Always, as an anthropologist, you go elsewhere, but the voyage is never simply about making a trip to a Spanish village of thick-walled adobe houses in the Cantabrian Mountains, or a garden apartment in Detroit where the planes circle despondently overhead, or a port city of cracking pink columns and impossible hopes known as La Habana, where they tell me I was born. Loss, mourning, the longing for memory, the desire to enter into the world around you and having no idea how to do it, the fear of observing too coldly or too distractedly or too raggedly, the rage of cowardice, the insight that is always arriving late, as defiant hindsight, a sense of the utter uselessness of writing anything and yet the burning desire to write something, are the stopping places along the way. At the end of the voyage, if you are lucky, you catch a glimpse of a lighthouse, and you are grateful. Life, after all, is bountiful." (Behar, 1996: 2-3)

The following thesis is thus my best attempt to 'write something', even though it often felt as though my presence was, ultimately, 'utterly useless' in the face of the challenges other people were facing. And yet, still, this thesis exists because of a recognition that stories matter and that 'being there' (Ingold, 2011) counts for something.

1.2.2 Fieldwork Context Overview

As is often the case with this kind of research, the fieldwork which forms the basis of this study was largely shaped as much by design as by practical considerations and constraints. Motivated by the academic project I have set out so far, I began contacting various governmental authorities and non-governmental organisations to seek access to researching within Greek refugee camps. However, unsurprisingly, the national and international organisations that were working in longer-term refugee camp situations proved unwilling or unable to grant me researcher access. Luckily, through my social network, I was informed of a small NGO that had the relevant authorisations and would be open to my joining them and conducting my research with them, in return for my volunteering efforts over some months. This NGO has been given the pseudonym 'Busy Bee' for the purposes of this thesis. It is comprised of European (mostly Western, but also Central) and North American leadership team members and volunteers, operating within a few refugee camps in mainland Greece.

Again, for the purposes of this thesis, I have given the main city that Busy Bee operates in the pseudonym of 'Artemopolis', and the two refugee camps that they worked in during my fieldwork period the pseudonyms of 'Minoan camp' and 'Dorian camp'. Busy Bee provides educational activities for refugees, seeking to fill the gap left by the Greek state (see section 1.1.3).

Busy Bee was originally created by a group of four "international solidarians", who came from Europe as concerned individuals to work in conjunction with national and international associations from the beginning of the first wave of refugees arriving in mainland Greece in 2016 (Witcher, 2022: 1689), but who later decided that they needed to set up an official NGO to continue to legally operate effectively within the refugee camps. After a period of written correspondence and two interviews in which I made clear what my research methods and aims would be and the code of ethics I would abide by, I was invited to join Busy Bee as a volunteer. I thus volunteered with Busy Bee for a period of 5 months, between October 2019 and February 2020, as a Greek language teacher for refugee children, aged eight to sixteen, inside two refugee camps, and as a youth activity programme leader. I conducted my research in conjunction with my volunteering activities.

1.2.3 Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 explores the intersection between intercultural communication, language(s), and processes of identity construction. Chapter 3 provides a conceptual understanding of space(s) and place(s) in refugee camps, a conceptual understanding of 'home' and 'belonging' within displacement, and concludes by outlining my conceptual framework which synthesises key concepts from Chapters 2 and 3, ending by presenting my research questions. Chapter 4 presents my methodological approach, outlining the research design, research context, processes of data collection and analysis, my positionality as a researcher, and ethical considerations. Chapter 5 is the first empirical chapter of the thesis and provides an understanding of how refugees and NGO volunteers (in interaction with Greek locals and authorities) construct the space(s) and place(s) Minoan and Dorian refugee camps. Chapter 6 is the second empirical chapter of this thesis and provides an understanding of how refugees (in interaction with NGO volunteers, Greek locals and authorities) construct a sense 'home' within the liminal space of the camp. Chapter 7 is the final empirical chapter of the thesis and provides an understanding of how refugees and NGO

volunteers (in interaction with Greek locals and authorities) construct a sense of belonging within the liminal space of the camp. Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter of the thesis and it provides a discussion of the key findings, it outlines the thesis's research contributions, and details my own personal reflections on the research process, and concludes by suggesting avenues for future research.

Chapter 2: Understanding the Intersection Between Intercultural Communication, Language(s), and Identity Construction

2.1 Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapter, refugee camps are spaces of complexity where people face multiple difficulties ranging from trauma (arising from conflict and the loss of family and friends), insecurity, uncertainty, and forced encampment. However, within this extremely challenging context, where people are waiting, often grieving, and feeling isolated, there is also some relief at having successfully fled, at least for the time being, from more immediate sources of danger. People are trying to forge a new life despite the challenges they face in their quotidian lives within the camp. This involves navigating daily intercultural contact with members from different cultural groups; other refugees, NGO volunteers, host populations and authorities. In this regard, refugee camps are inherently intercultural spaces, and a refugee camp context offers a unique environment for understanding processes of communication between people who potentially speak different languages, have had different life experiences, and hold differing values and beliefs. Although these differences may cause difficulties, they may also present opportunities for 'intercultural dialogue' (Council of Europe, 2008), 'intercultural learning' (Harvey, 2016; Bennett, 2009) and perhaps even personal and collective transformation through 'languaging' and 'intercultural being' (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004) for people engaging in intercultural encounters within the space of the camp. These ideas will be explored in further detail throughout this chapter and are all intricately connected to questions of language(s), power and identity. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to explore the relationship between intercultural communication, language(s) and processes of identity construction.

This chapter demonstrates how a social constructionist perspective towards intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Burr, 2003; Piller, 2011) and identity construction (Jenkins, 2008) is an apt framework for understanding how refugees are able to make sense of themselves and others during displacement. This perspective recognises that our understanding and our experience of the world is crafted through "a continuous process of generating meaning together" (Gergen, 1999: 49). In the context of a refugee camp, people

achieve this through a dynamic (re)negotiation of their identities as a result of their social interactions with others - via language (verbal and non-verbal) - within their new environments. I align myself with a non-essentialist approach to understanding intercultural communication and 'culture' itself and identity, regarding cultures and identities as fluid and dynamic, created through an iterative process of meaning-making, which can be (re)negotiated in new contexts. Indeed, as Woodin (2018: 31) suggests, "[i]ntercultural communication at its core involves interaction between or among individuals or groups who consider themselves different, could be considered different in some way, or make difference relevant in some way during their interactions". Inherent in this definition is a notion that intercultural communication is a social practice, that 'difference' marks aspects of cultural identities, and that therefore questions of identity are inextricably linked to the processes of creating meaning within and through intercultural interactions. By layering the facets of 'difference', Woodin suggests that processes of identification are highly relevant in understanding intercultural encounters, because individuals and/or groups are either representing themselves as 'different' to their interlocutors, or their interlocutors are ascribing 'difference' to them.

Embedded within this understanding of intercultural communication is also a recognition that power dynamics play a significant role in the question of who gets to ascribe or claim identities: the distinction between "how others see us (ascribed or imposed identities) and how we see ourselves (assumed or achieved identities)" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 92) within various contexts (this will be discussed in further detail in section 2.4). It also pertains to questions of who gets to determine the kinds of 'difference' that matter (i.e. the dimensions of culture that are deemed to be at stake, salient, or relevant in the intercultural interaction) involve power differentials.

Within this framework, language and languages play a crucial role in processes of cultural meaning-making. Language is not considered a bounded entity but rather as dynamic, flexible and multiple (Weber & Horner, 2012) and is understood both as the languages that we speak in linguistic communities and the medium through which we articulate our own private and collective experiences into discourses that mediate our inner (how we feel our sense of self) and outer (how we present ourselves as well as how they are seen by others) identities. In line with this framework, I understand culture and identity to be mutually co-constitutive, as people both (re)negotiate and (re)produce individual and social identities, which then form parts of cultural group memberships. In turn, these influence the way people perceive themselves and their social realities.

This chapter will thus explore the intersection between intercultural communication and identity construction and the role that language(s) play within these processes, whilst considering the possible implications of these for intercultural encounters within refugee camps. Since the concepts and practices of intercultural communication, identity and language(s), in this context, are enmeshed and interrelated, the structure of this chapter is going to explore the concept of intercultural communication in section 2.2, the role of language(s) in section 2.3 and identity construction in 2.4, but only in the sense that each section will centre the relevant concept within the wider constellation of the intercultural communication, language(s), identity construction nexus, and then a concluding discussion in 2.5.

2.2 Intercultural Communication

The concept of 'intercultural communication' is contested and has considerably broadened and changed over time. To begin with, it encompasses the terms 'culture', 'communication' and 'inter', which can be usefully unpacked in further detail. The definition of 'culture', like 'intercultural communication', is complex, highly contested, and has significantly evolved. Early articulations of culture include observable aspects of society, such as food or fashion as well as more intangible elements such as beliefs, values and traditions (Ting-Toomey, 1999). These suggest that culture is something that we can know about and learn, like a set of beliefs or practices, which can be shared and transmitted from one generation to another (Goodenough, 1957), or some set of distinct habituated behaviours or thought patterns (Robinson, 1985) which members of a particular cultural group share. However, this conception of culture has been criticised for being essentialist and restrictive, assuming that culture is something fixed, or something that we can possess; especially as it has often been used to justify equating particular national identities with corresponding sets of distinctive beliefs and behaviours. For example, Hofstede (1984) suggests that individuals from a certain country will behave in specific ways when encountering someone of a different culture and that understanding these patterns of beliefs and behaviours could help to facilitate smoother intercultural encounters.

This outlook towards culture has been academically subsumed by a less essentialist perspective which understands culture as something more dynamic, which evolves through social interactions as people engage in a symbolic joint process of ongoing meaning-making.

For example, note the evolution from Geertz' (1985: 3) definition of culture as "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men [sic] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life", to a more radical definition articulated by Street (1993: 25), who conceives of culture as an action: "Culture is an active process of meaning making and contest over definition, including its own definition […] *Culture is a verb*." This does not mean that current understandings of culture reject the notion that talk of culture includes norms, beliefs and traditions, but rather that these are not necessarily inherent attributes of cultural membership. Instead, this social constructionist approach notes that culture can be negotiated, contested, resisted, affirmed and reshaped through social interactions.

In parallel, academic understandings of 'communication' have also evolved from regarding it as a linear process of transmitting information from a sender to a receiver, to a more semiotic understanding of creating meaning iteratively through social interactions (Fiske, 2011 [1982]). For example, Rogers and Steinfatt (1999: 113) suggest that communication should be understood as "the process through which participants create and share information with one another as they move toward reaching mutual understanding". This motion towards mutual understanding underlines the meaning-making capacities of the participants in communication, as it is the product of dialogic efforts to express, understand and create meaning together. This is pertinent to culture because, as Hall's (1966) still relevant conceptualisation of culture posits, there is an unspoken language recognised by those who belong to the group as they understand symbols or unspoken rules and use their culture as a map which guides their reactions to other experiences in life. It is important to note that these concepts also have contested meanings across different languages; for example, a non-Western, Confucian perspective to communication places emphasis on the feeling of harmony during communication (Chen & Starosta, 1996).

Bringing the concepts of culture and communication together, at its most general, intercultural communication can be understood as communication between people from different cultural backgrounds in different contexts (Jandt, 2015). The notion begins as a Western concept with two contradictory agendas; on the one hand, the need for diplomacy in the wake of World War II and the Cold War, and on the other hand, a military interest (specifically from the USA) to gain an advantage over people in 'other' cultures (Piller, 2017: 27). Given our increasingly globalised world, intercultural communication expanded as an

interdisciplinary notion to be relevant to many other contexts such as for example, international business (Brislin & Yoshida, 1994), and educational contexts (Byram, 1997). Early conceptualisations of intercultural communication focused on a 'cross-cultural' communication model, and carried more essentialist connotations, aiming to study people of presupposed different and separate cultural groups interacting with one another, regarding 'cultures' as fixed, homogenous entities and that people who 'belonged' to these cultural groups would behave in certain expected ways which could be predicted and studied (Condon & Yousef, 1975; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Later 'intercultural communication' models involved focusing on the moments of potential misunderstanding within discourse through interactional intercultural encounters, without attributing these to 'national cultures' (Scollon & Scollon, 1980; Gumperz, 1982), thus shifting the study of intercultural communication towards critical discourse analysis and a focus on the context of the interactions, or as Sarangi (1994: 415) puts it, "[f]rom 'what is culture' to 'what we do with culture'".

These understandings led to more of a focus on interrogating the 'inter' involved in *inter*cultural communication, as it has to do with how meaning is generated through social interaction, regarding 'culture as a resource' that we draw on during intercultural encounters, rather than something fixed that we 'have' (Holliday et al., 2004). One view is that the 'inter' points to connecting across cultures and that this signals the creation of a kind of 'third culture' (Hall, 1959). This notion suggests that when people or groups interact, a 'third culture' emerges. This is a combination of aspects of each participant's own 'pre-existing cultural knowledge' (Geertz, 1973) which they bring to the interaction, as well as some new, hybrid dimension that is created as shared meaning and adopted, to varying degrees, by participants throughout and potentially extending to after the interaction. We can understand this idea further by using Gadamer's (1989) notion of 'fusing horizons', whereby each participant's horizons are their respective culture, and the fusion of the two becomes the 'third culture'. Bredella (2003: 40) also discusses the notion of reaching 'intercultural understanding' though "a 'third position' which transcends the two contexts and the two perspectives". This highlights that the goals of the understanding can vary between "emphasis on the reconstruction of the context of production and the inner perspective […] emphasis on the context of reception and the outer perspective when we want to find out whether we approve or disapprove of what we understand", and developing "a 'third position' which transcends the others' views and our own so that we can act together". However, the idea of a 'third culture' has recently been criticised as still betraying a hidden substrate of essentialism. Holliday (2013: 168) remarks

that "[a] key issue in intercultural studies […] is the degree to which it is possible for people to cross the line between different cultural realities" and yet, "[t]he established approach employs the concept of a third space, in which it is possible for intercultural travellers to negotiate their position with regard to the new culture, and hybridity, where someone at the same time maintains the attributes of their own culture, while taking on, in a limited way those of another" still "in effect, confine the individual within essentialist concepts of culture."

More recent conceptualisations of intercultural communication stress that the 'inter' is more of a messy constellation which ought to be more centrally placed in the study of intercultural communication, prioritising the relationship between people's intersubjectivities, places and times rather than only focusing on differences in culture (Dervin et al., 2012: 4). This expanded field of 'critical intercultural communication' re-examines intercultural communication through the lens of power and social change, focusing on wider contexts of socio-economic histories and political structures as playing a key role in shaping intercultural encounters (Halualani & Nakayama, 2010: 1). Here the 'inter' represents "temporarily useful spatial metaphors for re-thinking how culture involves contested sites of identification as opposed to others and the resulting political consequences" (Halualani & Nakayama, 2010: 17). They further suggest that, "[i]nterculturality as a metaphor and movement of power represents a form of articulation and communication that sutures into place as a homology the seemingly natural linkages between a place, group, and subjectivity" (Halualani & Nakayama: 17). Within this understanding also lies the notion that culture is 'a site of struggle' through which different groups of people strive within complex power struggles to assert collective identities (Hall, 1980; 1985). Furthermore, Cooks (2010: 120) contends that critical intercultural studies within the contexts of identity negotiation and 'home' for diasporic communities can increasingly be considered through the metaphor of a study of 'borderlands', where the boundaries for cultural group memberships are becoming more blurred and contested. Cooks highlights the value of a social constructionist approach to critical intercultural communication for understanding intercultural encounters in such contexts:

> "Communication and culture are viewed as socially constructed in these studies, and thus intercultural interaction is positioned as a dynamic field through which cultural discourses and identities are privileged, maintained, challenged, and so on. Important to this perspective is the prefix *inter-* as the connecting point of relational sense-making. In other words, difference and culture are both structural and relational, and words which locate self in-relation-to other are also located in this space at this time with a history both specific to the relationship and generalized to the language used to define and categorize self and other" (Cooks, 2010: 117-118).

Carrillo Rowe (2010) suggests that engaging in this type of intercultural communication involves a kind of surrendering of power; a willingness to concede a certain degree of power within our interactions, and perhaps even accept a certain degree of feeling comfortable in the powerlessness that is generated by not knowing how we could possibly be transformed by the encounter:

> "To engage an/other is to reach across the power lines that would separate us; it is to place ourselves vulnerably in the hands of an/other and strive to acknowledge the position of an/other. Of course, such a placing will always elude us as we are constrained by the limitations of experience, empathy, and the sedimented histories of benevolence that might animate such a gesture. Thus to engage in intercultural communication is to tread within the abyss of the inter; it is to place ourselves willingly in the 'ability of (not) knowing' (Davis, 2002: 155)" (Carrillo Rowe, 2010: 218).

Carillo Rowe (2010) refers to structural and historical inequalities that could shape our willingness to engage in intercultural communication, but also draws attention to the kinds of personal skills, capacities and a mindset which is required to engage in intercultural communication. These involve skills such as empathy, self-reflexivity and the willingness to see the world from our interlocutor's perspective, be humble to accept that we could be wrong or that our views could be expanded and allow a potential transformation to occur as a result of the exchange. These kinds of skills have been encapsulated by concepts such as 'mindful intercultural communication' (Ting-Toomey, 1999), placing an emphasis on self-reflexivity; 'intercultural competence' (Byram, 1997), highlighting sensitivity and an 'ethnorelativist mindset' (Bennett, 1993); and being an 'intercultural person' (Ryan, 2003), emphasising someone who embodies all these skills and is able to deftly navigate intercultural interactions. Advancing these kinds of thinking, scholars have proposed the notion of 'intercultural learning' which can be understood as "[a]cquiring increased awareness of subjective cultural context (world view), including one's own, and developing greater ability to interact sensitively and competently across cultural contexts as both an immediate and long-term effect of exchange" (Bennet, 2009: S2), and as "a relational perspective on the self and the other in which intercultural learning is a process of ideological becoming with the other, enacted in, with and through language" (Harvey, 2016: 368). These approaches conceptualise intercultural encounters as a process of personal transformation. Though these have been developed with the particular context of education in mind, they are also relevant to other contexts and can be useful for understanding intercultural encounters in a refugee camp context.

Theoretical and practical conceptualisations of intercultural communication have also affected international policy. For instance, they have informed the Council of Europe's White Paper (2008) *Living Together as Equals with Dignity* which saw the emergence of the notion of 'intercultural dialogue':

> "[I]ntercultural dialogue is understood as a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect. It requires the freedom and ability to express oneself, as well as the willingness and capacity to listen to the views of others. Intercultural dialogue contributes to political, social, cultural and economic integration and the cohesion of culturally diverse societies. It fosters equality, human dignity and a sense of common purpose. It aims to develop a deeper understanding of diverse world views and practices, to increase co-operation and participation (or the freedom to make choices), to allow personal growth and transformation, and to promote tolerance and respect for the other." (Council of Europe, 2008: 17)

Although this is an ideal towards which Europe expresses that they wish to strive for, scholars have pointed out the shortcomings of this vision. As Phipps (2014: 109-110) explains, this concept was subsequently used by international policy organisations such as UNESCO and The British Council as the cornerstone to achieving peace through dialogue. In fact, in 2012, the European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its commitment and work towards achieving long-lasting peace in Europe. And yet, this concept presents an overly idealistic vision of intercultural communication, based on core European values such as 'freedom', 'equality' and 'human dignity' which, as Phipps (2014: 110-111) argues, do not account for the reality of power complexities and inequalities of our global structures, or for the fact that in practice, the term 'Intercultural Dialogue' (capitalised to symbolise the irony) has become a somewhat hollow term that is used in international policy language to signal peace is being pursued, without addressing the underlying root causes that hinder intercultural dialogue from occurring in practice. Phipps further remarks: "Those engaging in Intercultural Dialogue are given the illusion of being part of a process of understanding when such activity merely keeps the present system, based on a belief in cultural difference and a clash of civilisations, firmly in place and further entrenched" (Phipps, 2014: 112). Moreover, whilst the Council of Europe heralds this notion of intercultural dialogue premised on human rights as the key to social and cultural cohesion in Europe, Phipps points out that that this ideal is not only far from being realised for many people on a daily basis in Europe, but it is also deeply at odds with the bordering practices that the European Union has engaged in to prevent migrants from settling

in Europe (Phipps, 2014: 111). It is worth noting that this critique was written in 2014, and the irony only becomes more profound as the so called European 'refugee crisis' began to unfold in 2015. More recent reports from UNESCO have now recognised the need to rethink the approach, scope and reach of intercultural dialogue, acknowledging that intercultural dialogue is "too often isolated from broader programming focused on building peace and security, meaning that ICD is insufficiently applied to the situations where it is needed most: long-term and far reaching challenges to do with inequality, climate change and forced displacement, to name a few" (UNESCO, 2020: 17).

In order to understand processes of intercultural communication in practice, there is a need to recognise that what is at stake when exploring the 'inter' are inevitably aspects of our identities that are being called into question through intercultural interactions. The social negotiation of these aspects of culture is arguably what people are doing when they engage in intercultural communication, or in other words, when they are 'doing interculturality' – i.e. "how do we do cultural and linguistic identifications?" (Woodin, 2018: 47). Machart (2013: 2) explains that interculturality means not only focusing on understanding "'cultural' differences but expanding to gender, occupation, social class, etc. and the way identity is created through the interaction of two (or more) individuals". In order to investigate these kinds of intercultural interactions in practice, Holliday (2013) proposes a 'grammar of culture' (see Figure 1 below) which maps out the different dimensions of culture being negotiated within and through intercultural interactions.
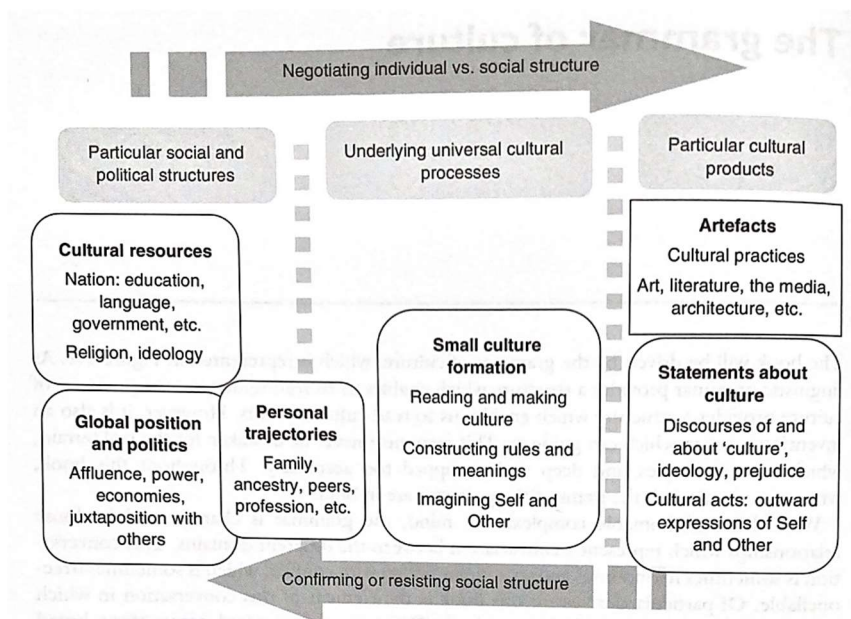
Figure 1: 'The grammar of culture' (Source: Holliday, 2013: 2).

To understand Holliday's 'grammar of culture', it is important to start by explaining that it aims to explicate both how cultures are shaped by social structures (e.g., norms, institutions, organisations, political structures), and how people participating in cultural practices in turn can express agency to shape these social structures. Holliday suggests that we are regularly navigating and renegotiating the particular and social structures of our daily lives by drawing on our 'cultural resources' – that is, aspects of our socio-cultural background and how we position ourselves in relation to the rest of the world – which are resources in the sense that they can be tools we use and that they inform the ways we interact with others. However, these resources are not fixed entities that entirely determine the content of our thoughts and actions (Holliday, 2013: 2), rather they shape the context in which we can express our agency. 'Personal trajectories' denotes our individual journeys through society, which closely linked to 'global position and politics', but also involves our personal histories, the wider socio-cultural context in which we evolve. This dimension of the grammar of culture partly belongs to the realm of 'underlying universal cultural processes' that Holliday (2013: 3) argues all people engage in and share by virtue of being human – social creatures, who are regularly (re)negotiating belonging to various cultural groups. Furthermore, Holliday contends that we are constantly engaging in 'small culture formation' within our social interactions, which can occur on a micro-scale anywhere we go and involves the ways we make meanings and understand our identities.

In addition, Baynham (2015: 73) argues that identity is central to understanding these processes of 'small culture formation' and 'underlying universal cultural processes' as we all have 'brought along' identities, which are the aspects of our cultural resources that we bring to any intercultural encounter and influence how we navigate that interaction, and 'brought about' identities, which implies the performative nature of identity that is (re)produced in discourse. Creating 'brought about' identities is what we do when we engage in 'small culture formation'. We can thus trace the 'particular cultural products' that are the result of social interactions, such as the 'artefacts' or 'discourses' that we produce which signify culture and represent the way that we outwardly understand ourselves and others (Holliday, 2013: 3). Finally, the arrows framing the figure at the top and the bottom of Figure 1 indicate the processes in which we engage during intercultural communication, as they indicate the possibility of negotiation, affirmation or struggle with and against the social structures that the individual partakes in via the process of identification. Holliday ultimately explains the result of these practices thus:

"Moving from left to right […] personal trajectories and underlying universal cultural processes enable individuals or groups of individuals to introduce their personal cultural realities into existing structures. Moving from right to left […] the degree to which this can be successful will depend on how far existing structures are confirmed or resisted" (Holliday, 2013: 4).

Holliday's conceptual framework's emphasis on processes underscores the important role that power dynamics play in shaping cultural identity negotiation within and through intercultural interactions.

This conceptual framework of intercultural communication and cultural identity negotiation can be considered within the context of forced displacement to shed some light on the processes of identity construction that refugees engage in within refugee camps whilst interacting with other refugees, authorities and the state which regulate so many aspects of their lives, and with surrounding locals whilst they live in refugee camps. Investigating these kinds of intercultural interactions in depth and on a micro-scale, from the perspectives of refugees, could help shed some light on how refugees conceive of themselves in a new cultural context. This perception of self will be linked to their recent experiences having undertaken complex journeys to arrive in their host countries, developing a potential range of attitudes towards their new host countries, towards remaining to resettle or wishing to continue onwards to other countries, and to what extent they are able to assert their own cultural group memberships within the daily intercultural contexts that they face. This would help to create a deeper understanding of their relationships to the local populations, and potential perspectives on cultural processes of confirmation, affirmation or resistance of the social structures animating these contexts. Furthermore, examining these from the perspective of authorities and locals could also potentially shed some light on the reception that refugees experience, as well as the degree to which locals are willing and able to engage in cultural group membership (re)negotiation. Moreover, refugee camps are also places where international NGO volunteers are often present, and examining refugees' intercultural interactions with NGO volunteers, who may not necessarily be part of local cultural networks, could also be helpful in understanding how volunteers may influence or mediate these intercultural interactions to potentially assist or impede cultural group membership and small culture formation. Whilst an in-depth focus on each of these actors would be a valuable study for understanding cultural group memberships and have important implications for realising the vision of 'living together as equals' and 'personal growth and transformation' as outlined in the Council of Europe's vision of intercultural dialogue, exploring all of these avenues of research is too broad and spans beyond

the scope of this study. This thesis will prioritise the perspective of encamped refugees, whilst also exploring NGO volunteers' experiences, and will only incorporate second-hand accounts of refugees' and NGO volunteers' experiences of intercultural interactions with locals, as well as my own experiences. In order to engage in such intercultural interactions, language is required as the medium through which humans communicate (Tomlinson, 1999), which includes both verbal and non-verbal communication (Argyle, 1975), and thus, the next section will turn to a discussion on the role of language(s) within intercultural communication, to understand how these processes unfold in practice.

2.3 The Role of Language(s)

According to Kramsch (1998: 3 – emphasis in original), the nexus of language and culture can be understood in three co-existing ways: "*language expresses cultural reality*" since humans use language to communicate with others and convey their thoughts; "*language embodies cultural reality*" since humans use language to create their experience of the world and give meaning to it via the medium of communication they enact, incorporating verbal and non-verbal language; and "*language symbolizes cultural reality*" since language is a system of signs that symbolise what humans attach cultural value to and use to represent their identities. Examining discursive contexts within social interactions can reveal how people experience, construct and express their sense of identities and cultural group memberships. This involves paying attention to the important distinction between 'multiple languages in the plural', as in the languages that we speak (e.g. Arabic, English, etc.), and 'language in the abstract', as in the discourse (speech) that people produce and use to express their identities (Byram, 2013: 45).

To begin with, as Thurlow (2010: 231) explains, "speaking another person's language is no guarantee of mutual understanding and respect", since knowing the same vocabulary does not necessarily mean that two participants in an interaction are attaching the same cultural significance to words, or even, in the case of intercultural communication, are willing to renegotiate their symbolic understanding of the signs of language to reach mutual understanding. For people who speak multiple languages, choosing to speak in any given language within a particular context is an act of positioning oneself in relation to the other, and is also inevitably an act of identity-formation:

"Choices of language in multilingual societies (as, for example, are described by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller) are acts of identity – and via these choices a process takes place that metaphorically can be described as a negotiation between various possible positions, but which have also been referred to as a struggle. The power relations that will always exist in the networks are reproduced and reshaped by the individuals and the other social actors via interaction; in this way, the use of certain languages or language varieties gain ground at the expense of others." (Risager, 2006: 91)

The choice to speak in one language at any given moment over another can also reveal something about a speaker's language ideologies, "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979: 193), which therefore, as Weber and Horner (2012: 16) argue, can have normative power and "tend to be imbued with vested interests and can play a role in group membership, boundary negotiation, as well as social inclusion and exclusion." Therefore, within contexts of intercultural interactions, the choices that speakers make to express themselves in one language over any other possibilities they have within their linguistic repertoires, can have related implications about how they claim and ascribe identities to other speakers (Weber & Horner, 2012) (more detail on identification processes below in section 2.4), which can be entangled with their beliefs about how these cultural group memberships relate to the languages that group members speak. Furthermore, people may choose to engage in code-switching within conversation, meaning that they alternate between using two or more languages within a sentence or block of speech (Baker, 2011: 107), and this also signals the dynamic form of identity construction that can occur within intercultural interactions, as speakers may choose to identify themselves with a various range of cultural groups throughout the interaction.

In contexts of people learning a 'new' language in the case of global migration, Risager (2006) argues that a complex process of linguistic rearticulation occurs, where people "gain access to other linguistic networks that they can combine with those they already participate in" (Risager, 2006: 91), and this is intricately entwined with self-identity:

"When speakers of the first language emigrate, they naturally take their mother tongue with them. But it is not precisely 'language' we are dealing with here but their highly distinctive ways of using the language – their idiolects. They migrate with the special linguistic resources they have developed in the course of their youth: their oral and possibly written resources – productive and receptive. They also take with them the paralanguage and kinesics that they have internalised in the course of their youth – to a great extent unconscious and important part of their personal identity. They take with them their particular form of private and inner speech. These idiolects develop in the

new context, in the partially new networks. They come into contact with other languages, by the individuals involved acquiring a new language that perhaps influences 'the old one'." (Risager, 2006: 93)

This therefore points to the fact that the boundaries of what is considered 'a specific language' (e.g. Arabic, English, etc.) are porous, and regularly being adapted by people through social interactions. Risager remarks that in order to understand the relationship between language and culture, we must commit to the idea that a language system is not homogenous and static, and that culture is created in and through "the discursive construction of the language system" (Risager, 2006: 107). Thus, migrants' mobilities means that the particular idiolects spoken by those who migrate, and hence, the language itself (e.g., Arabic, English, etc.) becomes more diverse over time as each person's stamp of their way of speaking and interpreting this language changes and comes into contact with new people in new intercultural interactions, also in turn, affecting them and their use of language(s).

Scholars have proposed various terms to articulate the dynamic process of learning, speaking, and adapting languages. For example, the concept of 'translanguaging' was coined by Williams (1994) in relation to plans about language delivery within classroom contexts, where two languages are systematically used. This teaching method has come to be known as a way of allowing students to learn and digest information in both (or more) of their languages and "[a]s a conceptual framework, translanguaging and related ideas promote a positive view of bilingualism, permitting bilinguals to act naturally, using language as they do at home and in their communities" (MacSwan, 2017: 171). This concept has been expanded beyond use in educational contexts, to include general speaking practices:

> "Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire" (García & Wei, 2014: 22).

For example, in a study conducted by Hawker (2013: 80) in Shuafat refugee camp in Israel, translanguaging is evident through young Palestinian refugees' practices of using adapted Hebrew words to signal local belonging to a 'cool in-group' and resist dominant language ideologies of Hebrew being associated with oppression. Moreover, Phipps and Gonzalez (2004: xv) articulate the process of learning languages as a kind of inhabiting a new world within oneself; as a type of inner transformation:

"Languages are more than skills; they are the medium through which communities of people engage with, make sense of and shape the world. Through language they become active agents in creating their human environment; this process is what we call *languaging*. Languaging is a life skill. It is inextricably interwoven with social experience – living in society and it develops and changes constantly as that experience evolves and changes. The student of a language other than their own can be given an extraordinary opportunity to enter the languaging of others, to understand the complexity of the experience of others to enrich their own. *To enter other cultures is to re-enter one's own*, understand the better the supercomplex variety of human experience (Barnett, 2000), and become more deeply human as a result. This purpose is incontestably profound, humane and educative; its 'profit' is existential, personal, social, and the 'return' on what is given or exchanged with other cultures and languages is immense. In these terms, the consequence of the study of modern languages can be the evolution of what we term *intercultural being* – the understanding of the varied and multiple reality of which we are part" (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004: 2-3 – emphasis in original).

Although they also write about modern languages in the context of higher education, their concepts of '*languaging*' and '*intercultural being*' can be applied to other language learning contexts and incorporate a similar ethos to critical intercultural communication approaches (Harvey, 2016; Carrillo Rowe, 2010). Phipps and Gonzalez contend that to reach intercultural being demands more than just leaning new technical skills; it requires a personal commitment to empathy, self-reflection and risk, which sow the seeds for being able to understand ourselves as well as the supercomplexity of our world and is a vehicle for social justice. The capacity for, and willingness to engage in, languaging and intercultural being becomes extremely important in contexts of acute inequality. Within refugee camps, this is true for both refugees who need to be able to use language in order to make sense of their new circumstances, and for NGO volunteers, locals, and camp authorities who are working with refugees. Evidently, the issue of choice rises to the fore here, since these scholars write about a context where people choose to engage in language learning. In refugee camps, however, people may be forced to speak languages to survive, and might have the desire to engage in languaging but not have access to such opportunities. And yet, any attempts from these actors to learn each other's languages, and to 'enter each others 'cultures', and be willing to engage in open exchange, despite the obvious difficulties that are coupled with such contexts, could potentially lead to a transformational experience.

In terms of investigating these kinds of occasions, amongst others, in practice, Scollon and Scollon (2001: 538) suggest, we can conceive of intercultural communication as the practice of how people communicate their identities through language, which they call 'interdiscourse communication'. They understand 'discourse' in the Foucauldian (1973) sense,

termed 'Discourses' by Gee (1996) to express ways of constructing horizons of experience. Gee, for example, writes:

> "A Discourse with a capital "D" is composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and often, too, writing/reading coupled with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing, with other people and with various objects, tools, and technologies, so as to enact specific socially recognizable identities engaged in specific socially recognizable activities" (Gee, 1996: 155).

In other words, Discourses are 'more than language' – they are both the linguistic means by which identities and ways of seeing the world are constructed, and the social enactment of these identities through practices. Gee explains that a Discourse "can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful 'role', or to signal that one is filling a social niche in a distinctively recognizable fashion" (Gee, 1996: 161). In this sense, Discourses are both structures and resources: they express macro-level entrenched political structures and are also tools used by social actors to establish who they are and what it is legitimate for them to do and wish for in relation to others given these structures, which they may resist and alter in micro-contexts. Therefore, social practices and discourses are mutually constitutive (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Scollon and Scollon (2001: 538) claim that "social practices are understood as being constituted in and through discursive social interaction, while at the same time those social interactions are taken as instantiations of pre-existing social practices. It is maintained that we become who we are through discourse and social interaction, at the same time providing evidence of previous patterns of formative discursive social interaction." Scollon and Scollon further elaborate:

> "We take the position that in any instance of actual communication we are multiply positioned within an indefinite number of Discourses (in the Gee sense) or within what we have called discourse systems. These discourse systems would include those of gender, generation, profession, corporate or institutional placement, regional, ethnic, and other possible identities. As each of these discourse systems is manifested in a complex network of forms of discourse, face relationships, socialization patterns and ideologies, this multiple membership and identity produces simultaneous internal (to the person) and external contradictions." (Scollon and Scollon, 2001: 544)

Therefore, identities are constrained, shaped by, and expressed through and with Discourses. These ascriptions can come from various social actors, and within the context of forced migration, the role of authorities in ascribing identities, for example the identity of 'refugee' itself, can have a huge impact on how people conceive of themselves within refugee camps.

Scollon and Scollon further argue that "it is as important a research problem to come to understand how a particular person in a particular action comes to claim, say, a generational identity over against the other multiple identities also contradictorily present in his or her own habitus (Bourdieu 1977, 1990) as it is to try to come to understand any two individuals as positioned as culturally or ethnically different from each other" (Scollon and Scollon, 2001: 544). This interdiscursive approach to intercultural communication does not presuppose the priority of one identity over any other; rather, there is a focus on understanding why people choose certain Discourses over others in intercultural interactions, asking "how and under what circumstances concepts such as culture are produced by participants as relevant categories for interpersonal ideological negotiation" (Scollon and Scollon, 2001: 544). They propose the idea of a 'mediated discourse approach' to intercultural communication, which shifts the focus away from understanding the immediate interaction between people communicating across different cultural group memberships towards an understanding of what kind of social action they are seeking to make through communication. They write:

> "The primary question would be: what is the social action in which you are interested and how does this analysis promise to focus on some aspect of social life that is worth understanding?... Thus the analysis would not presuppose cultural membership but rather ask how does the concept of culture arise in these social actions. Who has introduced culture as a relevant category, for what purposes, and with what consequences?" (Scollon and Scollon, 2001: 545)

This perspective does not envision individuals that may superficially appear to have different cultural group memberships as being necessarily different; and even if they are, the question of cultural group memberships is only relevant insofar as we understand how that influences their attempts to take social action. Thus, power dynamics (see also section 2.2) play a key role in determining who gets to raise culture as a relevant category and with what endpoint in mind for the interaction, or perhaps even to influence future action. This can also be entwined with choices about which language(s) to speak in. Adopting a mediated discourse approach to understanding intercultural interactions in refugee camps allows for a critical perspective on power dynamics that are revealed through actors' linguistic choices and Discourses. Although there are many possible avenues of linguistic exploration within a Greek refugee camp context, this thesis will only focus on sociolinguistic moments of richness in relation to intercultural communication as a pathway to understanding cultural group memberships.

Within the context of refugee camps, linguistic issues of speech and identification rise to the fore, as refugee camps are often linguistically rich and complex spaces, where people

may speak multiple languages from their countries of origin, as well as needing to contend with the local language of their host country, and potentially English as the global lingua franca. Within the context of refugee camps in Greece (as discussed in previous chapter), refugees speak multiple different languages when they arrive from their countries of origin (e.g. Arabic, Farsi, French, Kurmanji, Sorani, among others), or from other countries on their journey where they may have learned other languages (e.g. Turkey). They are also interacting with local camp authorities and NGO volunteers, who likely speak Greek as the local language, and English as the global lingua franca. The choice to speak in one particular language in one context over another can reveal something about refugees' cultural group memberships and identities – especially in contexts where interlocutors fully, partially, or do not share the same language. Furthermore, the dynamic creation of hyper-localised acts of translanguaging, as seen with Hawker's (2013) study in Jerusalem, might indicate a sense of belonging to hyper-local in-groups, which is also connected to questions of wider belonging to national communities for instance. Moreover, since Greece is regarded by many refugees as a transit country (see Chapter 1), and Greek is not a language that is spoken in many countries beyond Greece, the choice of speaking Greek, or English, or any other languages in various contexts, may reveal something about cultural group memberships that refugees either wish to express that they belong to or resist group membership. The next section will now turn to a more in-depth discussion about the processes of socially constructing identities and claiming or resisting belonging to various cultural group memberships.

2.4 Identity Construction

Humans do not exist in isolation. To become a human self requires partaking in relations of dependency with members in a wider group. Hence, conceiving of identity, even individual identity, involves a dialogic between 'self' and 'other' – understanding our self in relation to and in contrast with our understanding of others (Ricoeur, 1993). This empirical claim about an 'I-Thou' dynamic has theoretical roots in philosophy. For example, in Hegel's (1998) phenomenological system of philosophy, the 'Other' is the entity through which the 'Self' comes to define itself by negation. In this view, the 'Other' delimits the 'Self', but not necessarily in an antagonistic way. In the Hegelian account, the self emerges in response and in reaction to the other in a process which, if successful, involves both competition and cooperation. Jenkins defines identity as:

"the human capacity – rooted in language – to know 'who's who' (and hence what's what). This involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who we think they are, and so on: a multi-dimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our places in it, as individuals and as members of collectivities (cf. Ashton et al. 2004). It is a process – *identification* – not a 'thing'. It is not something that one can *have*, or not; it is something that one *does*" (Jenkins, 2008: 5).

To some extent, this pertains to individual identities as well as to social identities, which are also interrelated. Individual identities are socially constructed by individuals and collectivties in relationship with each other. Identification is 'enacted', as a process (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and is not a static 'thing' that we can possess. Since identifications are a process, then as people who are moving through life, we are in some regard constantly engaging in processes of identification, and are impacted by previous identifications. If identity then is not something that we can 'have' but rather the product of an interplay with some relevant others, then it can be argued that all claims to personal identity are in fact social identities to varying degrees; as Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) state, identity is the "social positioning of self and other". This process of understanding our social position and other's social position inevitably involves a process of negotiation and acceptance between the internal individual and the external other: "identifications are to be found and negotiated at their *boundaries*, in the encounter between internal and external" (Jenkins, 2008: 44).

And yet, the individual *claims to* and collective *ascriptions of* identity may not always match. Therefore, a key element of this process of identification becomes a question of *who* is able to engage in identification of themselves and others to what extent (as has already been explored in previous sections) which is part of what occurs during intercultural communication. Here, interpersonal and structural inequalities (Raissiguier, 1999: 140) play a crucial role in these processes, as some people will have more power than others to create or attribute wanted or unwanted individual and collective identities. As Jenkins (2008: 45) states, "[i]dentities exist and are acquired, claimed and allocated within power relations. Identification is something *over* which struggles take place and *with* which strategems are advanced – it is means and end in politics – and at stake is the classification of populations as well the classification of individuals". Therefore, if we assume Scollon and Scollon's conception of a mediated discourse approach to intercultural communication (2001), within intercultural encounters people draw on their "repertoire of identities" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 85) with a particular social action in mind, potentially to 'achieve' their self-conception of identities or to 'ascribe'

identities onto others, which could have the political goal of classifying individuals or groups of people (usually with implications for further social actions). Furthermore, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) raise a distinction between the kinds of identifications:

> "One key distinction is between relational and categorical modes of identification. One may identify oneself (or another person) by position in a relational web (a web of kinship, for example, or of friendship, patron-client ties, or teacher-student relations). On the other hand, one may identify oneself (or another person) by membership in a class of persons sharing some categorical attribute (such as race, ethnicity, language, nationality, citizenship, gender, sexual orientation, etc.). Craig Calhoun has argued that, while relational modes of identification remain important in many contexts even today, categorical identification has assumed ever greater importance in modern settings." (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 16)

It is important to note here that, although Brubaker and Cooper use the term 'categorical attributes' in relation to 'large cultural categories' such as nationality and ethnicity, and this lexical field may sound essentialist, I draw on this distinction with the perspective that these 'categorical group memberships' have porous boundaries and may change, but that people within intercultural interactions may declare themselves to be, or declare others to be, part of groups that they themselves regard as sharing enough similarities so as to be a 'category' of cultural group membership. Brubaker and Cooper emphasise how individual identification is intricately linked with collective identification, which will be discussed in further detail below.

The psychologist Tajfel (1981) argues that classification is a process that occurs during social group formation, which mirrors individual identity formation, in the sense that we understand ourselves by creating 'in-groups' in opposition to other 'out-groups', therefore pertaining to questions of interpersonal belonging. As Byram (2013: 48) puts it: "Social identity has, like a coin, two sides, defining yourself but also being defined by others as belonging to a group or not. Groups are defined by comparison and contrast with other groups". What is more, just as individual identification involves some process of negotiation between self and other, group formation also involves an element of gatekeeping and belonging, as others must accept individuals or groups as being part of the group identification, and these feelings are often more intense in relation to categorical identifications, such as nationality and ethnicity, rather than relational identifications (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 16). These kinds of 'large cultural' group memberships, such as nationality or ethnicity, are often interconnected with certain macro-level pre-requisites for belonging, regulated by formal or legal entities. For example, as Byram (2013: 48) notes, states will often demand that immigrants speak a certain level of their national language(s) before granting citizenship, as speaking a common language

can be a symbol for national belonging. And yet, whilst at a legal level the boundaries for belonging are very rigid, at the smaller-scale there is more room for interpersonal renegotiation. For instance, as Anderson (1991) has argued, in terms of national cultural identity, belonging pertains to an 'imagined community' - potentially involving shared descent, historical memories, culture, homeland and a desire for political self-determination (Weber & Horner, 2012: 85) - and the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in the non-legal sense are blurred. At this scale, Brewer (1991) argues the notion of 'belonging' to a group is extremely important in forming self-identity since it is to establish a sense of belonging or to mark inclusion and exclusion that social group formation can be considered a normative process, which involves distinguishing "commonalities and differences between self and others" (Yuval Davis, 1997: 43). Belonging to such collectivities can offer many benefits, especially for refugees. As Agier (2008) states, ethnic links create invaluable social capital for refugees within the camps who rely on these ties for access to vital resources. This is echoed by Walker and Colic-Peisker (2003) who highlight how ethnic identities are the crux of the refugees' new identities as a result of the loss of their urban professional identities, and these allow them to deal with displacement. Once people feel as though they belong to a group - in some cases this means that "an individual accepts the right of co-members to judge, and seeks to be […] accepted and judged by Others only in particular ways" (Jenkins, 2008: 122) and new incomers may need to accept that they will need to exhibit enough similar values to be granted belonging status. But this kind of cultural group formation can lead to rigid boundaries of belonging and also involve an element of derogatory categorisation, asserting in-group superiority over another out-group, emphasising that processes of collective identifications can be highly political projects of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2011: 4).

It is with Saïd (1978) and the birth of post-colonial theory that 'othering' becomes understood in a negative socio-political sense implying subjugation or denigration. Reflecting upon the rise of colonialism and the discourse associated with it, Saïd argues that Western attempts at coming to grips with cultures of the East inevitably pit the Eastern traits (which are seen through Eurocentric eyes as largely negative) in opposition to Western ones (which are seen as largely positive), as opposed to appreciating the cultural subtleties of each non-European group in their own right. Winant (2001) suggests that 'othering' is derived from Eurocentric tendencies to deem the 'us' of the 'civilised' West and the 'them' of the 'uncivilised' East and that this classifying of 'others' as barbarians has been the justification for religious, political and philosophical oppression. 'Othering' then has been used as a tool to

cement the cultural superiority of the 'self' by imbuing "identity to the 'self' through the often negative attribution of characteristics to the 'other' (Holliday et al., 2004: 159) which is all the more problematic as it does not allow for the cultural 'other' to have an authentic and authoritative voice or to negotiate its own complex and manifold identities (Hobson, 2012; Holliday et al., 2004). Ethnocentrism is exacerbated by discourses as "languages are social constructs. Languages are developed by the people who use them and carry meaning because the people who use them agree to the meanings and follow certain rules of the language" (Sorrells, 2016: 54). Following Saussure's (1960) understanding of linguistics, the signifier (that is to say, the sound or name used to refer to the 'other') is attached to a signified (that is to say, a meaning), which suggests that the 'other' is an unknown and dangerous entity. This relationship between the signifier and the signified forms the signification, or the sign, which then exercises a force of its own upon members of a shared linguistic community (Derrida, 1976; Foucault, 1966). Once this sign becomes intersubjectively accepted as reality within a given group, negative identities are more or less obviously attributed to certain other groups of people, and maintained in this way through uneven power relationships (Sorrells, 2016; Stoler, 1995).

'Othering' taken to the extreme can lead to stereotyping which is "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to that category" (Allport, 1954: 191). In the discomfort of not knowing where the 'self' stands in relation to the 'other', stereotyping is a common defence to attempt to feel safe (Krauss & Fussell, 1991) as the unknown space of interacting with an 'unclassified other' is threatening to the stability of the 'self'. Social identity theory states that people depend on their previous experiences in life and observations of the way other people behave to frame their own actions (Bandura, 1977) and thus "all individuals develop a framework of ontological security of some sort, based on routines of various forms" (Giddens, 1991: 44). Our social identities are activated in intercultural interactions (Turner, 1987) and they "tend to be activated when we communicate with strangers because we have defined strangers as being different than us in terms of some group membership" (Wiseman & Van Horn, 1995: 20). Thus, we feel safe in our sense of 'self' when we feel like the world regularly matches our expectations, secure in our own identity, even if we are interacting with people with a different social identity, as long as we can classify them into 'safe' and 'known' or 'anticipated' categories (Mackie et al., 1996; Zetter, 1991; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988). However, when the unknown 'other' either exceeds one's anticipated categories or matches a limited and skewed category that has been

pre-determined, ethnocentrism occurs (Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999; Forbes, 1985; LeVine & Campbell, 1972), which is to say that the 'other' is entirely understood and evaluated through the lens of one's own culture. Bredella (2003: 47) goes one step further to argue that "it is an act of violence by which we subsume what is foreign and different under our own categories".

The social identification of being a 'refugee' poses particular complexities since there is a tension between whether this identity is a relational identification or a categorical identification (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 16); the former is applicable because being a 'refugee' entails a position within a relational web where social norms of behaviour towards people belonging to this collective identification should apply (e.g. certain level of legal aid), and yet the latter is also applicable because 'refugee' often becomes conflated in public discourse with categorical identifications such as ethnicity and nationality (Goodman et al., 2017. To add another layer of complexity, there is a tension between people potentially wishing to claim this identity as it entails certain legal privileges that many hope for when they seek asylum, whilst others also wish to resist all the negative stereotypes that become associated with the imposition of this identity onto them. As already charted out in Chapter 1, media portrayals of refugees in Europe have been largely along the spectrum of refugees being ascribed the identities of 'victims' or 'threats' (Ehrkamp, 2017; Bigo, 2002; Fassin, 2011). These identifications are stereotypes that have led to discrimination and prejudice towards people seeking asylum (Agier, 2008), and they also raise issues and implications of prejudice towards refugees' other social identities, such as cultural national, ethnic and religious, and gender. Therefore, there seems to be a restriction on refugees' agency to claim other self-avowed identities which are not tied up with legal identities and negative stereotypes, as well as to (re)negotiate the boundaries of what constitutes the symbolic significance of belonging to the cultural group of being a 'refugee'.

Processes of identification, at the individual and social level, are inextricably linked with space and place; as Dixon and Durrheim (2000: 27) argue, "questions of 'who we are' are often intimately related to questions of `where we are'. Indeed, many of the social categories that are routinely investigated by social psychologists are inextricably bound to notions of place (e.g. 'community', 'ethnicity' and 'nation')." Furthermore, for Benwell and Stokoe, identity formation is connected with place-making as it involves the inclusion and exclusion of people within certain places: "In terms of identity, places and boundaries are constructed in order to channel human activity and produce spaces of inclusion and exclusion. Within these places, different categories of people are constructed as belonging or not belonging; as legitimate or

illegitimate occupants of space" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 240). This can occur at a smaller scale but can also occur at the macro-level, where people can be discursively identified as not belonging to certain collectivities, as discussed above with the identification of being a refugee - and this has political implications for belonging, which "claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion" (Antonsich, 2010: 644). This is echoed by Anthias who argues that in-group belonging can be created at the expense of out-groups who are excluded:

> "Certainly the use of identification may be entailed in the notion of belonging as well as in the notion of identity. But more than identification, belonging actually entails not only issues about attributions and claims (as does identity) but also allows more clearly questions about the actual spaces and places to which people are accepted as members or feel that they are members and broader questions about social inclusion as well as forms of violence and subordination entailed in processes of boundary making." (Anthias, 2013: 7)

This emphasises how processes of identification, belonging and space and place are all interconnected, calling for a deeper understanding of space and place, which will be explored in the next chapter. Whilst this section has explored the interdiscursive construction of belonging through processes of identification, the next chapter will stress the interdiscursive construction of belonging with a focus on space and place.

2.5 Concluding Discussion

This chapter has demonstrated that a social constructionist and non-essentialist approach towards intercultural communication (Scollon and Scollon, 2001) allows for an in-depth understanding of the dynamic complexities of processes of identity formation in relation to encamped refugees. This approach understands intercultural communication as the process of cultural (re)negotiation, within complex power constraints and various contexts (Piller, 2011), between people (individuals or groups) who either self-claim or are ascribed as different (Woodin, 2018), within and through language(s) in social interactions. Many identities for refugees are ascribed within these contexts, including the identity of being a 'refugee' (Ehrkamp, 2017; Bigo, 2002; Fassin, 2011). (Re)negotiating this identity involves a complex navigation of small-scale interpersonal interactions as well as macro-scale structures (Holliday, 2013). Within these contexts, refugees are able to express agency to a degree in order to claim certain identities, such as ethnic cultural group memberships, which can prove to be a social

asset for navigating life in the camps (Agier, 2008), as well as using language and languages (Discourses (Gee, 1996)) to resist the way that others position them (Hawker, 2013).

Guided by this conceptual nexus of intercultural communication, language(s) and processes of identification, this thesis therefore seeks to understand how encamped refugees identify themselves or are identified by others as belonging to various cultural groups, paying particular attention to the power dynamics involved in negotiating the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, with a focus on who, why and how cultural group memberships are raised as relevant in interactive contexts within two refugee camps in mainland Greece. As Smith emphasises:

> "while *individuals* occupy separate space, *persons* occupy integrated space. And in the midst of that space we find identity. Identity is about who you are and what you need. It is not formed in a vacuum, but rather in relation to something – an integrated space of dependency relationships" (Smith, 2013: 12).

People engaging in intercultural interactions are creating interdiscursive spaces of possibilities for identity (re)negotiations and since these occur within a particular situated social context, the next chapter will explore theoretical conceptualisations of space and place, and consider the context of the space of refugee camps in further detail.

Chapter 3: Understanding Space and Place: Refugee Camps, Place-making, and Constructing Home and Belonging

3.1 Introduction

Having explored the relationship between intercultural communication, language(s), and identity construction in the previous chapter, this chapter will explore the situated social contexts within which intercultural interactions occur. Drawing particularly on Lefebvre (1991) and Massey (2005), this chapter will demonstrate how a mutually co-constitutive, dialectical and relational understanding of space and place allows for a holistic understanding of how people engage in dynamic processes of identification within and through intercultural interactions, which occur in situated contexts of space(s) and place(s), and yet, are also interconnected with people's experiences of other time-space(s), meaning times and spaces beyond an immediate experience of time and space, wither connected to the past or the future. This chapter will also explore how the space(s) and place(s) of refugee camps have been conceptualised in theory and are experienced in practice, including examples from refugee camp contexts in other places in Greece, in order to provide a contextual background for my situated research context where similar issues could arise. Furthermore, since refugee camps are spaces where refugees live, potentially in protracted displacement, the question of how refugees construct, both discursively and materially, a sense of home within displacement, is significant for understanding processes of individual and collective identifications. As this chapter will demonstrate, the notion of home is intricately woven with questions of identity, belonging, and power relations. Belonging is conceptualised as both 'place-belongingness', pertaining to 'feeling at home', and 'politics of belonging' which pertains to interpersonal belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2011), explored in the previous chapter but re-examined here with a specific focus on space and place.

Therefore the chapter will begin with theories of space and place in section 3.2; offer contextual background information about refugee camps in section 3.3; then progress to a discussion about the notions of home and belonging, with a particular focus on place-making to create a sense of home in displacement in section 3.4. The last section, 3.5, will synthesise

the key theoretical material from the previous chapter and this one, in order to provide a conceptual framework within which the specific research questions guiding this thesis are grounded in.

3.2 Conceptualising the relationship between 'space' and 'place'

The relationship between 'space' and 'place' is deeply contested in various academic disciplines, regarding whether there is a dichotomous relationship between them, whether they have a primary and secondary relationship, or whether they are on differing sides of a spectrum. In the field of sociology, Gieryn (2000: 465) draws a very clear distinction between 'space' and 'place', stating that "place is not space" and characterises 'space' in a solely Newtonian manner of "abstract geometries" whilst conceiving of 'place' as a relationally significant location. Gieryn (2000: 464-465) posits that in order for space to *become* a 'place', it needs to involve a specific geographical location, to have physicality in a material form, and to be laden with meaning and value imbued onto it by humans. In this account, 'place' is socially constructed, both physically by humans interfering with part of the earth's surface, but also through the interpersonal significance attributed to places through social interactions. Secondly, in the field of anthropology, Jiménez (2003: 138) draws on the philosophy of Durkheim to conceive of space as being the "*a priory* category of meaning":

> "But space, be it a house, a region, or a transnational corridor, is always the setting where social relationships take 'place'. In other words, space is taken to be a given, irreducible ontological category; the (geographical) framework of action; and social relationships are seen as something exterior to and distinct from the setting where they take 'place', no matter how this setting is thereafter signified or constructed" (Jiménez (2003: 140).

This view is shared by Kirkpatrick and colleagues (2018: 112) in the field of urban studies, claiming that "place is often understood to refer to abstract and neutral space upon which human significance has been bestowed". These positions argue that 'space' fundamentally exists first, and then 'place' is derived from 'space' through human social interaction or human intervention. Conversely, some scholars contend that 'place' is the primary category since it is fundamental to human existence (Relph, 1976) to be located somewhere on the earth and to conceive of human subjectivity from within 'place' (Malpas, 1999), and that 'space' is secondary. For instance, in the field of geography, Cresswell (2004: 16) draws on Agnew's

(1987) conceptualisation of "place as a 'meaningful location'", stating that a 'place' incorporates 'location' – where you are in the world; 'locale' – the specific material arrangements present where you are in the world; and 'sense of place' – the meanings that humans attribute onto the location and locale (Cresswell, 2004: 17). These three features of 'place' are congruent with Gieryn's conceptualisation of 'place'. Furthermore, a 'place' does not need to have a fixed location, but does need to be self-contained, for instance Relph (1976: 29) proposes the example of a ship sailing across the sea as being a 'place', as it is somewhere of significance, and yet its location is mobile on the earth's surface.

An alternative, post-structuralist account of the relationship between 'space' and 'place' posits that 'space' and 'place' are not inherently distinct, but rather they have a dynamic and co-constitutive relationship (Murdoch, 2006). Lefebvre (1991), as one of the seminal thinkers of social space in the fields of philosophy and sociology, suggests that space is socially produced through the relationship between sociocultural practices, representations, and imaginations which occur within a situated context. Lefebvre's 'unity theory of space' aims for "a *rapprochement* between *physical* space (nature), *mental* space (formal abstractions about space) and *social* space (the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias" (Merrifield, 1993: 523). Space is understood as a dialectical relationship between "[r]epresentational spaces…as directly lived", involving how people experience the physical realm which "overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (Lefebvre, 1991: 39); "[r]epresentations of space", involving how people conceive of space, which largely occurs through language, "a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-39); and "[s]patial practice … [which]…embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure)" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Lefebvre considers each of these facets of space as making up the whole of 'social space' and "[t]he space of the whole thus takes on meaning through place; and each part (i.e. each place) in its interconnection with other parts (places) engenders the space of the whole" (Merrifield, 1993: 520). In this way, space is both a process and an outcome, a "flow *and* place – it is *simultaneously* a process and a thing" (Merrifield, 1993: 521). Lefebvre (1991: 86-87) further argues that, "*[s]ocial spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves onto one another. They are not things*, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia." Thus, Lefebvre moves the thinking of 'space' and 'place' away from

a dualism or even a spectrum, towards a mutually reinforcing and integrated process. In these processes, 'places' which may involve physical boundaries, are still part of a larger integrated whole: "Visible boundaries, such as walls or enclosures in general, give rise for their part to an appearance of separation between spaces where in fact what exists is an ambiguous continuity" (Lefebvre, 1991: 87).

In response to this, some scholars have criticised such a dynamic approach to space as infinitely open and unbounded as being too far divorced from the practicalities of the material world, in which physical locales do exist (Baldacchino, 2010). Anticipating this line of criticism, Lefebvre asserts that his theory does not do away with practical differences; rather it aims to show that the spatial differences that mark the social world are always contingent:

> "the *places* of social space are very different from those of natural space in that they are not simply juxtaposed: they may be intercalated, combined, superimposed - they may even sometimes collide. Consequently the local (or 'punctual', in the sense of 'determined by a particular "point"') does not disappear, for it is never absorbed by the regional, national or even worldwide level. The national and regional levels take in innumerable 'places'; national space embraces the regions; and world space does not merely subsume national spaces, but even (for the time being at least) precipitates the formation of new national spaces through a remarkable process of fission. All these spaces, meanwhile, are traversed by myriad currents. The hypercomplexity of social space should by now be apparent, embracing as it does individual entities and peculiarities, relatively fixed points, movements, and flows and waves - some interpenetrating, others in conflict, and so on." (Lefebvre, 1991: 88)

Lefebvre does not negate the existence of physical locales. He simply acknowledges that while there are relatively fixed locales, which do make up a coherent sense of place that people experience in daily practice, they are still part of a wider process of 'flows and waves' of places and spaces, always potentially up for (re)construction. Moreover, Merrifield (1993: 521) explains that for Lefebvre, the "overall process of space and place production is a deeply political event. Consequently, space internalizes conflictual and contradictory social forces and social conflict is thereby 'inscribed in place'". Therefore, this raises questions about power dynamics in practice; about who has the agency and power to construct space and place, and to potentially deconstruct or renegotiate places that seem to be 'inscribed' in a particular way for a long period of time.

Tenets of Lefebvre's work can be traced within most recent conceptualisations of 'space' and 'place'. For instance, Soja (1999) draws on Lefebvre's work to further reject the earlier binary conceptualisations of spatiality, which he terms 'Firstspace' to refer to the

physical, Newtonian sense of space, and 'Secondspace' to refer to the mental conceptualisation of space, and proposes the notion of a 'Thirdspace' which shifts the focus of understanding 'space' towards more of an embodied experience, which has physical and representational dimensions that humans experience, live in, and (re)produce every day. The situatedness which is required to have an embodied experience is further developed by Thrift (1996; 2004) into what he calls 'non-representational theory', which emphasises how humans engage in relational practices to construct 'spaces' and 'places' from within their individual social contexts, and thus, people can never fully 'know' all knowledge, or all 'other' perspectives, since people are always engaging in the ongoing process of spatial construction from within their own subjectivities. Thrift writes:

> "non-representational theory takes the world to be a kaleidoscopic mix of space-times, constantly being built up and torn down. These space-times normally co-exist, folding into one another, existing in the interstices between each other, creating all manner of bizarre and unexpected combinations […] Some space-times are more durable. Their reach is able to be extended by intermediaries, metrics and associational knowledges […] Other space-times flicker out of existence" (Thrift, 2004: 91).

The notion that constructing 'space' and 'place' is deeply political is highlighted by Thrift here, echoing Lefebvre, since he refers to some being more resilient than others, which means that some people have more power than others in the construction of these 'space-times', which arguably become entrenched social structures that people must contend with during individual and collective processes of identification through social interaction. Murdoch (2006) elaborates:

> "The relational making of space is both a consensual and contested process. 'Consensual' because relations are usually made out of agreements or alignments between two or more entities; 'contested' because the construction of one set of relations may involve both the exclusion of some entities (and their relations) as well as the forcible enrolment of others. In short, relational space is a 'power-filled' space in which some alignments come to dominate, at least for a period of time, while others come to be dominated. So while multiple sets of relations may well co-exist, there is likely to be some competition between these relations over the composition of particular spaces and places." (Murdoch, 2006: 26)

Hence, temporality plays an important role within the construction of 'space' and 'place' and is inextricably linked with questions of power. This idea is unpacked in Massey's (2005) conceptualisation of 'space':

> "*First*, that we recognise space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny. […] *Second*, that we understand space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity. Without space, no multiplicity; without multiplicity, no space. If space is indeed the product of interrelations, then it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality. Multiplicity and space as co-constitutive. *Third*, that we recognise space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far." (Massey, 2005: 9)

Massey rejects the notion that 'space' exists prior to human interaction and argues that 'space' is socially constructed, through embedded practices of ongoing human relations and across a contemporaneous and plural time-space. She further declares, "space does not exist prior to identities/entities, the relations 'between' them, and the spatiality which is part of them, are all co-constitutive" (Massey, 2005: 10). Therefore, people, with their multiple identities and personal trajectories of 'stories-so-far', produce spaces and places across an ongoing multitude of time-spaces, which then also impact on the lived experiences of people, affecting how they conceive of themselves. These more recent post-structuralist debates in Northern scholarship about space and place seem to have arrived closer to conceptualisations about space and place of some Indigenous scholarship. For instance, Bawaka Country and colleagues (2016: 456) understand space, place and identity as a process of 'co-becoming', which is a "conceptualization of a Bawaka Yolŋu ontology within which everything exists in a state of emergence and relationality":

> "Ultimately, place/space is doing; it is the real emotions, thoughts, starch, spiders, waterlogged yam and wind, that co-become as Bawaka; the real words, computer screens, fingers, eyes, PDF files and paper that co-become as we share the place of these words over time and space. This enables a reconceptualization of space/place binaries, a recognition of the diverse patterns through which space/place is constituted. […] these patterns emerge through human–human and/or human–more-than-human, and/or non-human-centred relations. Yolŋu understandings of space/place enable a foregrounding of response and responsibility as the emerging co-constitution of spaces/places is embraced." (Bawaka Country et al., 2016: 461-462)

Within this conceptualisation of 'space' and 'place', care, awareness, balance and connectedness play a significant role in all participants of the co-becoming process, as 'humans', 'more-than humans' and 'non-humans' are all partly responsible for the construction of spaces and places, and of people and things, over an ongoing time-space.

Therefore, a relational and co-constitutive approach towards understanding space and place which recognises the existence of meaningful locales, co-constructed within a plurality of different and contemporaneous time-spaces, involving past, present and future imaginings of meaningful places, co-emerging through social construction (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005), allows for a holistic understanding of the processes of intercultural communication and identification within the context of refugee camps. Refugees find themselves in a situated context of a specific place within the camps, which they each experience from a subjective (Thrift, 1996) and embodied perspective (Soja, 1999). And yet, the ways that they position themselves and position others (other refugees, NGO volunteers, locals, camp authorities) within these spaces, through processes of identification, are connected with other time-spaces that they have either already been part of, or envision themselves as belonging to. In practice, these time-spaces become relevant when people claim or ascribe cultural group memberships that pertain to the hyper-local space of the camp, or resonate with time-spaces beyond the camp where these cultural group memberships are significant. It is especially important to note that within a liminal place, such as a refugee camp, processes of claiming and ascribing identities which invoke certain cultural group memberships can involve a power struggle (Murdoch, 2006) for the right to assert certain identities in some places over others and to express agency over socially constructing the space of the camp. Refugee camps present a particularly complex relationship to time-spaces, because refugees may come to form many different connections between their present identity and countries of origin, other transit countries, the current host country, as well as a potentially desired country of resettlement. In addition, NGO volunteers who may well originate from countries other than the current host country also bring with them other time-spaces, and locals who may be protective of their own locality. All of these constructions of time-spaces are relevant in cultural group membership (re)negotiations in the here and now. A relational approach to space and place will allow for an open ethnographic investigation of how these interactions occur in practice within the situated research context, whilst being mindful of how it can relate to other time-spaces beyond. Therefore, adopting this relational and mutually co-constitutive theoretical approach to understanding space and place, the next section will focus on how we can understand the spaces and places of refugee camps.

3.3 Understanding the space(s) and place(s) of refugee camps

This section will explore how the space of a refugee camp can be understood in terms of the interplay between its physical (representational spaces), mental (representations of space through language), social (spatial practice) (Lefebvre, 1991), and temporal (Massey, 2005) dimensions. To begin with, although refugee camps have existed long before in practice, Western theorising about the spaces of refugee camps finds its roots in the wake of World War II and in response to concentration camps, where 'the refugee camp' and 'the refugee' begin to be conceptualised as biopolitical categories (Malkki, 1995; Agamben, 1998). Agamben considers refugee camps as 'spaces of exception', tackling the issues of sovereignty (1994), 'bare life' (1998) and the 'state of exception' (2005) in his work. Ramadan (2013: 67) contends that Agamben has been influential because he "offers a political philosophy that places the camp and the figure of *homo sacer* (a person banned from society and denied all rights) at the centre of the workings of modern politics: a space and a body included in the political order by being *excluded*" (Ramadan, 2013: 67). For Agamben, 'bare life' consists of human life devoid of political associations and life projects. Drawing on Aristotle, he distinguishes between the ancient Greek terms '*zoe*', referring to the mere physiological capacity to survive common to all living things, and '*bios*', referring to the specific life projects that enable humans to live a good life. He writes: "In the classical world […] simple natural life is excluded from the polis in the strict sense, and remains confined – as merely reproductive life – to the sphere of the oikos, 'home' (Politics, 1252a, 26- 35)" (Agamben, 1998: 9). Moreover, "[a]t the beginning of the *Politics*, Aristotle takes the greatest care to distinguish the *oikonomos* (the head of an estate) and the *despotes* (the head of the family), both of whom are concerned with the reproduction and the subsistence of life, from the politician, and he scorns those who think the difference between the two is one of quantity and not of kind" (Agamben, 1998: 9). In other words, while *zoe* can be pursued in one's private life, Aristotle and Agamben invite us to conceive of *bios* as a fundamentally political matter[4].

Returning to the context of refugees - according to Agamben, refugees benefit from sufficient support to maintain *zoe*, but are denied the political resources to engage in *bios*. Returning to the Aristotelean conception of human nature, refugees, in this view, are therefore humans who are denied the capacity to exercise their nature as political animals. They can survive, but not flourish – they are given the means to maintain 'bare life', but not develop

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[4] Of course, these theorisations are a product of their time and therefore highly gendered to favour men.

genuine political bonds of association. He argues that this is the product of their statelessness, drawing on Arendt (1951) who writes about Jewish refugees in the aftermath of World War II and perceives the refugee camp as the spatial depository for people who do not have human rights. Without a state granting them rights and responsibilities, refugees are citizens of nowhere, bereft of any formal political recognition. For Agamben therefore, refugees occupy a space outside of political space and this is no accident; it serves the wider political order: "In the camp, the state of exception, which was essentially a temporary suspension of the rule of law on the basis of a factual state of danger, is now given a permanent spatial arrangement, which as such nevertheless remains outside the normal order" (Agamben, 1998, p. 169). Regarding the refugee camp as a space outside the 'normal order' that contains 'undesirable' people, holding them somehow out of reach yet in plain sight, is reminiscent of Foucault's (1995) analysis of the social function of the prison as a spectatorial politics of punishment – people locked inside serve as a symbol of a certain kind of civic fall from the bosom of the state, which keeps the rest of the citizens compliant. Now, clearly the spaces of current refugee camps do not in themselves signify to the public any kind of formal punishment. And yet, one could argue that the current prolonged conditions of some refugee camps, where people live in a state of protracted displacement, within liminality, is one that echoes these kinds of spatial connotations.

'Liminality' as a term was coined by van Gennep (1909) and then developed by Turner (1967) as the concept of 'in-betweeness', characterised by being in a state of limbo, or as Mountz (2011: 383) calls it, "neither here, nor there". Refugees often live in liminal physical and material realities, such as in tents, or temporary accommodation, and they live in a social liminality as the uncertainty towards their future permeates their social interactions and the way they experience their daily reality whilst they await their asylum application outcome. O'Reilly explains how liminality applied to the context of the experiences of asylum-seekers in the 'Direct Provision' programme in Ireland means that people live in constant fear, waiting and uncertainty which leads to an "'ontological liminality', the internalized sense of being a liminal being, where an 'in between' existence becomes part of one's identity and everyday lived experience" (O'Reilly, 2018: 834). Within the context of refugee camps, liminality is also explored by Lindholm Schultz (2003) and Sayigh (2005) in relation to the Palestinian situation, who classify liminality as a state of temporary survival between two other realities, the past and the future. This is echoed by Ramadan (2013: 73) who states that "[l]iminality is life at a threshold, a time-space of betweenness, of passage". Arguably therefore, the temporal

dimension of current refugee camps is perhaps the most crucial dimension for understanding the spatial dynamics as it profoundly impacts on all the other dimensions. Current refugee camps are planned and designed to be temporary spaces, and are conceptualised as such too, created for refugees to find urgent humanitarian aid and shelter until a durable solution is found or until they are able to return home (Hart et. Al, 2018; Olivius, 2017; Katz, 2017; Turner, 2015; Agier, 2002). An example of this is discussed by Ramadan (2008) in reference to Lebanese refugees who were hosted by Palestinian refugees in temporary spaces during the 2006 war, until the Lebanese refugees were able to return home. However, it is increasingly becoming the case that many refugee situations are protracted, and refugees can find themselves spending many years in a state of waiting. In the most extreme circumstances, they might even spend their entire lives in refugee camps. Some 89.3 million individuals are currently forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, or generalised violence. Of these, around a third are refugees, living in exile outside their home countries (UNHCR 2022). This bleak situation is worsening: not only are the absolute numbers increasing – more than doubling between 2010 and 2020 – but the nature of their displacement has changed as opportunities for both return and resettlement have diminished (UNHCR 2020). By 2020, more than three quarters of the refugees under the mandate of the UN's principal refugee agency, UNHCR, were in a 'protracted displacement' situation, defined as one in which 25,000 or more refugees of the same nationality have been in exile for five years or longer in a given asylum country (UNHCR 2020). Thus, refugee camps have been considered spaces of "frozen transience", as captured by a phrase coined by the sociologist Bauman (2002: 345), which is to say places characterised by the lack of much formal planning for more permanent living conditions, and yet, which endure through multiple generations of refugees waiting in limbo. Bauman uses this term in relation to a Palestinian refugee camp, describing it as "an ongoing, lasting state of temporariness, a duration patched together by moments none of which is lived through as an element of, and a contribution to, perpetuity" (Bauman, 2002: 345). In this sense, refugee camps are liminal spaces and places and the case of Palestinian refugees offer an example of an extremely entrenched case of protracted displacement, with people living in liminality over whole lifetimes. This points to state failures to appropriately respond to forced migration, which means that current refugee camps echo, to a certain extent, the way that Agamben has theorised about the spaces of refugee camps.

Informed by Agamben, scholars have argued that refugee camps serve as "sociospatial formations that displace and confine undesirable populations, suspending them in a distinct

spatial, legal and temporal condition" (Picker & Pasquetti, 2015: 681). Recalling that space is never finished and always being constituted (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005), refugee camps must be considered in relation to the larger sociospatial dimensions that they co-constitute, which involves their relationship with spaces beyond the camp, such as the city and the nation. Refugee camps are distinctive because they can also be run by sovereign powers that are not a single state; for example, the United Nations which can declare their control over the space in order to provide humanitarian aid (Elden, 2009: 58). This simultaneously limits the power of the host nation-state but also relieves them of the sole responsibility to care for these spaces and the refugees within them, shifting this to an international effort (Edkins, 2000; Yamashita, 2004). Hyndman (2000: 140) argues that this is a "tacit and unsatisfactory policy of containment" which moves away from the notion of burden-sharing and more towards the notion that nation states are dodging their responsibilities. In line with this argument, refugee camps are used by the state, and condoned by the public, to contain and segregate people who are deemed 'unfit' to belong to the nation state and to be part of civil society, as Martin explains:

> "The penetration of bare life into political space is today represented by the presence of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers who 'spoil' and 'contaminate' the harmony of the nation. As the trinity of localisation (Territory), order (State) and birth (the Nation) can no longer be held together without disruptions, new geographies of exception become the hidden matrix of modern political space. While they regulate and order our societies, refugee camps and detention centres work as purifying filters of the nation." (Martin, 2015: 11)

There is a discourse developed, in part by nation-states, which stigmatises refugees as 'dirty' and needing to be 'contained' in the space of the refugee camp in order to avoid their citizens from being 'contaminated' by them (Turner, 2015; Diken and Lausten, 2015; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, 2004). This is also reflected through policies of externalisation of asylum in the Global North to retain 'purity' and discouraging movement to it from the Global South (Hyndman and Giles 2011). Diken (2004) further explains that this containment often occurs in geographical and physical locations which are separated from the wider public; refugee camps are often located on the outskirts of urban life, or in the deserts, where it is difficult for the refugees to exit the space of the camp and integrate into urban life in a nearby city.

Accompanying this conceptualisation of the camp as a retainer for the 'unwanted people within the nation state' is often the notion that they are insecure spaces and violent spaces (Loescher & Milner, 2004) – constructed as such by both the state, the media and the

public, as well as by refugee camp residents – presenting a threat to both people outside the camp, and refugees dwelling within them. Vulnerabilities such as gender, age and disabilities are heightened for refugees within the space of the camp (Lischer, 2005). Furthermore, since they are spaces outside the normal rule of law, authorities are often more reluctant to police and protect the camps appropriately, or at least less willing to do so in comparison with how they police ordinary citizens. For example, Ramadan demonstrates that camps are 'spaces of exception' in which the law is suspended or not entirely enforced, and which allow for violence and destruction without sanction, causing 'urbicide' in the case of the Nahr el-Bared camp in Lebanon (Ramadan, 2009b). Coward (2009: 14) explains that 'urbicide' is the act of intentionally destroying buildings, though not restricted to the city, in order to attack a set of heterogenous beliefs or identities established by a group of people. This is reflected in the attack on the Nahr el-Bared camp, which was a site of conflict between the Lebanese armed forces and a militant Islamist group, considered 'urbicide' due to the deliberate demolition of the physical camp structures and sacred symbols of Palestinian identity, e.g., by the armed forces physically damaging the Qur'an. This event was devastating for Palestinian refugees, for whom the camp had become a space which allowed for the preservation of their Palestinian identities in exile (Ramadan, 2009a). Indeed, when the space of the camp was ruined, it was experienced as a second destruction and displacement from a home (Ramadan, 2010). Black (1998) highlights that it is precisely because refugee camps are spaces prone to militant activities or potential cross-border conflicts that they are sometimes placed in isolation by the state, in an attempt to avoid these activities spreading to the polity.

This physical and social separation, segregation and exclusion of refugees from the rest of society has been the response of many states in the current 'refugee crisis' (see Chapter 1). To place refugees in refugee camps, especially in protracted displacement situations, suggests that the spaces of refugee camps can be conceived of in relation to 'borders'. Novak (2017: 850) posits that "[i]n their most abstract existence, borders are lines that provide socio-spatial criteria for defining and identifying a 'here' and a 'there', (some of) 'us' and 'them', and what/who is and is not." In this sense, the social and physical creation of borders is an act of identification, in demarcating a difference between in/out-groups of people, and the construction of these borders is possible on multiple scales, ranging from the individual to the global. The physical and material boundaries of refugee camps which offer different living circumstances for people dwelling inside refugee camps as opposed to other places in host countries, separate people living inside as different than host populations, and are a physical

representation of the fact that there are also significant social borders between refugees and host populations (Agier, 2008; 2011). These social borders can be created, maintained or resisted by a variety of actors, including refugees, host populations, and states (Rumford, 2006: 164).

Whilst refugee camps may not entail the same physical and material borders as prisons, they can still symbolise the state's - and perhaps more inadvertently the public's - physical, mental and social bordering practices, which serve to 'other' refugees and render them feeling trapped in refugee camps, segregated from civil society. For example, Fontanari's (2015) study of refugee camps in Germany exemplifies how refugees felt trapped within the camp; even though it was technically open and the camp residents could leave any time they wanted. They were geographically so far removed from the city, with the camp located in a forest, that they *de facto* could not leave the camp. Fontanari (2015: 719) argues that it "is exactly the ambiguity of their nature—officially open structures, yet perceived as prisons—that renders these places border spaces in the sense of *thresholds*." Through Fontanari's conceptualisation of the space of the refugee camp, we return to the notion of temporality, and liminality, as being a key feature in the make-up of the camp, as refugees feel excluded by virtue of being physically isolated from the other citizens of their host nations, and this feeling of segregation is then internalised and becomes part of their sense of self. He writes:

> "I employ the concept of *threshold* as in-between space characterized by the suspension of time. Thus, confinement as the effect of every camp is ultimately predicated upon ideas of border-making and border-keeping, which give etymological proof to this concept of *threshold* as a typical in-camp experience among asylum seekers. Threshold does not just assume a spatial dimension, but it is especially a condition of non-belonging connoted by the experiences of waiting, uncertainty and insecurity; such a condition can be materialized in a space and internalized by the subjects who cross these border places" (Fontanari, 2015: 716).

Moreover, considering the mental construction of the space of the camp, a recent comparative study of two refugee camps receiving refugees from the 2015 'refugee crisis' on the Greek island of Lesvos demonstrates that local Greek business owners, hotels and governmental bodies conceptualise Pipka refugee camp as being over-capacity, and discursively reproduce this construction of the space of the camp in their conversations with other locals. Witcher (2022: 1694) argues that the facts on the ground revealed that although Pipka refugee camp was somewhat overcapacity, Moria camp was far more seriously overcapacity and that various stakeholders in Pipka town were engaging in these discursive

practices in order to maintain public support for their lawsuit against Pipka camp for being unsanitary and to increase support for them advocating for sending refugees to live in Moria, "farther away and out of sight". Pipka refugee camp was informally run by individual 'solidarians' as opposed to the formally coordinated camp of Moria. Witcher (2022: 1697) argues that the "Greek state and the organisations that ran Moria camp offer a conditional, or hostile, form of hospitality that necessitates refugeeness. Solidarians, by contrast, offer unconditional hospitality to all border crossers and they arguably offer better, more dignified housing."

This notion that the space of the refugee camp perpetuates the identity of 'being a refugee' as someone who is dependent on the state and on receiving conditional hospitality (based on the unspoken agreement that refugees are permitted to receive humanitarian aid on the condition that they do not exercise their agency) has been explored in detail by Rozakou (2012) in the Greek context. Though her study takes place just before the current 'refugee crisis', it still displays how the Greek state has a history of maintaining refugees in a relationship of dependency, and this serves as a part of the backdrop to understanding the social landscape of refugee camps in Greece. Rozakou (2012: 574) argues that the situation she studies "of asylum and immigration in Greece thus does not reflect a 'crisis of hospitality' but, rather, the expansion of the code of hospitality and the reaffirmation of state sovereignty through the ultimate control and the ontological production of the ksenos". A 'ksenos' is a stranger, but can also be understood as someone who is culturally 'other', and crucially, 'not Greek'. Rozakou (2012: 565) further explains:

> "Filoksenia," literally *filia* (love) of the *ksenos* (stranger, pl. *kseni*), is central to the Greek cultural and social imaginary for dealing with alterity and is at the core of how the Greek state represents itself. Often presented as a national virtue, filoksenia is rhetorically connected to the origins of Hellenism and to the discursive construction of the contemporary Greek nation-state as the direct descendant of ancient Greece."

And yet, this notion is subverted by the state in the context of managing refugees seeking asylum in Greece by discursively and spatially producing them as a 'worthy guest' in the camp, where they must accept the hospitality extended to them by the state, and where they are unable to become hosts themselves, as Rozakou argues:

> "The production of the asylum seeker as a guest is a profound assertion of that individual's depoliticization and disempowerment. As guests, asylum seekers are produced as passive recipients of a biopolitical humanitarian project in the name of hospitality, wherein the beneficiary is an object of control, education, and care. Devoid of power, the asylum seeker becomes a social being placed in the ground between

biological life and complete political existence. In the camp, the asylum seeker is bound to retain his or her temporary and liminal status—neither fully inside nor totally outside the community but, rather, in the vague space that hospitality draws in between, holder of a temporary residence permit and reliant on the good will of the host to grant or deny asylum and protection." (Rozakou, 2012: 573)

In contrast to Agamben and his conceptualisation of camps as 'spaces of exception', many scholars have conceptualised the space of the camp as an intensely political space, where refugees do exercise agency to improve their material living conditions and to partake in a rich social and cultural life (Puggioni, 2006). This is particularly evident in refugee camps where there is an absence of a strong nation-state acting as a sovereign power over the space and where hybrid sovereign powers take over. It is in this multitude and informality that refugees are able to more easily reclaim agency and engage in their own form of political life (Fregonese, 2012). Whilst Ramadan (2013) finds Agamben's work an important stepping stone in understanding the space of a refugee camp, he argues that it is a somewhat narrow and limiting perspective. He states that it denies refugees any agency to reclaim control and participate in political life through their own created spaces within the refugee camp which are active arenas for remembering the past in their homeland, the preservation of cultural traditions throughout daily life within the camp, and the longing for a better future returned to their homeland. All of these are crucial to identity-making within a liminal time-space. In fact, Ramadan suggests that acknowledging living in liminality is a symbol of resistance since it means that Palestinian refugees have not yet surrendered to the defeat of the current stagnation in the camp. Palestinian refugees challenge liminality by keeping the memory of the past and the hope of future return to their homeland alive through refugees' reproduction of Palestinian cultural and political symbols and practices throughout the landscape of the refugee camp (Ramadan, 2013: 73). Arguably, the degree of liminality which Palestinian refugees face is different to the liminality that Syrian or Afghan refugees may face, due to the protractedness of the situation and the complexities involved in the possibility of returning to Palestine. Nevertheless, refugees arriving in Greece during the current 'refugee crisis' also resist liminality. For instance, a recent study involving five Syrian teenage children living in a refugee centre in Greece highlights how these participants clearly choose to narrate their experiences of living in liminality by avoiding referring to the trauma they endured, but preferring rather to situate themselves as active agents in their stories, with a broad linguistic repertoire, and many hopes for how they intend to integrate into new host societies in Europe once granted refugee status, and thus resisting the notion that they are helpless victims (Avranitis et al., 2019: 142). Conceptualising

refugee camps involves a tension between regarding liminality as fundamentally restrictive or potentially enabling; between regarding them as 'spaces of exception' or 'spaces of politicisation' which can be situated along a spectrum – on the one end, camp dwellers tend to be positioned as 'speechless emissaries' (Malkki, 1996) whilst on the other end, as people with agency.

This agency can be expressed in multiple ways. For example, Sanyal's (2010) study of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon shows that refugees slowly built sturdier structures underneath their tents and bribed policemen, in order to resist the liminal physical living conditions of the camp. To further elucidate refugee agency, Ramadan (2013: 70) uses the notion of "assemblage" to explain how all the various aspects of the camp, be it physicality or social relations, enable the refugees to inhabit a space where they can recreate their cultural identities, and this creates a dynamic "camp-society". Sigona (2015: 1) proposes the concept of "campzenship" which he coins to refer to the methods of political participation adopted by refugees within camps to reflect the alternatively constructed form of citizenship relevant to camp-dwellers. Examples of this can be found in Clarke's (2018) study of Zaatari camp in Jordan, which was inhabited by Syrian refugees at the beginning of the current 'refugee crisis' and was not initially very formally governed or regulated by the state. This enabled the organic formation of strong informal networks and community leaders to engage in protest demanding better living conditions. Clarke (2018: 618) recounts how there was a contractor attempting to distribute unclean drinking water to camp residents, and how as soon as a refugee called one of the leaders, a crowd of four hundred people appeared to fight this injustice and stop the contractor. When the police appeared, they negotiated with the leaders and the contractor was arrested. Moreover, Dalal and colleagues (2018) discuss how refugees living in Zaatari camp exercised their agency to radically alter the socio-spatial living arrangements set up by the camp authorities, and instead built their own physical and material structures which were sensitive to their practical and cultural needs. They write: "Against the logic of an egalitarian grid, refugees moved "their" containers to form small semi-closed clusters in which families and relations gathered, beginning to share resources and establish socio-spatial patterns that are often reminiscent of habitats left behind in Syria" (Dalal et al., 2018: 67). These examples of refugees engaging in highly political and cultural acts demonstrate that the space of the refugee camp can also be conceptualised as one that is negotiated by refugees within complex power structures, which do pose certain legal limitations that restrict refugees' agency, and yet, refugees are still able to position themselves as powerful agents to a certain degree, who are

able to shape their lives. Although, in some cases within refugee camps "'the subjectivity of a person can be transformed from that of a citizen, or a political subject with 'the right to have rights' (Arendt, 1951), to a quasi-citizen or non-citizen with less rights, to an abject subject whose very right to have rights is suspended" (Rygiel, 2011: 2), refugees problematise the "proper and enduring form of political identity and community—that is, the citizen and the sovereign nation-state" Nyers (2006: 9). This suggests that we cannot envision the space of the camp as a mere absence of politics, but rather requires that we recognise that while multiple authorities and complex dynamics might exclude camp dwellers from formal participation in civic life, camp dwellers can and often do engage in acts that politicise space and express civic agency (Oesch, 2017; Katz, 2017). It must also be noted that this agency has certain effects on the power structures that govern many aspects of refugees' lives, thus demonstrating that refugees can indeed play an active role in shaping their lives. For example, Dalal and colleagues (2018) also note that in a German refugee camp, the authorities installed more public spaces at the camp residents' requests.

Therefore, what emerges from this discussion of the spaces and places of refugee camps is a complex interplay of the physical, social, mental and temporal dimensions of space (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005). By design they are supposed to provide temporary living solutions for refugees. This, is often reflected in the physical dimensions of the spaces, and yet they can become very permanent living conditions for many people who are living in protracted displacement (UNHCR, 2020). This liminality is expressed by the physical and social dimensions of the camp, which serve as a symbolic border, separating refugees from non-refugees (Agier, 2011; 2008; Fontanari, 2015). Camp-dwellers, as well as states and host populations, have mixed responses to this liminal temporal dimension of refugee camp spaces. The state's response often involves policies that either improve or worsen the physical and social dimensions of the space (Dalal et al., 2018). This also impacts the mental construction of the space by camp-dwellers, the state, and local populations, as it can be discursively produced as a 'space of exception', or as a space that contains people who are removed from host populations, therefore categorising refugees as 'others' (Agamben, 1998; Witcher, 2022; Hyndman, 2000; Rozakou, 2012; Turner, 2015). However, even within these conditions, refugees express agency over their lives, to improve their material living conditions, or to form new social networks that allow them to resist the liminality of the space of the camp (Dalal et al., 2018; Clarke, 2018). The varying levels of possibility for refugees expressing agency depends on multiple individual factors, including the degree of formal camp regulation, and

perhaps, can also be linked to questions of cultural group memberships. As has been outlined in the case of Palestinian refugees (Ramadan, 2013), and Syrian refugees (Dalal et al., 2018), it appears as though there is a strong possibility for campzenship (Sigona, 2015) and a reconfiguration of the physical and social camp spaces when there are certain strong cultural group membership bonds, such as common ethnicity, nationality and languages. The next section will therefore turn to a discussion about how refugees make sense of their living circumstances within refugee camps, and will consider in further depth how a sense of 'home' and 'belonging' can be constructed within displacement.

3.4 Understanding 'home' and 'belonging' within displacement

Having explored the ways in which the spaces and places of refugee camps can be understood, this section will now turn to a smaller spatial scale, to explore how 'home' is constructed in the context of forced migration for people dwelling within refugee camps. As Beeckmans and colleagues (2022: 12) contend, "making home or homes in displacement [is] a *spatial practice*". This process demands a complex negotiation of the relational dynamics of the physical, social, mental and temporal dimensions of space (Lefevbre, 1991; Massey, 2005), in order to construct (or not), to a certain degree, a significant place of 'home'. This occurs within multiple kinds of refugee camps, ranging levels of formality and involving time-frames that refugees occupy these spaces, in order to cope with daily life. For instance, Mavromatis (2018: 867) discusses how refugees engage in "processes of domestification of space" to make the informal refugee camp in Piraeus port in Greece feel more like home, even though this only remained a site of emergency relief. Brun and Fábos (2015: 12) talk about "immobilized forced migrants" living in protracted refugee camp situations. A home in this understanding is "a particularly significant kind of place with which, and within which, we experience strong social, psychological and emotive attachments" (Brun & Fábos, 2015: 6), which is connected to wider spatial processes beyond the camp. Therefore, making home is also inextricably linked to questions of identity and power relations. Power (2016: 87) discusses the dialectical relationship between home and identity; the way we construct and connect to home is impacted by our social identities and where we locate home and how we construct it influences who we are. Constructing home, just like processes of identification and space formation, involves asymmetrical power relationships which shape refugees' agency in constructing a sense of

home and belonging within refugee camps and amongst other camp residents and the host country local populations.

Theorising about the notion of 'home' has been a long-standing interdisciplinary endeavour. Conventional Western notions can be traced back to Ancient Greek history and mythology, centred around the goddess Hestia and figuring as the place to return to after a long journey with the tale of Odysseus (Moore, 2000: 208). These involve a bounded understanding, which has a degree of rootedness connected to the physicality and landscape of space (Relph, 1976), as well as to the affective responses humans can have to these (Tuan, 1974; 1977), regarding home as a static notion and as a state of being when one is comfortable in their present, without wishing for movement, "being but no longing" (Persram, 1996: 213). Early perspectives from the field of psychology understand home to be a physical structure in a specific geographic location which is intricately connected to one's sense of self, privacy, family unit, and involve a temporal continuity in the same place (Hayward, 1975; Tognoli, 1987). These tend to delimit the meaning of home to the individual sphere of personal affective responses to territory and residences as well as a gendered space associated with women (Darke, 1994). Subsequent understandings of home expand this to the sociocultural sphere, recognising the importance of self and home in relation to wider communities (Després, 1991). This Western idea of home as bounded to a singular location is at odds with non-Western notions of home. For instance, Traditional Indigenous perspectives towards home are transient in terms of physical locations because 'home' follows people's migration patterns in tune with nature (Gabriel, 2023: 91). Home among the Kel Ewey Tuareg in the Sahara does not involve elaborate materials and furniture, but is rather a connection to the ground and sitting on a mat (Spittler, 2018: 46).

This also points to the fact that notion of home has different linguistic and cultural implications across different languages, and that there may also be multiple different words to evoke the notion of home (Moore, 2000: 208). For example, Hollander (1991: 37) traces the various meanings of home in German, which is where the English word for 'home' is derived from, including '*heim*' which is 'home' and '*heimat*' which is more like homeland. He also discusses the Greek idea of home as '*nostos*' in the Odyssey, meaning "the journey toward and the arrival at home" (Hollander, 1991: 38). In English, this is related to 'nostalgia' - a concept associated with the notion of longing for home (Woodward, 2002: 72). Furthermore, the Ancient Greek word for 'house' is '*estia*' derived from the Greek goddess Hestia of home and hearth. In modern Greek, there is the distinction between 'house as structure', and 'home' as

feeling' (Brun, 2015: 44) with '*oikia*' as 'house' and '*spiti*' as 'home'. In Arabic, there is a distinction between 'house', '*bayt*' meaning home in the sense of 'house' and feelings about the house, and home as in 'homeland' '*watan*', which involves both a geopolitical aspect of attachment to a specific geographical location, and nostalgic feelings about connection with a homeland of childhood that has a an important "place in the psyche of an individual" (Noorani, 2016: 16). The linguistic and cultural meanings that refugees attach to the notion of 'home' and the interplay between these and those of host populations will have implications about the ways in which refugees are able to construct a sense of home within displacement.

More recent Western conceptualisations recognise previous perspectives but expand the notion of home to propose a more dynamic understanding of home as something which moves beyond attachment to a singular geographical location over a continuous period of time; Instead, it incorporates a more holistic approach to the spatial and temporal dimensions of home, including personal, communal, national and global scales (Kabachnik et al., 2010), as well as past, present and future temporalities (Massey, 1994; Brun and Fábos, 2015). Interestingly, these are more in line with Traditional Indigenous perspectives on space, place and home. These recent understandings of home incorporate the earlier affective responses to home in their conceptualisation but also open up the boundaries to the 'location' of home to include a dialectical relationship between time and space that more aptly accounts for the ways that people make home in a globalised world, and especially within the context of forced migration and displacement. A bounded approach to understanding 'displacement' considers a linear timescale and situates 'home' in the past, considering forced migration as the cause of a 'loss of place', a loss of past identities and a loss of psychological well-being (Gieryn, 2000: 482; Fullilove, 1996). Whilst not minimising these implications, a more dynamic approach to displacement, which positions forced migrants as actors with agency, considers a dialectical relationship between time and space, and situates home as a complex reconfiguration between the home of the past, the home of the present and the home of the future, as well as involving an interplay between private and public spheres: "Home is thus not a site protected from the outside world; rather, its boundaries are porous and may be defined in relation to wider social and political locations. Home may be understood as a site in which power relations of the wider society, such as relations of gender, ethnicity, class, and generation are played out" (Brun and Fábos, 2015: 7). This characterises the construction of home as a process and many scholars have theorised about how to understand this.

Hammond (2004: 9) uses the term "emplacement" to indicate the process by which displaced people enact daily practices to claim ownership over their new locale. This "form[s] the basis for productive work, social organization, and different forms of community identity". Ahmed (1999) discusses the importance of locality:

> "The immersion of a self in a locality is hence not simply about inhabiting an already constituted space (from which one can simply depart and remain the same). Rather, the locality intrudes into the senses: it defines what one smells, hears, touches, feels, remembers. The lived experience of being-at-home hence involves the enveloping of subjects in a space which is not simply outside them: being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, inhabit each other" (Ahmed, 1999: 341).

These conceptualisations of home introduce the idea that constructing home, or a sense of meaningful place, is an "embodied experience" (Eckenwiler (2018: 563). The focus on the senses and on the present time allows for an anchoring in the immediate lived experience, which can contribute to people being able to construct a home within contexts where home can be experienced daily but may not necessarily involve the same physical location. Scholars have employed the metaphor of 'routes' rather than 'roots' in relation to understanding how refugees construct a sense of home and identity which is dynamic, considers refugees' mobilities, and incorporates parts of the journeys they have undertaken and their trajectories so far, as part of their mobile rather than fixed homes (Woodward, 2002; Clifford, 1997). This metaphor centres the notion of home as a personal experience of becoming, connected with identity as a process of 'becoming' (Hall, 1990: 223), where the 'roots' to home are experienced within oneself via the routes that refugees have traversed and have become part of them. For example, Avranitis and Yelland's (2019) study about five, young teenage Syrian refugees finds that refugee children are able to construct a sense of home through narration, using it as a discursive tool to understand their identities and homes of the past, and their imagined homes of a future beyond Greece, thus 'routing' home within themselves. Ahmed and colleagues (2003: 9) employ the metaphor of gathering fragments: "Inherent to the project of home-building here and now, is the gathering of 'intimations' of home" from another time-space. Drawing on Malkki (1995), Brun (2001: 23) calls this a process of "reterritorialisation", expanding the notion beyond a collective remembering of a lost nation, to include present day practices that refugees carry out in displacement to create a sense of home. Brun and Fábos (2015: 12) then build on this to propose the metaphor of 'making home' in displacement as being "constellations of home", which are "like a dialogue that spans place and time, incorporating ideal concepts of home and

the homeland, aspirations to return "home," and hopes to achieve a more stable exile by strategizing to go somewhere else or return", to explain home as an idea and a practice:

> "Making home" refers to the particular ways in which home is constituted in protracted displacement through the dynamic relationship between home-Home-HOME. Making home represents the process through which people try to gain control over their lives and involves negotiating specific understandings of home, particular regimes of control and assistance, and specific locations and material structures" (Brun and Fabos, 2015: 14).

In their triadic conceptual framework, 'home' refers to daily activities of homemaking practices, including physical and social dimensions. For instance, this could include improving material living conditions, engaging in social practices such as producing symbolically significant food that reminds refugees of their previous home (Dudley, 2011) or engaging in hospitality rituals where refugees act as hosts as a way of subverting the daily power inequalities they face (Rozakou, 2012). "Home" refers to the ideal of home, including memory, imagination and emotion towards a homeland of the past and a hoped-for homeland or new land of the future. "HOME" refers to the official realm, including governments, policymakers, and humanitarian organisations, who aid but can also keep refugees in a state of displacement.

The imagined place of home or the memory of home can sometimes even be more significant in identity construction than the reality of the physical place a refugee inhabits in the present (Kabachnik, 2010; Morley, 2000; Ray, 2000). Mallett (2004: 69) illustrates home as a "a sentimental and nostalgic journey for a lost time and space" where the displaced negotiate their conceptions of being at home with an idealised past and an uncertain future and are thus in a constant state of movement, contradicting conventional static notions of home. Ahmed (1999: 331) further highlights the importance of communal remembering on creating a sense of home and talks of transnational journeys, where "the living and yet mediated relation between being, home and world is partially reconfigured from the perspective of those who have left home. This reconfiguration does not involve the heroic act of an individual but takes place through the forming of communities that create multiple identifications through collective acts of remembering in the absence of a shared knowledge or a familiar terrain". These memories are situated within a particular historical and cultural context (Gieryn, 2000), and thus when they are recalled during processes of collective acts of remembering, these specific cultural realities are reproduced in the present, keeping them alive.

Although the act of remembering the original home is argued by Ramadan (2013) to be a crucial part of reconstructing identity for the displaced, some academics caution against

cementing refugees' identities within memories of the past life in the homeland of origin, as this traps refugees into a negative assimilation of losing the past, rather than a positive assimilation of integrating into the present (Turton, 2004; Warner, 1994; Malkki, 1992). Sampson and Gifford (2010: 117) further explain, "[s]uch unifying identities all but erase the creative human capacity for a positive remaking of the present and the future and reinforce the marginalization of refugees as natives outside of their natural place". They suggest that place-making for refugees can best be understood through the lens of liminality, "a position somewhere in-between: one that recognizes the strong sense of connection to places left behind and their associated traumas while at the same time recognizing the possibilities of constructive (re)building of connections to place within a context of resettlement" (Sampson and Gifford, 2010: 117). These contexts of resettlement span across different locations and can offer different opportunities for people to resettle based on various personal, sociocultural and economic factors, as well as what stage of resettlement they are in, or how long they may have potentially be living in protracted displacement. Sampson and Gifford write about refugees engaging in resettlement in urban Melbourne rather than a refugee camp in Europe; nevertheless, some of the same processes are relevant.

Hart and colleagues (2018: 372) further argue for regarding making home for refugees within displacement through the lens of liminality. This is because the binary of home as 'temporary vs. permanent' within the context of refugee camps assumes that refugees attempting to improve their living conditions have given up on returning to their country of origin, moving to a more long-term residence, or that it means heralding the refugee camp as a beaming urban solution to humanitarian crises. They draw on Turton's (2005: 278) idea that ignoring refugees' efforts to recreate a sense of home after the suffering they have endured makes one complicit in regarding them as "passive victims" and unable to view them as ordinary people who could be part of the social fabric of their community. And yet, they recognise that making home in liminality is extremely complex in protracted refugee camp situations, since populations may spend a long amount of time in a refugee camp, where they create memories and feel like that place is home. When and if repatriation occurs, this may lead to reverse culture shock as the doubly-displaced find themselves missing the place that they called home for so long- the liminal refugee camp. They demonstrate that in Zaatari and Azraq refugee camps (as discussed in the previous section), refugees' ability to create a space for welcoming guests in their dwellings shaped the refugees' experience of feeling at home in the camps. These spaces enabled the continuation of culturally significant practices that occurred

in their countries of origin, which in turn signified the ability to feel more at home in the camp, as refugees were able to offer guests food and tea, as a crucial pathway to developing social bonds in a community where these practices are a vital part of belonging (Hart et. al., 2018: 375). These homemaking practices are indicative of what Turton (2005: 275) calls "the task of producing locality" and means that people feel a sense of belonging once this is carried out. Therefore, the processes of making home in displacement are inextricably linked to emotions (Chawla & Holman Jones, 2015) to 'feeling at home' and to creating belonging (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 254; Manzo, 2003: 57; Yuval-Davis, 2006: 197).

Building on Yuval-Davis's conceptualisation of belonging, Antonsich (2010) argues that 'home as belonging' within the context of migration involves an interplay between belonging to a place and the political struggle involved in the project of making home:

> "two major analytical dimensions: belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging)" (Antonsich, 2010: 545).

This conceptualisation of belonging points to it being an inherently political project, even at the level of 'place-belongingness' because as we have seen in the previous section, making home in displacement can involve a political struggle; over the land upon which refugees get to make home; between refugees and camp authorities who hinder refugees' homemaking practices (Jansen & Löfving, 2009); and the political struggle for individual belonging within a group-belongingness of imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) within their host countries, involving individuals but also communities and national-level discourses around refugees (see Chapter 1). This is echoed by Anthias who states, "belonging 'to' something is always linked to belonging 'with' particular others who also occupy the realm of belonging to that something" (Anthias, 2016: 177). In this understanding, belonging involves someone 'asking' for belonging, and someone 'granting' belonging (Antonsich, 2010: 650), and thus further highlights the paramount role that power dynamics play in constructing a sense of home and belonging within displacement.

3.5 Conceptual Framework and Research Questions

This chapter, in conjunction with the previous chapter, has explored the distinct yet also interrelated bodies of literature regarding theories of intercultural communication, identity construction, language(s), space(s) and place(s), home, and belonging, with a specific focus on the context of refugee camps, examining how these conceptualisations can be applied to this type of social context. This helps to chart out how to address the overall research aim, which is *to explore how encamped refugees in mainland Greece engage in intercultural interactions to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities, and how these intersect with processes of constructing a sense of home and belonging within the space(s) of refugee camps.*

A social constructionist and non-essentialist approach towards intercultural communication (Scollon and Scollon, 2001), recognises it as a dynamic process of meaning-making, through which cultures and identities are socially constructed and (re)negotiated through language(s) and within complex power structures. This, coupled with a relational and mutually co-constitutive approach to understanding space(s) and place(s) (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005), allows for an in-depth understanding of the dynamic complexities involved in how encamped refugees engage in processes of identity formation and create a sense of home and belonging within displacement. This requires understanding 'home' not as a static entity, but as 'constellations of home' (Brun & Fábos, 2015: 12) that involve multiple time-spaces and that both shape and are shaped by practices of identity formation. Identity is understood as a process of identification which occurs through a relationship between self and other, at an individual and collective scale, through which people claim identities or ascribe identities onto others (Jenkins, 2008). Identities can be relational and/or categorical (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) and are linked with cultural group memberships. These are expressed, embodied, symbolised, and negotiated through language (Kramsch, 1998). They can be investigated by using a mediated discourse approach to intercultural communication which can lay open how power relations are at play during interpersonal identity negotiation in order to understand how people claim or ascribe identities through social interactions and for what social purposes (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). Among these social purposes is the ascription of people as legitimate or illegitimate occupants of space (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006) and the creation of micro (place-belongingness) and macro (politics of belonging) (Antonsich, 2010) senses of home. These intercultural interactions occur within a situated context, yet also connect within wider time-spaces beyond the immediate situated context. Therefore a relational and co-

constitutive approach to space(s) and place(s) (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005) allows for an understanding of the complex ways in which people understand themselves and others, and notions of home and belonging, within social interactions to emerge.

Within my specific situated research context, refugee camps in mainland Greece are spaces where actors (refugees, NGO volunteers, locals, camp authorities) are members of multiple cultural groups (in particular, nationalities, ethnicities, languages) and are in regular contact with each other; living and working together and therefore interacting with others who are part of different cultural groups. Even though the spaces of the refugee camps are designed to be temporary, many refugees face protracted displacement and therefore end up living in the camps for extended periods of time. Camp-dwellers thus live in a state of liminality, in which the ways that they conceive of their daily lives, navigate the spatial dimensions of the refugee camp, and construct a sense of home and belonging are intricately connected to identities and cultural group memberships of time-spaces. These time-spaces include both their remembered pasts and their imagined futures, which are reconfigured in the present through social interactions. In light of this relational understanding between intercultural communication, identity, language(s), space(s) and place(s), home and belonging, this thesis is guided by the following specific and interlinked research questions:

1. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?
2. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of home within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?
3. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of belonging within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?
4. How do encamped refugees engage in intercultural interactions with other refugees, NGO volunteers, Greek locals and authorities, to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities?

Understanding questions about 'how' points to processes rather than states, and these can be epistemically addressed by undertaking an ethnographic study, which allows for an in-depth exploration of actors' behaviours and speech within situated contexts that could shed light on these processes. The next chapter will further discuss my methodological approach, demonstrating how these questions can be investigated in practice. Since this is an ethnographic study, the actors performing the acts of identification within these intercultural encounters will be determined by a combination of myself as a researcher - evident through language(s),

noticing when these actors speak about these kinds of cultural group memberships in practice, or behave in ways that may suggest that they are raising 'differences' as relevant categories in certain social interactions when conducting participant observation - as well as through refugees' and NGO volunteers' experiences of these occasions, recounted through interviews.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Having outlined my conceptual framework in the previous chapter (Section 3.5) which understands meaning-making as a process of interrelations, the purpose of this chapter is to present the methodological approach I took during my fieldwork in order to understand how meanings around issues of identity, home and belonging were constructed within my research context of two refugee camps. Undertaking intercultural and multilingual research in a highly sensitive context was a valuable but also challenging endeavour which involved a rich cultural and linguistic landscape that demanded a complex negotiation between myself as a researcher and my research participants as we generated and then I analysed, interpreted, and am now reporting the data gathered (Holmes et al., 2013: 297).

Section 4.2 will consider the research design, outlining the theoretical underpinnings of ethnographic research as my chosen methodology and revisiting my research aim and research questions which will be discussed in further detail here in relation to how they were addressed in the field. Section 4.3 will provide an overview of my research context, including greater detail about Busy Bee, my partner NGO, as well as providing details about Minoan and Dorian refugee camps within Artemopolis in Greece. Section 4.4 will consider the process of data collection and analysis, including the various stages of my ethnographic research (conducting participant observation, ethnographic interviews, and working with interpreters) using Spradley (2016 [1989]) as a key guide, whilst critically reflecting on the challenges that arose and how I dealt with them. Section 4.5 will investigate issues around my positionality, regarding this as relationally produced within a situated context of interactions between research participants and researchers, going beyond a strict dichotomy of 'insider' vs. 'outsider' positionalities (Carling et al., 2014). This is significant because it had some impact on my interactions with participants during my fieldwork, in terms of how I positioned myself and others positioned me and the related implications about how this may have affected the research process. Section 4.6 will discuss the ethical considerations that are crucial when researching with vulnerable populations and how I approached safeguarding my participants' confidentiality, anonymity and other ethical concerns that arose.

4.2 Research Design

This section will discuss the theoretical underpinnings and strategic direction of my research methodology to conceptualise how I addressed my research aim and research questions during my fieldwork. As outlined in my conceptual framework in the previous chapter, this thesis is guided by the ontological perspective that culture is fluid and dynamic and that culture, along with identities, space(s), place(s), home and belonging are all socially constructed. Therefore, it follows that since the overall research aim of this thesis is *to explore how encamped refugees in mainland Greece engage in intercultural interactions to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities, and how these intersect with processes of constructing a sense of home and belonging within the space(s) of refugee camps*, an interpretivist epistemology is required to make sense of these processes (O'Reilly, 2009). This calls for a particular methodological commitment to qualitative research methods which focus on social interactions and allow for a gradual and deep understanding of people's lived experiences, whilst also being critical and recognising that no one story is the full and objective truth, but that a synthesis of multiple, potentially conflicting subjective stories can present a plausible, grounded and "compelling 'truth'" about the research data (Braun & Clarke, 2013: 40). In light of this, I have opted to undertake an ethnographic study to address my research aim through answering the following more focused research questions:

1. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?
2. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of home within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?
3. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of belonging within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?
4. How do encamped refugees engage in intercultural interactions with other refugees, NGO volunteers, Greek locals and authorities, to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities?

Ethnography, as both a methodology and a research product, builds an account of social processes by focusing on details of interactions within a specific social context (Jackson, 2016), offering all at once a situated and a holistic perspective (Fetterman, 2010). As Geertz (1973: 5) explains, "Believing, with Max Weber, that man [sic] is an animal suspended in webs of

significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning". Ethnography's role is to untangle these webs of significance, interrogate them and then share them with others. Thus, it is engaged in an iterative process of deconstruction and reconstruction which focuses on ordinary actions that people carry out and the meanings they associate with these actions, which sheds light on cultural processes (Wolcott 2008: 72). In other words, ethnography focuses on how and why people behave in just the ways that they do, and what their behaviour may signal about their own and others' beliefs, identities and sense of group memberships. The cultural processes that are implicated are both indicative of 'brought along culture' – that is, aspects of culture that people choose to draw on in social interactions to influence how they behave – and 'brought about culture' – that is, new cultural meaning that is created within the social interaction (Woodin, 2016: 104).

Ethnography can help us to decipher both of these kinds of cultural meanings, by paying attention to the particular actions, spaces, and verbatim (exact words used by interlocutors) that people engage in and with, within a particular context, through participant observation carried out by the researcher, making rough scratch notes of observations in the field, and then converting them into longer extended field notes shortly afterwards. Whilst these observations do include words that other group members say, in order to form an emergent, grounded account of cultural meanings for group members, they still need to be triangulated[5] (Agar, 1980: 23) with a wider array of perspectives from other members of the group (e.g., through informal or formal ethnographic interviews) (Spradley, 2016 [1980]). Hence, the 'end product' of ethnography is not an absolute truth, but rather, a well-grounded interpretation of observations and accounts, which point to conscious and subconscious understandings of cultural meanings; a snapshot of what seems to be true for a group of people in a specific moment in time, which can still be varied, conflicting and multiple. It is an epistemically humble attempt to wrestle with complexity resulting in "the ethnographic recording of lived experience within the social" (Willis & Trondman, 2000: 10). Geertz explains the process of ethnography as follows:

> "What the ethnographer is in fact faced with […] is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render […] Doing ethnography is like trying to read

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[5] By the term 'triangulating', I mean searching for themes across different parts of the data, not searching to 'prove a singular truth'.

(in the sense of "construct a reading of") a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour." (Geertz, 1973: 10)

Indeed, Geertz defines ethnography as, firstly, the process of understanding a kind of descriptive mille-feuille of multi-layered social meanings of people's behaviours, speech, and beliefs, and secondly, as the process of communicating this understanding to others. It is an elaborate and thorough process in search of piecing together what may seem at first an incongruent puzzle, but that through perseverance and open-minded investigation, will eventually yield a rich understanding. Fetterman (2010: 1-2) echoes Geertz, and further suggests that "[e]thnography gives voice to people in their own local context, typically relying on verbatim quotations and a 'thick' description of events […] the ethnographer is interested in understanding and describing a social and cultural scene from the emic, or insider's perspective". Therefore, I selected an ethnographic study as an appropriate research methodology to address my 'how' research questions, which were particularly focused on understanding processes of meaning-making in complex situated contexts.

The main interconnected principles of ethnography are 'participant observation', 'making strange', 'thick description', 'reflexivity', and 'ethics' (Spradley, 2016 [1980]). 'Participant observation' is a process whereby the researcher immerses themselves into the social group they seek to understand as both a participant (getting involved in the habitual, daily group activities, spending time becoming an insider) as well as an observer (looking from the outside in as a spectator). Whilst doing so, the ethnographer tries to 'make strange': to describe what they see as if they are seeing it for the first time or explaining what is occurring in front of them to a person who is entirely alien to situation. This degree of detachment helps to ensure "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973: 10): documenting various aspects of what is occurring in the social scene (e.g., describing people's actions, their verbatim, the places, the objects and how these all interact with each other). Through a complex epistemic and hermeneutic process of decoding and recoding information (Clifford, 1986: 2), the ethnographer eventually pieces together a deep understanding of the social situation from an 'emic perspective': "to understand the meaning of people's lives, as they themselves define them" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2015: 24). This requires 'reflexivity', empathy and a commitment to a robust code of ethics (see 4.6 for more detail) on behalf of the researcher to question how they are documenting what is observed and if they are indeed presenting the social scene from the group members' perspectives, not just assuming that the ethnographer

has understood it correctly. Therefore, in an ethnographic study, the voices and experiences of members of the group participating in that social and cultural scene are prioritised, where the epistemic authority lies primarily with the research participants.

That is not to say however, that the researcher's voice is muted in this process or does not carry epistemic value, but rather, that it aims not to be at the centre of the endeavour. Ethnography inevitably involves the voice of the researcher too, as they are inextricably embedded into the social scene, and they too play an active role in generating meaning during all the stages of the research process. This subjectivity does not hinder the epistemic value of the knowledge that is created, but rather can be harnessed to strengthen it through the ethnographer's critical self-reflection of their own role and positionality, cognisant of their limitations, biases and assumptions about what is observed, and through an internal and external conversation with others' experiences. This is all the more crucial when carrying out ethnographic work with vulnerable research participants, and particularly in this context of conducting research with participants from the Global South, given that the origins of ethnography lie in colonial anthropology, when an essentialist approach to culture dominated scholarship. Ethnography was previously used as a justification for ascribing fixed characteristics to certain cultural groups while the supposedly 'neutral' ethnographer assumed that such groups are composed of largely homogenous, if not identical, members (Borneman & Hammoudi, 2009). In fact, my own subjective bias was evident in the first iteration of the research questions. Before arriving in Greece, I had used the term 'refugee camp community' as a shorthand for referring to all the actors that I wanted to work with. However, as I became familiar with camp-dwellers and NGO volunteers, I realised that this term carried many underlying implications and assumptions on my part, for example, that there even was a coherent group such as a 'refugee camp community', and that there lies a great deal of power in the language that researchers use. In keeping with the ethnographic approach, I opted to wait and see if this notion emerged as an emic perspective from the participants, and instead decided to state all the actors in my research questions: 'refugees', 'NGO volunteers', 'Greek locals' and 'authorities'.

More generally, in order to address my research questions in the field, I realised that this process demanded a delicate dance of responding to the ongoing, interlinked, relationship between a continuously evolving context, with the events of the 'refugee crisis' (current and previous) and camp-dwellers changing too, my positionality and use of my linguistic repertoire,

which all enabled or hindered access to data collection at various moments. The following diagram attempts to illustrate the relationship between the dimensions that I navigated:
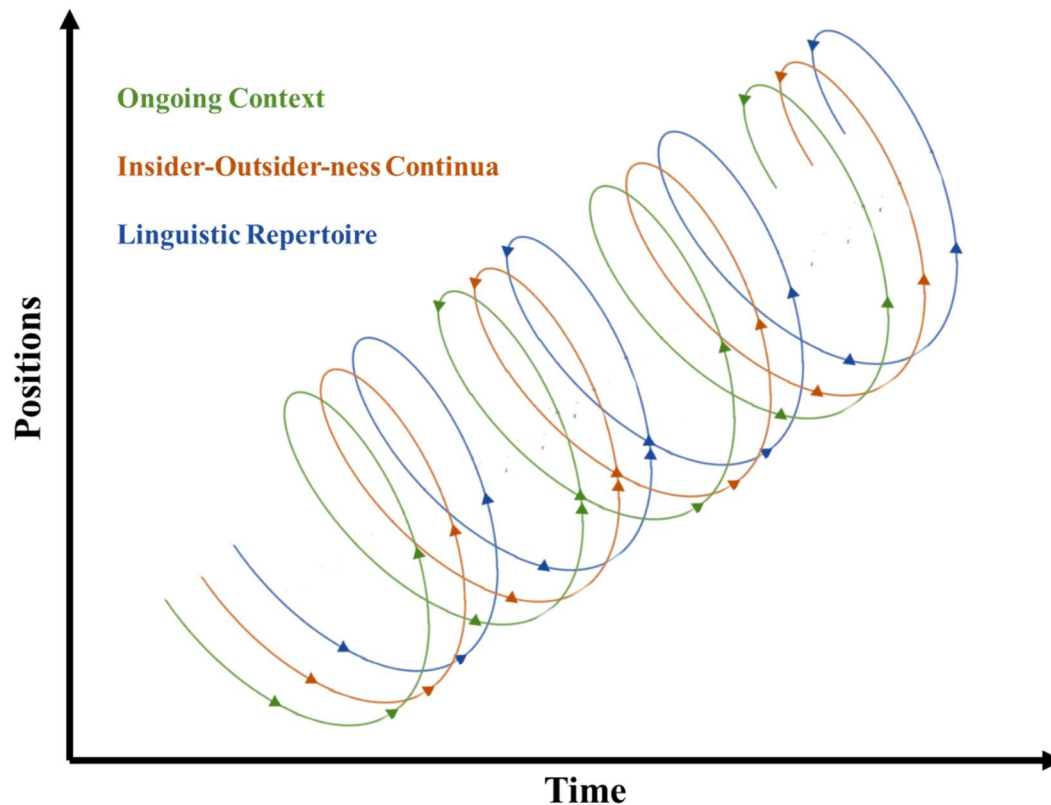

Figure 2: Helix of Positionalities Diagram

This helix shape demonstrates how these dimensions of my positionality and of the context were continuously interwoven and dynamically evolving throughout my fieldwork. I found that I was able to address different aspects of the research questions at different moments of the research journey, in varying degrees, as these shifted in relation to my location on the insider-outsider continuum of positionality and language use. Towards the beginning of my fieldwork journey, given my linguistic repertoire, when I used English and Greek, I was more of an insider with the NGO volunteers, and less so with refugee participants, thus I gathered more data about NGO volunteers' experiences during this stage. And yet, in terms of the stories that refugee participants shared, which make up a crucial component of this thesis, these became more prevalent as I became more of an insider with camp-dwellers as time went on, and as I placed myself in the vulnerable position of using language incompetently, trying to articulate words in Arabic or Farsi, and failing, and yet this permitting a channel of more open

communication with refugee participants. This experience revealed that I indeed needed to occupy all the various positions that were required along the way though, in order to be able to have the conversations that occurred towards the end of my fieldwork journey, and that I needed to be willing to embrace the dynamic context within which I was operating.

To bring some semblance of order to the research journey, I sought to put ethnographic principles into practice in the early stage of data collection by "participating directly in the setting […] in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally" (Brewer, 2000: 10), ensuring that there is a constant filter of internal reckoning before observations are recorded. In terms of data analysis during the later stage of the ethnographic process, rooted in Grounded Theory (Glaser & Straus, 1967), ethnography calls for a deep inductive approach to understanding meaning-making and data analysis, since understanding emerges from themes entrenched in the data as shared by research participants. Nevertheless, this did not mean that I was not guided by a research aim and a set of research questions informed by existing literature before entering the field, but rather, that I was not seeking to 'test out' certain pre-existing hypotheses at the expense of critical observation (Suddaby, 2006: 634-635). Throughout my participant observation, I took care to retain a 'wide-lens' perspective to ensure thick descriptions, which meant that I did collect data about themes that were significant to my research participants, but that span beyond the scope of this research project (e.g., processes of running a small NGO in a refugee camp context) but which could be explored in future work. Nevertheless, guided by my research questions, I was particularly interested in noting thick descriptions of moments of intercultural interactions. I operationalised this conceptual term in the field by noticing when there were particular interactions where interlocutors made 'large' cultural group categories such as national, ethnic or linguistic identities relevant in an interaction, and I paid particular attention to the verbatim and non-verbal communication that accompanied these moments to give context to how people were positioning themselves and categorising others, or potentially allowing or denying people access or belonging to certain places or groups. I also noted when people would make 'difference' relevant in more micro-interactions, for example between a pair of speakers or smaller group settings, noting how language was used in these moments by individuals to distinguish themselves as the same or different from others, to reinforce or challenge group boundaries and formations. I also paid particular attention to the physical location of these interactions, noticing situated interactions within a place. Conversely, I also made notes about how people discursively referred to the spaces that they occupied. Lastly, I ensured to include

reflections of my own role throughout, both in terms of active participation, as well as reflections on how I was understanding what I observed.

In terms of the kinds of possible ethnographic research and selecting a specific research location, Spradley (2016 [1980]: 30) identifies variations in ethnographic research scope ranging from a 'macro-ethnography' of 'complex societies' to a 'micro-ethnography' of a 'single social situation'. My research aim sets the parameters of this study to encamped refugees, which meant that I knew that I was searching for a research context of a refugee camp of some kind; this implied that I would be conducting an ethnographic study in the meso-level range of the ethnographic research scope (by Spradley, 2016 [1980]: 30) of 'multiple social situations' within a refugee camp.

I began my search for a location to carry out my fieldwork by investigating options of organisations that I knew would provide sustained access to at least one refugee camp. The obvious starting point seemed to be large, international humanitarian organisations working in refugee camps in Greece in general, such as the UNHCR and Oxfam, as well as national Greek organisations, rather than looking for a specific camp location. However, it quickly became apparent that negotiating sustained access via these kinds of organisations was extremely bureaucratically challenging since, as one person unofficially told me, they were worried about me evaluating the quality of their support for refugees, even though I was explicit that this was not the focus of my research. I therefore relied on my social network to find a smaller NGO, Busy Bee[6], which did have sustained access to multiple refugee camps (these regularly changed though depending on funding) by providing occasional leisure and educational activities inside camps, rather than focusing on the operational running of the camps, as was the case with the larger organisations. Busy Bee was small enough that the directors and all the volunteers who were there had the time to discuss my research parameters at length with me and were willing to allow me to carry out my research as long as I committed to also being a volunteer with them for a significant period of the time, which coincidentally meant working in two refugee camps.

This arrangement was evidently helpful as being a participant is required for an ethnographic study, but the fact that I would be volunteering in two refugee camps (more specific camp details in 4.3) prompted me to in investigate ways of doing ethnographies in multiple locations with 'multiple social situations'. Marcus' (1995) notion of a 'multi-sited

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[6] As a reminder, all of the names used are pseudonyms (see further discussion in section 4.6). However, I have decided not to anonymise international organisations such as 'UNHCR', as they are large enough that referring to them would not be compromising confidentiality.

ethnography' emerged as informative for my research context. Firstly, a 'multi-sited' ethnography obviously points to more than one geographical location and working in two refugee camps enabled me to learn from the two different social situations. Although I was not engaging in a strictly comparative study, there were patterns and differences across the experiences of research participants across the two different camps (e.g., camp-dweller demographics, infrastructure) which revealed a multi-layered and rich understanding of refugees' experiences in Artemopolis, Greece, that I would not have come across had I conducted my ethnographic study in a single location. But more subtly, beyond the multiple geographical locations, Marcus' notion of a 'multi-sited' ethnographic approach also opened up opportunities for understanding "the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space" (Marcus, 1995: 79), which was particularly fitting for conducting research with refugees with complex temporal and spatial identities. Marcus describes a 'multi-sited' ethnographic approach in the following way:

> "Although multi-sited ethnography is an exercise in mapping terrain, its goal is not holistic representation, an ethnographic portrayal of the world system as a totality. Rather, it claims that any ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system is also an ethnography of the system, and therefore cannot be understood only in terms of the conventional single-site *mise-en-scene* of ethnographic research, assuming indeed it is the cultural formation, produced in several different locales, rather than the conditions of a particular set of subjects that is the object of study" (Marcus, 1995: 99).

Marcus argues that a multi-sited ethnographic approach considers micro-context situated research as well as wider macro-level social processes. Even a glimpse into a single locale where cultural formation processes are occurring can echo the kinds of processes that occur on a global scale since we are all part of the 'world system', or, to extend Geertz' (1973: 5) term, part of wider "webs of significance", and we are in relationship with these wider processes even within micro-scale interactions.

This approach can be further understood through Ingold's (2011) metaphor likening the work of an anthropologist to that of a painter who experiences and represents their art as a snapshot of a moment in time but that is continuous with the wider world:

> "a totality of process that, since it is forever ongoing, is always open-ended and never complete, but which is nevertheless wound up in every moment that it brings forth. […] any act of description entails a movement of interpretation. What is 'given' to experience, in this mode, comprises not individual data but the world itself. It is a world that is not so much mapped out as taken in, from a particular vantage point, much as the painter takes in the landscape that surrounds him from the position at which he has planted his easel." (Ingold, 2011: 237)

Reflecting on Kroeber's conception of anthropology, Ingold evocatively writes:

> "But like the painter, and unlike the puzzle builder, Kroeber's anthropologist seeks an integration 'in terms of the totality of phenomena' (ibid.: 547) that is ontologically prior to its analytical decomposition. Yet if the anthropologist describes the social world as the artist paints a landscape, then what becomes of time? The world stands still for no one, least of all for the artist or the anthropologist, and the latter's description, like the former's depiction, can do no more than catch a fleeting moment in a never-ending process. In that moment, however, is compressed the movement of the past that brought it about, and in the tension of that compression lies the force that will propel it into the future. It is this enfolding of a generative past and a future potential in the present moment, and not the location of that moment in any abstract chronology, which makes it historical. Reasoning along these lines, Kroeber came to the conclusion that time, in the chronological sense, is inessential to history. Presented as a kind of 'descriptive cross-section' or as the characterisation of a moment, a historical account can just as well be synchronic as diachronic. Indeed it is precisely to such characterising description that anthropology aspires. 'What else can ethnography be', asked Kroeber rhetorically, 'than … a timeless piece of history?' (1952 [1946]: 102)." (Ingold, 2011: 232)

Influenced by this theoretical approach to painting a multi-sited, ethnographic, anthropological account, I was able to note where research participants' testimonies of living or working within these two specific refugee camps could plausibly echo others' experiences and may shed light on the processes of identification, cultural group formation, and constructing space, place and home and belonging for refugees elsewhere in Greece (and perhaps in Europe).

In terms of my theoretical understanding of 'the field' as my site for conducting research, I regarded it as a 'shifting location' instead of a 'bounded field', which was an "emergent conception of sites as 'found objects', artefacts of the 'informants' making" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 38). This meant that I considered 'the field' as both a conceptual space, a physical space, and as a cultural product of the research participants, which as an ethnographer, I was able to discover during participant observation. Moreover, since 'the field' was a cultural artefact produced by the group members, as part of the social scene, I was inevitably interacting with it too, and therefore am part of the process of reconstructing it, along with research participants during the ethnographic process. Indeed, "if space is produced, there is no reason why the space of ethnography should be exempt" (Falzon, 2009: 4) and therefore the notion of the co-constructed research field by researcher and participants in the field alike has grown in recent use (Fog Olwig & Hastrup, 1997; Amit, 2000). This conceptual understanding of the ethnographic field of research is congruent with my theoretical understanding of space and place as relational and co-constituted, as set up in my conceptual framework (section 3.5). I

will now turn to a more in-depth discussion about the particular details of my fieldwork context, my partner NGO, and the two refugee camps I worked in.

4.3 Research Context

At the time that I joined them, Busy Bee was operating inside two refugee camps, 'Minoan camp' and 'Dorian camp' within the city of Artemopolis, and at the local Artemopolis community centre. Their primary activities are to provide English language classes for adult refugees, and a 'Young Explorers' programme for children which involves English language classes, creative workshops and local excursions. They also engage in some advocacy work and fundraising to support their projects. As a small NGO, their projects change depending on their funding (e.g., the 'twinning programme' which focused on refugee local integration ran out of funding just before I arrived) but their core function is to provide English language classes. Due to limited capacity, during my fieldwork Busy Bee operated in Dorian camp on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and in Minoan camp on Tuesdays and Thursdays. They also led excursions to local places for children from Dorian camp on Saturdays and Minoan camp on Sundays. Busy Bee also sometimes worked in partnership with another small NGO called 'Darling Crafts', which was a makerspace[7] NGO, physically located just across the street from Minoan camp. Since these were the key locations that Busy Bee operated in, Minoan and Dorian camp locations became the main sites of my fieldwork, as these were the locations which were most significant for my research participants. Some participants do make reference to a community centre in Artemopolis and to Darling Crafts, and hence these locations also became significant insofar as understanding how these related to experiences of encamped refugees.

Drawing on my extensive conversations with the founders of Busy Bee, as well as some of their interviews as research participants throughout my study, I will now offer a brief background to how the NGO was set up and details about each of the refugee camps, as this offers some important context for some of the unique experiences that characterise the way that refugees and Busy Bee volunteers engage in intercultural interactions and their experience of cultivating a sense of home and belonging within the camps. Busy Bee was officially set up in 2017 by four founding members: Marco (the President of Busy Bee), Nora, and Flavio, all of

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[7] A space where people can come and create various crafts, including more heavy-duty ones such as welding.

whom I met and are research participants, and Inaya, who was not present during my time volunteering with them. These four were originally just four strangers who had travelled from European countries to Greece to individually volunteer in response to the first wave of refugees arriving in Greece in 2016, much like 'international solidarians' (Witcher, 2022). They met whilst working with the influx of refugees at the site which would eventually become Minoan camp. Busy Bee began as a collaboration with an Italian benefactor, Luigi, who is the leader of a group of NGOs supporting disadvantaged groups in Italy, and who came to Minoan camp like the others to respond to the international call for help. Luigi wanted to continue to support Marco, who became the 'go-to' person for managing the logistics of the aid operation in Minoan camp in 2016, and so he decided to fund Marco to set up a formal NGO, that would be registered in Greece and would be able to operate in a long-term capacity as well as with legitimacy and legal standing in the region.

Busy Bee continues to receive financial support from Luigi, as well as other sources of national and international aid funds, and has become an organisation run by a few core members, who permanently stay in Greece and work on general logistics, securing funding, recruiting volunteers and liaising with other NGOs, charities and local governing bodies in the region. A steady flow of other international volunteers are in charge of delivering Busy Bee's educational and recreational activities for adult and child refugees. In terms of operational location, Busy Bee's small size means its office is also an apartment that houses most of these international volunteers whilst they are in Greece. Busy Bee requires that each volunteer commit to spending a minimum of three months volunteering within the organisation. During my period of engagement, the volunteer group was, at any one time, made up of a team of eight to fifteen volunteers. Notably, despite operating in the region for approximately two years by the time I joined them, they continuously struggled to attract and retain Greek local volunteers on their team, with the exception of one local student who occasionally aided them with ad-hoc activities. Furthermore, none of the core members or the international volunteers spoke even basic Greek, which complicates local operations. The working language of Busy Bee is English.

My fieldwork spanned a period of five months, from October 2019 to February 2020[8]. However, I only officially volunteered with Busy Bee for four months, from October until

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[8] I did intend to return for a second round of fieldwork in the spring, to follow up on some interviews in more detail, and to conduct more research with the children. However, this did not occur due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

January, with October being an intense period of participant observation, and with February dedicated to an intense period of ethnographic semi-structured interviews. My main volunteering role was as a Greek language teacher for the Young Explorers and to assist with excursions as well as English language classes. Along with regularly attending Busy Bee team meetings, I was responsible for setting up the Greek language classes for the children, which had not yet consistently existed in the organisation, and these classes ran in both Minoan and Dorian camps, for children aged eight to seventeen years old. I ran classes for four consecutive hours in Minoan camp on Tuesdays and Dorian camp on Fridays, to groups of varying ages and abilities, ranging from complete beginners to intermediate Greek language speakers. These refugee children attended local Greek schools and had learned the language in a bit more depth. Due to timetabling constraints, the classes were organised in terms of the children's capacity to speak English, not Greek, and hence this proved particularly challenging for me in terms of designing classroom activities for varying language capabilities and to match students' desire to attend the lessons and learn Greek within each session.

4.3.1 Minoan camp

Minoan camp is geographically located in the outskirts of Artemopolis, approximately a twenty-minute walk from the nearest, small village and a half an hour bus ride from Artemopolis city centre, but the bus service stops at five o'clock in the afternoon. It is extremely isolated from any local shops. The initial form of Minoan camp was set up in 2016, in a former open, rural, military base, though the only remaining structure from this time was the military hangar used for airplanes. Minoan camp was open in the sense of not being fenced off and rather informally regulated, though the camp was technically under the purview of the UNHCR. The people who were arriving at the time had mostly been relocated from the Greek islands and were hoping to continue onwards for relocation to Germany, and other European countries – most did not wish to remain in Greece, according to Marco and Nora. A few early arrivals managed to move on from Minoan camp. However, in March 2016, when the EU-Turkey deal was agreed, the majority of asylum-seekers found themselves waiting in Minoan camp for much longer than they had anticipated, along with the realisation that continuing on their journey beyond Greece would be immensely difficult.

The soldiers initially running Minoan camp were young Greek men who were conscripted into the army, and who along with many other international humanitarian

organisations, including UN and EU organisations, which were trying to respond to the influx of refugees, were entirely unequipped with knowledge and expertise about how to handle the logistics this situation demanded. Thus, Minoan camp was originally little more than a sea of people living in self-crafted tents, which people made using materials that they found themselves, planted on gravel-type dirt ground, with only 20 makeshift toilets for approximately one thousand people, according to Marco, Nora and Hanna, the co-founder of Darling Crafts. Their food and clothing needs were met by a myriad of small international NGOs who came to support this initial influx of people into Greece, who operated inside empty military hangars, or makeshift warehouses to sort food and clothes donations. The official response was largely uncoordinated, but this lack of structure enabled a strong community bond to form between refugees and the local and international volunteers who were initially on the scene, as recounted by Marco, Nora, Hanna and some refugee participants who were there at the outset. As the winter of 2016 approached in a mountainous region, fears for safety and warmth led to refugees, who had become a community by this point, demanding better support from Oxfam, who decided to offer better tents, which the community continued to find entirely insufficient to withstand what were becoming protracted living conditions. Following a series of protests, UNHCR eventually temporarily closed the camp, relocated people to Artemopolis city apartments, until they could build a more permanent structure where refugees could live in containers, with an individual kitchen and toilet in each one. This was and continues to be coordinated by a German NGO, 'Magnolia Aid', which has a local branch in Greece.

By the time I joined Busy Bee as a volunteer in 2019, Minoan camp had approximately 1,500 residents living in containers, with refugees from diverse national backgrounds, such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Pakistan and Democratic Republic of the Congo. Minoan camp is a highly linguistically diverse space, with some of the spoken languages being Arabic, Farsi, Dari, Kurmanji, Sorani, Somali, Urdu, Turkish, French, English and Greek. Despite some requests from some refugees to organise the living arrangements according to nationality and ethnicity, as was the original layout in 2016, the space now is mostly organised by arrival date, categorised as 'A' territory for the people who had originally arrived in the first wave of refugees in 2016, and 'B' territory for more recent arrivals, where new containers were brought in. During my time of working in the camp, they also began to erect new large tent-like structures, with temporary wooden and tin-built rooms, called 'C' territory, as the space was not large enough to accommodate the demand, between people not leaving the camp fast enough once they are granted asylum to move to Artemopolis city centre, or to leave Greece

for another European country (often Germany) and there not being enough new containers brought in. In terms of demographics of people living in the containers, there could be up to eight people, which could be made up of two families, living in a larger container with two bedrooms and a living room/kitchen; or a single family in a smaller container with a single bedroom and living room/kitchen; or a few elderly women living together; or a few young single men living together. Below is an image of the camp containers:

Figure 3: Image of Minoan camp containers (Source: Photo taken by researcher).

Approaching Minoan camp, the absence of local housing is noteworthy and there are surrounding mountains on the horizon. Entering the gate, you immediately notice rows and rows of containers in the middle of the camp, with a volleyball net and a colourful, small concrete structure just before the rows of containers begin, that is used by Magnolia Aid to run a nursery for young children, and as classroom spaces for Greek language classes for adults. To the right of the entrance, there is a large, ex-military hangar (large enough that it used to shelter small airplanes). This is the structure that originally served as the warehouse that the first wave of refugees arriving in 2016 received food and clothes from. It was then used by a few other charities and NGOs to deliver similar resources, and then remained empty for a while when all of this support slowly dissolved as the refugee crisis went on. The week before I officially joined Busy Bee, Marco had managed to negotiate Busy Bee using this space for their educational activities, which were until then being run in a few cramped conditions in containers along the west side of the camp. To the left of the entrance, there is a row of containers for official use (e.g., Magnolia Aid, local lawyers, doctors, social services and interpreters). What is remarkable is that these services, and any 'functional' spaces such as

public toilets are located on the perimeter of the camp, at the front closest to the entrance/exit, with the containers for camp-dwellers beginning from the middle and spanning approximately a 5-minute walk to the back of the camp. Below is a map of the space, in a simplistic digital format for ease of reading, but the original scratch note version can be found in Appendix 1.
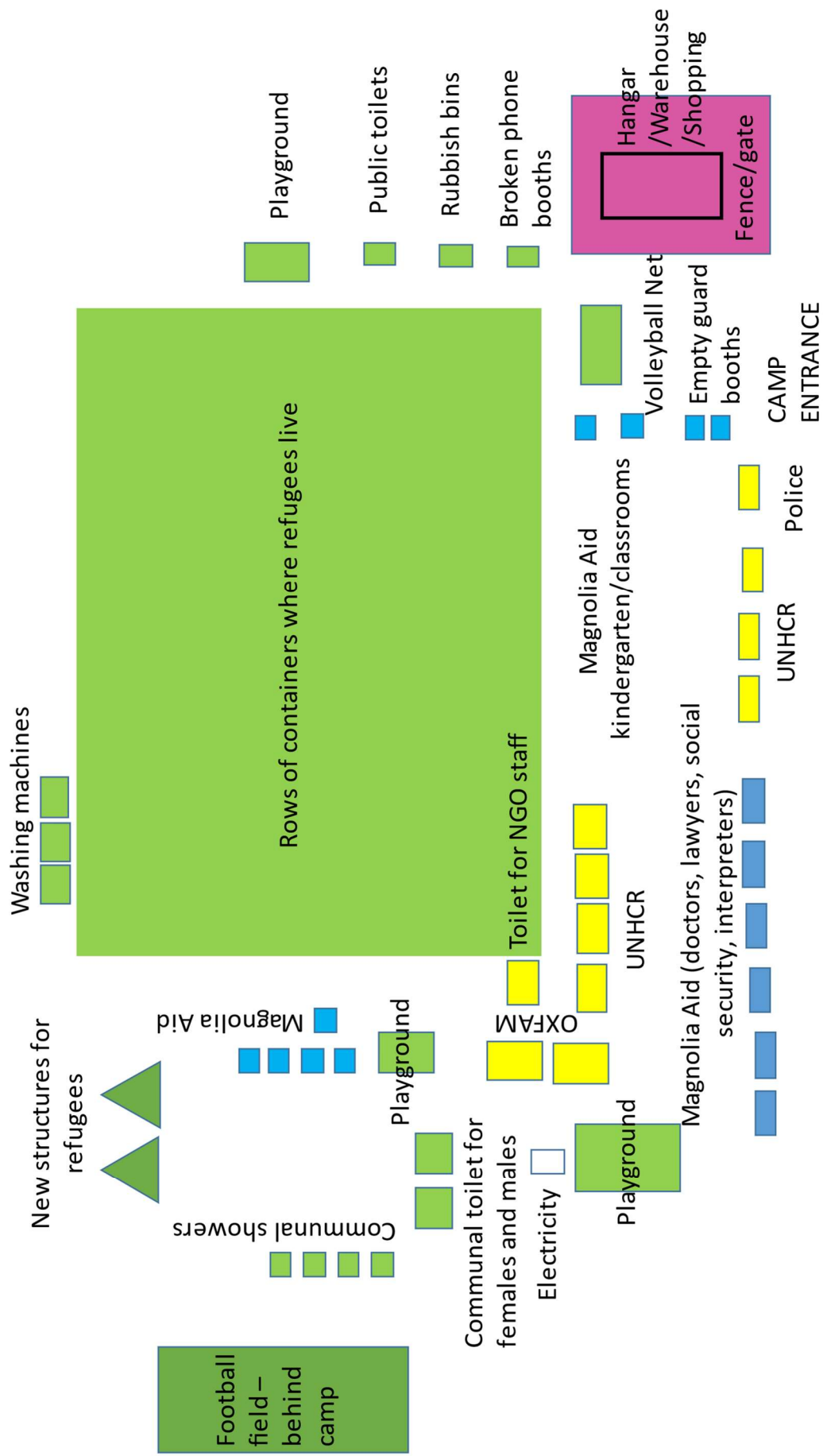
Figure 4: Map of Minoan camp.

4.3.2 Dorian camp

Dorian camp is located approximately an hour's walk from Artemopolis city centre, however, unlike Minoan camp, there is not a closer, small town within a reasonable walking distance. Dorian camp is on a bus line of approximately twenty minutes to Artemopolis centre and this runs more frequently than the bus to Minoan camp and continues until late at night. It is within a ten-minute walking distance of the small local airport and a large supermarket. Dorian camp is a fenced and security-guard protected camp, with approximately 600 residents, who are deemed by the Greek state as being more vulnerable than the residents of Minoan camp, in that camp-dwellers include some unaccompanied minors, and people with more serious physical and mental health concerns. Dorian camp is run by 'Dandelion Aid', a Greek branch of an international NGO. The residents of Dorian camp are largely single mothers with children, and the linguistic and national make-up of the camp is similar to that of the Minoan camp. In terms of infrastructure though, Dorian camp is quite different to Minoan camp as it was built using existing buildings from previous use for an orphanage. There are multiple brick and concrete buildings between two to three floors each, with approximately five or six rooms per floor, mostly spaced around an outer ring of the camp, where families (mostly) have their individual rooms, but share a communal kitchen and toilet on each floor of the buildings. Below is an image of a typical building:

Figure 5: Image of Dorian camp building (Source: Photo taken by researcher).

In contrast to Minoan camp, the offices for official use (e.g., Dandelion Aid, lawyers, doctors, social workers and interpreters) are located quite centrally in the camp, with housing for camp-dwellers interspersed around the sides. There are also communal facilities in the centre of the space that residents can have access to, as long as they request the key from Dandelion Aid, such as a television room with fairly comfortable chairs and sofas, a theatre room where children can put on plays, and a classroom with computers where people can access the internet. There are also well-decorated classrooms for children's nurseries and kindergartens, playgrounds, and communal washing machines. Unlike Minoan camp that is mostly flat, dirt land, Dorian camp is elevated on a few hills, with lush trees interspersed around the camp, some concrete paths to walk around, a paved parking lot in front of the main buildings, and a large football field for recreation at the back. Moreover, in stark contrast to Minoan camp, there are local Greek houses just outside the camp. Below is a map of the space, in a simplistic digital format for ease of reading, but the original scratch note version can be found in Appendix 2.

Figure 6: Map of Dorian camp.

Animal pen/ children's forts

gardens

Housing buildings

House/buildings

gardens

Housing buildings

Housing buildings

Other building

Housing buildings

gardens

Housing buildings

Extra structure built by Soroush and friends

Housing buildings

Big open field, trees, lamps, laundry lines

Housing buildings

Covered structure

Housing buildings

Make-shift playground

Courtyard, open space, green, trees

Vegetable garden
Football field

Washing machines

Classrooms

Housing buildings

Chicken coop

Dandelion Aid offices

Housing buildings

GATED CAMP ENTRANCE

Classrooms

Library/ Communal room

Theatre/ Workshop room

Classrooms/nursery

Park and volleyballrope

Parking lot

Housing buildings

Football field

Guards' office

4.4 Data Collection & Analysis

This section will discuss the processes and challenges of data collection and analysis in the field and upon return, my means of access and associated issues arising, as well as the dynamic process of adapting the research design to both meet the reality of the challenges I encountered in the field and to be sensitive to research participants' input to the research. I will critically reflect on my role as a researcher where it is directly relevant to the research phase being discussed throughout this section; however, a more detailed discussion of general reflections on my positionality will be discussed in section 4.5. Below is an overview of the main stages of my fieldwork, which will be discussed in further detail in the appropriate following sections.

Table 1: Overview of fieldwork stages of data collection and my role in Busy Bee.

Timeframe	Stages in Ethnographic Research Cycle (Spradley, 2016 [1980])	My role in Busy Bee
October 2019 (4 weeks)	Participant observation Informal conversations	Supporting Young Explorer (YE) programmes
November 2019 (2 weeks)	Participant observation Informal conversations Initial Domain Analyses	Teaching Greek language classes and supporting YE
December 2019 (3 weeks)	Participant observation Informal conversations Initial Domain Analyses Semi-structured and ethnographic interviews: 8 with refugees; 4 with NGO volunteers	Teaching Greek language classes and supporting YE
January 2020 (4 weeks)	Participant observation Semi-structured and ethnographic interviews: 9 with refugees; 10 with NGO volunteers	Teaching Greek language classes and supporting YE
February 2020 (4 weeks)	Participant observation Semi-structured and ethnographic interviews: 33 with refugees; 5 with NGO volunteers; 2 with NGO volunteers conducted in March via Skype	Not formally volunteering but still helping ad-hoc

4.4.1 Participant Observation

During my participant observation, I took care to be "*learning from* people" rather than "*studying people*" (Spradley, 2016 [1980]: 3 – emphasis in original), and to soak up an understanding of what it means to belong and behave appropriately in the social context as an

insider. However, this 'insider-ness' was multi-dimensional in this context due to the fact that refugees[9] and NGO volunteers had very different experiences of the camp. It was very clear from the outset that I was predominantly learning to be a member of the Busy Bee volunteers, who visited and worked in refugee camps, and not a member of refugee camp-dwellers as I was not living in the camps and was not a refugee. Nevertheless, I was able to learn from refugees to a certain extent since Busy Bee presented a unique opportunity to be part of refugees' social spheres because of its operational policies and privileged local standing in Artemopolis – as a Busy Bee volunteer, I was permitted to enter the camps much more freely than other NGO volunteers, I was permitted to enter refugees' homes if invited, and on the whole, there was a great sense of respect from refugees towards Busy Bee volunteers which meant that I was able to spend more time with camp-dwellers than if I had been volunteering with another organisation.

Therefore, I was aware that the feasibility to carry out participant observation in this particular context in terms of 'accessibility' and 'perimissibleness' (Spradley, 2016 [1980]) was highly dependent on the President of Busy Bee, who acted as an informal gatekeeping authority mechanism that was difficult to notice at first (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983), but whom I eventually realised exerted social pressure on volunteers to spend as much time as possible physically in the camps or in the organisation's apartment preparing work for activities in the camp. I therefore spent an intense period of time at the start of my fieldwork period immersing myself within the organisation of Busy Bee, learning the rules of being a volunteer in this highly sensitive context, and the norms of operation within the camps. In practice, this meant that the price of access was spending many hours problem-solving, preparing activities for classes and attending planning meetings, instead of spending enough time wandering around the camps, chancing upon intercultural encounters, and having more time to observe refugees' daily activities.

Consequently, my initial experience of the two camps was filtered through those that arose when I was allowed to be inside Minoan and Dorian camps doing Busy Bee-related activities (e.g., Young Explorer English classes and workshops, Adult English classes), and acting as a Busy Bee volunteer in an official capacity (e.g., Visiting Young Explorers' parents to discuss their children's involvement in Busy Bee, registering new Young Explorer students

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[9] In keeping with the ethnographic method, from this point onwards, I will be using the term 'refugee' as a 'folk term' (Spradley, 1980), as it is used by camp-dwellers, within my research context, to refer to anyone seeking asylum and in need of protection, regardless of their official status.

to the programme), upon entering and leaving the camps, and in my interactions with refugees when delivering language classes. Nevertheless, these activities made the access simpler in terms of conducting participant observation in a location with 'frequently recurring activities' where I could mostly 'participate freely' as an 'unobtrusive observer' (Spradley, 2016 [1980]). For example, during the Adult English classes, I usually did little more than helping other volunteers who were officially running these sessions, and these were moments that I was able to place more emphasis on noting down verbatim and detailed actions/reactions within the group. However, my role in the Young Explorers programme proved a bit more complicated for participant observation. Throughout the workshop sessions when I played a supporting role, I was more easily able to record scratch notes at the back of the classroom during the quiet moments. But when I was the Greek language teacher running the sessions, I found it more difficult to manage my obtrusiveness since my role as a Busy Bee volunteer on these occasions was to actively make the children feel like they were part of the 'Young Explorers' community, emphasising core values such as 'Kindness' and 'Teamwork' in my speech, as per Busy Bee's norms, which meant that my participation heavily influenced children's behaviour in these settings. In order to mitigate this, I did not make as many notes from the sessions where I was leading the group, and this turned out to be more practical as I was too busy being a full participant on these occasions.

At first, 'making strange' was not difficult at all, as I was new to Busy Bee, and to both Minoan and Dorian camps, and I had never even worked inside of a refugee camp before, so everything felt 'strange' at first and it was easier to describe it in detached detail. However, as time went on, it became increasingly difficult to 'make strange' what I was observing as I became more and more engrossed in Busy Bee, my role there, and the Busy Bee organisational culture became somewhat 'normal' to me. I realised that I was becoming too much of a participator within Busy Bee and not enough of a participant observer in the camps with refugees. And, the more I became frustrated with my role in Busy Bee, the more I noticed upon reflection that I was making assumptions in my extended field notes which portrayed Busy Bee volunteers as inconsiderate towards refugees:

> *"When the session finished, I heard Ben ask Niamh if she had eaten any 'refugee food' recently…?! They both laughed and even other people around didn't seem phased by this term. How rude! This seems to me to be degrading of food that refugees have prepared for them…"* (Field Notes, 06/11/2019, L. 43-46)

However, when I revisited these extended field notes with a more critical perspective, and after having conducted an interview with Niamh, it became clear that I was assuming something

negative, whereas Niamh emphasised that as volunteers, sometimes they really needed to make jokes about these things as a coping mechanism for the hardship they encountered on a daily basis, a well-attested phenomenon for dealing with stressful circumstances (Menzies, 1960).

This environment eventually led to a feeling of 'burnout' and the realisation that I had to reclaim time for myself and my research in order to effectively reflect on what I was observing and to have time to carry out a preliminary analysis of my extended field notes. In order to address this issue, I sought support from my supervisors, as well as tried to reiterate my agreed schedule with Busy Bee as much as possible and not agree to extra tasks which fell outside these agreed days. I also began to search for ways of spending more time inside the camps that were not strictly mediated by Busy Bee. I began to establish friendships with some refugees within the camps, such as my interpreters, or the teenage leaders of 'Young Explorers', who would invite me to their containers or their rooms to meet their families, drink tea, and eat together, which presented opportunities for different participant observation, focused more on refugees' experiences of the camps. I also learned the local transportation routes to be able to travel to the camps myself, and the security guards at Dorian camp became familiar with me and knew that I had clearance to be in the camp and therefore my freedom of mobility inside the camps increased. This was most heightened during the last month of my fieldwork, when I was still permitted to enter the camps, but I was not officially a Greek language teacher for Busy Bee any longer. I was able to schedule time in the camps to visit my interpreters, who became good friends at this point, and to conduct interviews scheduled with participants in their rooms or containers, which was coupled with a social visit.

As my participant observation included more time of freely wandering around the camp, one of the reasons that it had been quite difficult thus far to chance upon refugees interacting with each other rather than mostly observing them interacting with Busy Bee volunteers began to emerge. This seemed to be partly due to the camp infrastructure and layout lacking spaces for communal gatherings, and not presenting many places to easily "'hang out' out in for a significant amount of time" (Tomlinson, 2011: 169). I eventually learned that in the summer, the football fields were somewhere that women, in particular, congregated. But since I conducted my fieldwork during the winter months, where these outdoor sports spaces in both Minoan and Dorian camps were dominated by men, my gender positionality made it feel uncomfortable to simply 'hang out' as an individual woman. Moreover, the indoor spaces of the 'Library' and the 'Theatre' in Dorian camp also felt predominantly a place for men, and entering the kitchens in Dorian camp where women largely met was frowned upon by

Dandelion Aid as this posed a safe-guarding risk in their view; although I was able to do this later on in my fieldwork, when I was personally accompanying refugees as their guest rather than as a Busy Bee volunteer per se. What is more, in Minoan camp there was not a single indoor space where women could congregate freely inside of the camp, as the 'Warehouse' (folk-term (Spradley, 2016 [1980]) for the military hangar) was the only place they felt comfortable and this was controlled by Busy Bee, only open to them when Busy Bee was running activities there.

As I became more embedded within the lives of refugees and my interpreters in particular – as they helped me to have more access to the lives of other camp-dwellers (for an example see Sample of Extended Field Notes, Appendix 4) – I found myself identifying more with refugees and less with NGO volunteers. This shift also posed some challenges though, since "[p]articipant observation combines participation in the lives of the people under study with the maintenance of a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data" (Fetterman, 2010: 37). The lines between participant and observer continued to become more blurred as time progressed as I built a closer relationship with some refugees than others, thus in a sense potentially disrupting "the delicate balancing act of empathy and distance that is such an essential component of the participant observer oxymoron" (O'Reilly, 2009: 89). Still, in terms of actual behaviour, my continued role as a Busy Bee volunteer meant that I maintained a high level of professionalism when in the camps and my status as an NGO volunteer meant that some emotional distance remained between me and camp-dwellers. My internal sense of sympathy, however, signalled to me that I was beginning to fall out of balance in the opposite direction to the original challenge that I faced at the outset of this process: I became deeply invested in some refugees' lives, their hopes, their daily struggles, and I spent significant time helping as a Greek language translator for some interactions with officials as well as local Greek people, lending a friendly ear to listen to people's everyday problems and problem solving together when I could help. In a way, this helped me to alleviate some of the asymmetrical power dynamic that I was concerned about given the fact that my participants were not receiving any benefits beyond their immediate participation in my study and I was mindful of needing to 'give something back' to them (Huschke, 2015: 55), offering my help wherever I could. Perhaps I simply built meaningful relationships marked by the customary ebb and flow of interdependence and friendly feelings with people I had come to know, but as Behar (1996) poetically articulates, I often felt as though my presence was never enough in the

face of the challenges people were facing and my writing fell short of representing the full 'painting' (Ingold, 2011) of people's experiences:

> "Yes, we go and talk to people. Some of these people even have the patience and kindness and generosity to talk to us. We try to listen well. We write fieldnotes about all the things we've misunderstood, all the things that later will seem so trivial, so much the bare surface of life. And then it is time to pack our suitcases and return home. And so begins our work, our hardest work-to bring the ethnographic moment back, to resurrect it, to communicate the distance, which too quickly starts to feel like an abyss, between what we saw and heard and our inability, finally, to do justice to it in our representations. Our fieldnotes become palimpsests, useless unless plumbed for forgotten revelatory moments, unexpressed longings, and the wounds of regret. (Behar, 1996: 8-9)

Indeed, striking the balance between being fully immersed with people and sensitively communicating these experiences through my writing remains something challenging beyond participant observation, but even within the writing of this thesis, continuously feeling as though my representations only ever merely express the "bare surface of life" (Behar, 1996: 9).

In terms of the content of my extended field notes, throughout my participant observation, I compiled 'thick descriptions' by noting observations as detailed in Spradley's Descriptive Question Matrix (2016 [1980]: 82-83), focusing on describing in detail all the 'places, actors, objects and acts' involved in the social scenes I was part of (for an example of my scratch notes, see Appendix 3, and an example of my extended field notes, see Appendix 4). I also engaged in informal conversations with actors within the multiple social scenes, and although these were not formal ethnographic interviews, they still informed my understanding of the social context and helped to layer my analysis of my field notes (as well as my interpretations of the formal ethnographic interviews, see 4.4.6).

As my fieldwork progressed, I entered the first phase of ethnographic data analysis, following Spradley's (2016 [1980]: 85) recommendations to create some initial domain analyses, investigating semantic relationships within the data collected so far. For example, Appendix 5 details all the places within Minoan camp that appear in my field notes in the first month and a half of my participant observation. These kinds of initial domain analyses served the function of highlighting a first layer of understanding of the social scenes with very simple cover terms (e.g., 'Minoan camp') and helped me to progress my participant observation with more focused observations, such as noticing how these simple cover terms interacted with other elements in the social scenes (e.g., what kinds of actors and actions occur within the different

places in Minoan camp). For example, I noticed that my observations of Busy Bee Adult English classes, that occurred within Minoan camp, involved a repeated pattern of women and men sitting on differing sides of the classroom, and that people seemed to bee-line towards a specific seat as soon as they entered the classroom, which suggested that there was some relationship between actors and spaces within the place of the Adult English classroom. I believed that this suggested something about a feeling of belonging to this space, but I needed to triangulate my observations with other members' perspectives. I therefore noted this as something that I should investigate further. These kinds of patterns formed the building blocks for the ethnographic interview questions I posed to research participants later on (this will be discussed in further detail in section 4.4.3).

I also noted some 'folk terms' (Spradley, 2016 [1980]) which both refugees and NGO volunteers seemed to be saying repeatedly, such as 'same-same' or 'problem', which merited further investigation. These kinds of initial domain analyses served a function beyond the early stages of participant observation, as I expanded on these beyond my own field notes, to include data from the formal ethnographic interviews, and to support the later data analysis phase (see more in section 4.4.6; see Appendix 17). Furthermore, by virtue of spending a lot of time around the entrances to the camps, since this is where Busy Bee would meet the children for the excursions during the weekends, I was able to observe adult interactions between refugees and locals driving buses, or guarding the gates, and since refugees' non-verbal communication seemed more tense in some of these interactions than in other spaces around the camp, and between for example greetings amongst people inside the camp, it became apparent that this could be something to explore further in deeper conversations. What is more, noticing things that were notably lacking from certain contexts was also something that emerged as worthy of further exploration, such as observing men playing a variety of sports, whereas women did not seem to be present in these spaces, or the lack of local Greek people entering the camps, or even hanging around near them, coupled with my observations of students' experiences on excursions or in local cafes also initially suggested that there was a very limited degree of integration with the locals, but that this too required further in-depth investigation.

Maintaining a wide-lens approach to my descriptive observations (Spradley, 2016 [1980]) I also conducted participant observation in social situations that did not occur within the geographical location of the two refugee camps, but where relevant members of the camp-space were present, knowing that these could eventually help to present a wider account of encamped refugees' experiences, since in some ways, what occurs outside the camps is also

connected to what occurs inside the camps. In some cases, this proved helpful since some field notes which involve observations of refugees' interactions with locals during excursions, or in local cafes, have helped to understand participants' experiences in interaction with locals. In some other cases though, I have gathered data that has proven to be beyond the scope of this research, such as thick descriptions of Busy Bee volunteers' interactions during Busy Bee team meetings, and which some Busy Bee research participants discuss during their formal ethnographic interviews, which speak more to understanding the complexities involved in running a small NGO within this context, which could be an avenue for further future study.

4.4.2 Interpreter and Participant Selection

Having gathered rich extended field notes and done an initial round of analysis to find emergent themes to follow up on during more in-depth conversations, the next stage of my research involved selecting participants for formal ethnographic interviews. Speaking with Busy Bee volunteers could be done in English, and I was able to communicate with any locals and camp authorities in Greek, however it proved to be more complicated to find adult refugees to speak with, especially given the language barriers. The first step in overcoming this challenge was finding interpreters to work with who could speak the predominant languages of the camps: Arabic and Farsi. And yet, I knew that this decision may have excluded potential participants who spoke other languages that I was unable to find interpreters for (e.g., one Sorani speaker who was a student at the Busy Bee Adult English class), and that some participants were likely being interviewed in their second or third languages (e.g., Kurmanji speakers who were able to participate using their second language, Arabic). Marco and Nora introduced me to some refugees who lived in Minoan and Dorian camps and who also helped Busy Bee with ad-hoc interpreting. At first, I was intent on finding both a male and a female interpreter for each language in each camp, in order to be sensitive to any potential gender norm preferences that participants might have had, however, this was not practically possible. Marco and Nora assured me though that the interpreters who they did work with were all well-respected within the camps, and that they would help me address any difficulties that could potentially arise about gender in due course. Below is a brief overview of the basic information of the interpreters I worked with:

Table 2: Overview of interpreters' basic characteristics.

Name of Interpreter	Gender	Camp location	Language interpreted for researcher	Languages spoken with researcher
Kala	Female	Minoan camp	Farsi/English	English
Yusef	Male	Minoan camp	Farsi/English	English
Amir	Male	Minoan camp	Arabic/English	English and Greek
Bilal	Male	Minoan camp	Arabic/English	English
Samiya	Female	Dorian camp	Arabic/English	English, some Greek
Soroush	Male	Dorian camp	Farsi/French/English	French, some English

All of these interpreters had a good command of English, however, it should be noted that none were completely bilingual and thus some of the interpretations of refugee participants' words may not always be as rich as the words that they expressed when they were speaking. Where there have been ambiguities about this in the empirical chapter discussions, I have strived to make this apparent and reflect on it. The interviews conducted with Soroush however present a noticeably higher level of nuance in participants' responses since both he and I were proficient in French, and he could therefore use more accurate wording in his translations (a more detailed discussion of the implications of working with interpreters will be discussed below, in section 4.4.4).

There are both male and female interpreters for the interviews conducted in Farsi in Minoan camp, since Yusef, who was Kala's husband, insisted that he be the one to conduct the male interviews with me, and she do the female ones. However, there are not male and female interpreters for each other language within each camp. This was partially due to the practical limitations of the context – Busy Bee did not have any other interpreters at the time – but also, no refugee participants raised this as a relevant concern for them (however, I am aware that objecting may have been difficult for some people). Furthermore, there are two interpreters for the interviews conducted in Arabic in Minoan camp since Amir was away during the last week of my fieldwork, and Bilal filled in for a few final interviews, but the majority of interviews conducted in Arabic in Minoan camp were interpreted by Amir. These six people were both

interpreters and research participants themselves (more detail on working with interpreters below in section 4.4.4).

The rest of the refugee participants were selected by a combination of 'judgmental sampling', relying on my instincts, luck and observations (Fetterman, 2010: 35) to speak with adults that expressed interest in the English language classes, and the parents of children in the Young Explorers programme who had expressed interest, as well as 'snowball sampling' (O'Reilly, 2009: 198), relying on the interpreters to draw on their social network and follow the threads of interest in participation from any other people who happen to be around at the time of interviewing who happened to want to be involved. Furthermore, since a multi-sited ethnography prioritises people over places, I also pursued conversations with some people I met on the bus to Minoan camp, who happened to live in Artemopolis city centre, or to accompany people to Darling Crafts across the street from Minoan camp; when people spoke English, I would conduct the interview in that moment, and if not, we would arrange another time to meet when I could enlist the help of the appropriate interpreter.

One of the limitations however of being so reliant on my interpreters for participant selection is the concern that the dependency on language as the guiding factor means that there was a danger of the pitfall of 'methodological nationalism': the tendency to choose participants based on "intellectual simplifiers that we use in research (culture, gender, ethnicity, etc.)" - their nationality or, rather, their linguistic background (Dervin, 2016: 141). Indeed, I was aware of the fact that I was likely not interacting with certain people in the camp since I simply had no language bridge to them. For instance, there was a very large Kurdish population in the camps, speaking Kurmanji and Sorani, but that I was less likely to chance upon potential participants that spoke these languages because Busy Bee did not have any informal interpreting help from anyone who spoke English, Kurmanji and Sorani at the time of my research. In order to compensate for this, I made a distinct point of expressing to refugees in the Busy Bee Adult English classes that I would be open to anyone who would like to partake in the research project, and that I would try to engage in creative ways of finding interpreters if someone did want to engage in dialogue, but I did not happen to have an in-person interpreter. Luckily, there was only one family who spoke Sorani that wished to be involved and they had lived there long enough that their knowledge of Greek was very strong, and so the conversation could take place without an interpreter.

4.4.3 Semi-Structured and Ethnographic Interviews

Informed by my field notes from my participant observation and the initial domain analyses that I carried out, I conducted interviews with research participants using a semi-structured and ethnographic approach. I selected a semi-structured approach to the interviews as this allowed for a dialogue to emerge between myself as a researcher and the research participants (Ritchie et al., 2014). Following a largely inductive approach to ethnographic interviewing (Gibson & Hua, 2016), my research questions and field notes provided a guide for some questions and topics that I wanted to ask during the interview (e.g., language experiences in the camps, perceptions towards different places in the camps, and feelings of home and belonging within the camps and in Greece more broadly), but the research participants were able to steer the conversation in a different direction if they wished to. This meant that I was open to judging in the moment whether to skip some pre-prepared questions or to follow the flow of conversation taking an unexpected turn, asking follow-up questions guided by the interests and desires of the participants. As time progressed and I became more comfortable as an interviewer, I eventually only had a little spider diagram in my notebook with a few words to prompt the discussion. I saw my role as a facilitator of conversation, there to encourage responses with sensitivity (Charmaz, 2006) and to occasionally probe further for elaboration, clarification, and completion of ideas (King & Horrocks, 2010). However, as many of the topics covered sensitive issues, sometimes judging by non-verbal communication (King & Horrocks, 2010), it felt inappropriate to probe further, such as when speaking of 'home' and notions of a homeland and participants were visibly upset that this was a fraught issue in their lives. The interviews provided a more in-depth perspective of group members' thoughts and feelings, adding another layer of understanding to my field notes and domain analyses, and they have formed a key part of the findings discussed in the following chapters. Aware of the fact that I conducted my participant observation as more of an insider with the NGO volunteers rather than camp-dwellers, I wanted to balance this with a large number of interviews with refugee participants to ensure that their voices remained the central focus of this research study. In total, I conducted 50 interviews with refugees across the two camps, only five of whom did not permit me to voice record the interviews, and 21 interviews with Busy Bee volunteers, all voice recorded. Below is a full table of the research participants along with the language and interpreter that their interview was conducted in, where relevant, and some general demographic information:

Table 3: Information about refugee participants living in Minoan camp.

Pseudonym(s); Gender (M/F)	Approximate Age/ Family Status	Current Dwelling Site	Country of Origin	Languages	Extra Info (E.g., Ethnicity, Nationality; Journey trajectory so far; Jobs)	Relationship to Researcher	Languages of interview and Interpreter
Amir (M)	Young and single	Minoan camp	Chad	Arabic, English, French, Greek		Arabic/ English Interpreter	English
Bilal (M)	Middle aged husband and father	Minoan camp	Syria	Arabic, English, Greek		Arabic/ English Interpreter	English
Kala (F) & Yusef (M)	Young family, wife and husband	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Farsi (Dari), English, Greek		Farsi/ English Interpreters	English
Ali (M)	Middle-aged husband and father	Minoan camp	Iraq	Arabic, little English	Moria and then Artemopolis	Son attends Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Abdul
Almas (F) and Jawana (M)	Wife & Husband	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari	Moria and then Artemopolis	Daughter attends Young Explorers	French
Dilara (F) and Malik (M)	Middle aged parents	Minoan camp	Syria	Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish	1st Turkey, Samos and then Artemopolis	Dilara attends Busy Bee Adult English class	Arabic; English; Basair
Elodie (F)	Elderly woman	Minoan camp	Congo	French	1st Turkey, kios then Artemopolis	Elodie's grandchildren attend Young Explorers	Farsi; English; Kala
Ghalib (M)	30's	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Persian, Dari	Iran, Moria, Athens and then Artemopolis	Attends Darling Crafts	Farsi; English; Yamin
Hada (F)	Mother with Husband and 3 children	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Persian	Samos & then Artemopolis	Snowball effect (via Kala)	Farsi; English; Kala
Hamida (F) and Mohseena (F)	Mother (has son & daughter)	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari, English	Iran, Lesvos, then Artemopolis	Mohseena attends Young Explorers	Farsi; English; Kala
Hazim (M)	Father with son, wife & daughter sent to Germany	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Farsi, Dari, little English & 10% Pashtu	Moria and then Artemopolis	Child attends Young Explorers	Farsi; English; Yamin
Layla (F)	Mother with Husband and children	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari	Iran, Turkey, Greek island and then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	Farsi; English; Kala
Madeha (F)	Mother with Husband and 3 children	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari	Athens and then Artemopolis	Snowball effect (via Kala)	Farsi; English; Kala
Madina (F), Tarik (M) and Soma (F)	Grandmother; her son; her granddaughter	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari		Soma attends Young Explorers	Farsi; English; Kala
Murad (M)	Middle aged husband and father	Minoan camp	Syria	Kurdish, Arabic, English	Moria and then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Abdul
Nabila (F) and Masoud (M)	Mother with 3 children	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari	Iran, Greek island and then Artemopolis	Massoud attends Young Explorers	Farsi; English; Kala
Nadeem (M)	Father with 1 daughter (Wife and other daughter in Belgium)	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari, Farsi	Iran, Thessaloniki and then Artemopolis	Snowball effect (via Yamin)	Farsi; English; Kala
Omar (M)	Middle aged husband and father	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Dari, Farsi	Moria and then Artemopolis	Snowball effect (via Yamin)	Farsi; English; Kala
Pirnaz (F) and Alen (F)	Mother 30's	Minoan camp	Kurdistan, Iraq	Kurdish	1st Turkey and then Artemopolis	Alen attends Young Explorers	Greek
Rahil (M), Kadijah (F), Hamal (M)	Young child, middle aged mom, middle aged dad	Minoan camp	Iraq	Arabic, Kurmanji	Lesvos and then Artemopolis	Rahil attends Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Abdul
Salma (F), Fatimah (F) and Shahirah (F)	Middle aged mother, young teenage child, teenage child	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Farsi, Dari	Kabul, Pakistan,Iran Turkey, Artemopolis	Fatimah and Shahirah attend Young Explorers	Farsi; English; Kala
Yasna (F)	Wife & Husband & 7 children	Minoan camp	Syria	Arabic	Moria and then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Abdul
Zahiya (F) and Badia (F)	Elderly women	Minoan camp	Afghanistan	Persian	1st Iran, Turkey, Moria and then Artemopolis	Snowball effect (via Kala)	Farsi; English; Kala
Dakan (M)	Young single man	Minoan camp	Iraq	Arabic, English, Greek	Non-voice recorded	Snowball effect (via Basair)	Arabic; English; Basair
Khabira (F)	young single woman	Minoan camp	Somalia	Somali, English	Non-voice recorded	Attends Adult English class	Arabic; English; Abdul
Naaz (F) and Saduq (F)	both middle aged mothers	Minoan camp	Iraq	Arabic, English	Non-voice recorded	Naaz's child attends Young Explorers and Snowball effect (via Naaz)	Arabic; English; Basair
Nesrin's (F) family, Azan (M)	teenage girl and family, young adult brother	Minoan camp	Syria	Kurmanji, Arabic, Turkish, English, Greek	Non-voice recorded	Nesrin attends Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Abdul
Saadat (F)	middle aged mother	Minoan camp	Syria	Kurdish, Arabic	Non-voice recorded	Sahil attends Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Basair

Table 4: Information about refugee participants living in Dorian camp.

Pseudonym(s); Gender(s) (M/F)	Approximate Age/ Family Status	Current Dwelling Site	Country of Origin	Languages	Extra Info (E.g., Ethnicity, Nationality; Journey trajectory so far; Jobs)	Relationship to Researcher	Languages of interview and Interpreter
Samiya (F)	Young wife and mother	Dorian camp	Syria	Arabic, English, Greek		Arabic/ English Interpreter	Englsih
Soroush (M)	Middle aged husband and father	Dorian camp	Iran	Farsi, French, English, Greek	Lived in Brussels for a while working as a journalist and interpreter	Farsi/ French Interpreter	French
Abyah (F) and Daiya (F)	Middle aged mother; her teenage daughter	Dorian camp	Syria	Arabic, Kurdish	Samos and then Artemopolis	Daiya attends Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Arezo (F) and Ayan (M)	Middle aged mother; her teenage son	Dorian camp	Afghanistan	Farsi, Dari	few months in Lesvos and then Artemopolis	Ayan attends Young Explorers	Farsi; French; Soroush
Faiza (F)	Mother with baby girl in stroller	Dorian camp	Somalia	Arabic, Somali,	first Kios and then Artemopolis	Child attends Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Ibrar (M)	with wife and children	Dorian camp	Syria	Arabic, Kurdish	7 months in Mytilini and then Artemopolis	Attends Busy Bee Adult English class	Arabic; English; Samiya
Inaya (F)	Mother with 3 children	Dorian camp	Kuwait	Arabic		Children attend Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Jameela (F)	Mother with 2 sons	Dorian camp	Iraq	Arabic, Kurdish, little English	Prison for 25 days and then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Karim (M)	with wife and 2 sons & 1 daughter	Dorian camp	Iraq	Kurdish, Arabic, little English	Yazidi. First Kurdistan, Turkey and then Greece	Attends Busy Bee Adult English class	Arabic; English; Samiya
Larmina (F) and Shaahid (M)	Middle aged mother; her teenage son	Dorian camp	Afghanistan		Born and raised in Iran,	Shaahid attends Young Explorers	Farsi; via phone
Rabia (F)	18 yrs of age with 3 sisters	Dorian camp	Syria	Kurdish, English	7 months in Samos and then Artemopolis	Attends Young Explorers/Busy Bee Adult English class	Arabic; English; Samiya
Rafik (M) and Geeti (F) and Malika (F)	Middle aged father; his wife; his daughter	Dorian camp	Afghanistan	Farsi, Dari	1st Iran, Turkey, Greek Islands, Artemopolis	Child attends Young Explorers	Farsi; French; Soroush
Rahim (M) and Huma (F) and Mahiya (F)	Middle aged father; his wife; his daughter	Dorian camp	Afghanistan	Dari, Farsi, little English	1st Iran, Turkey (12 yrs) then Samos and now Artemopolis	Mahiya attends Young Explorers	Farsi; French; Soroush
Saalima (F)	Husband and 3 children	Dorian camp	Syria	Arabic	stayed Kios for one month and then Artemopolis	Snowball effect (via Samiya)	Arabic; English; Samiya
Sabir (M) and Deeba (F)	Middle aged father; his wife	Dorian camp	Afghanistan	Farsi, Dari, little English, little Greek	1st Iran, Turkey, Lesvos and then Artemopolis	Child attends Young Explorers	Farsi; French; Soroush
Sadia (F)	Husband and children	Dorian camp	Iraq	Arabic, Kurdish	one month in Thessaloniki and then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Sanam (F) and Amany (F)	Middle aged mother; her teenage daughter	Dorian camp	Syria	Arabic, Kurdish		Amany attends Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Sharif (M)	with wife, 2 sons and 2 daughters	Dorian camp	Afghanistan	Dari, little English	7 months in Samos and then Artemopolis	Child attends Young Explorers	Farsi; French; Soroush
Suha (F)	Mother with children	Dorian camp	Syria	Arabic, Kurdish	First to Iraq, Turkey, 13 days Greek prison, then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Titti (F) and Arjin (F) and Lasani (M)	Young ; Young wife; her husband	Dorian camp	Ethiopia; Syria.	Amahary,Arabic,English/ Kurdish, Arabic	Turkey, Greek Island prison and then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	English
Zinah (F)	Mother with 4 children (girls)	Dorian camp	Iraq	Arabic, Kurdish	first Turkey and then Artemopolis	Children attend Young Explorers	Arabic; English; Samiya
Zulema (F)	Mother with 1 daughter	Dorian camp	Somalia	Arabic, Somali,	First in Mytilini and then Artemopolis	Snowball effect (via Samiya)	Arabic; English; Samiya

113

Table 5: Information about NGO volunteer participants.

udonyms; Gender (M/F)	Approximate age/ Family status	Role in NGO	Country of Origin	Languages	Extra Info
trice (F)	20's	Young Explorers and general admin support	Italy	Italian, English	
(M)	20's	Young Explorers and general admin support	United Kingdom	English	
sie (F)	20's	Young Explorers - workshops and excursions	United Kingdom	English	
na (F)	20's	Adult English Class teacher and general admin support	United Kingdom	English, little Spanish	
(F)	middle aged	Adult English class teacher	United Kingdom	English, Spanish	
io (M)	30's	Co-Founder and Young Explorers	Switzerland	French, English	
riella (F)	20's	Young Explorers - workshops and excursions	United Kingdom	English	
na (F)	20's	Co-Founder and President of Darling Crafts	Germany	German, English, Spanish, French	
ella (F)	30's	Young Explorers - workshops and excursions	Italy	Italian, English, French	
(F)	20's	Young Explorers and Adult English Class support	United Kingdom	English	
a (F)	20's	Young Explorers - English teacher	United States	English, Spanish	
a (F)	20's	Young Explorers - workshops, excursions, Greek class support	Greece	Greek, English, little Spanish	
y (F)	20's	Young Explorers - English teacher	United States	English	
dy (F)	20's	Young Explorers - English teacher	United Kingdom	English	Mom from Syria
co (M)	30's	Co-Founder and President of Busy Bee (mostly external liaison)	Italy	Italian, English, Understand: Spanish, French	
cy (F)	30's	Young Explorers - manager	United Kingdom	English	
nh (F)	20's	Adult English Class teacher	United States	English, Spanish, conversational Thai	
a (F)	30's	Co-Founder of Busy Bee (mostly internal manager)	Bosnia	English, Bosnian, little Arabic and Farsi	
ella (F)	20's	Young Explorers - workshops and excursions	Spain	Spanish, English	
rdo (M)	middle aged	Young Explorers - workshops and excursions	Spain	Spanish, English	
maso (F)	middle aged	Adult English Class teacher	Italy	Italian, English, German, Portuguese	

ling Crafts Focus Group

nmunity Centre Group Interview
a (F) and Vasia (F) — Greece

Further guided by Spradley (1979) for ethnographic interviewing techniques, I built rapport with participants by giving ample non-verbal gestures (e.g., nodding, smiling) to encourage conversation where appropriate, as well as incorporating the words they used in their answers to build my follow-up questions. In terms of the framing of questions, I tried to ask descriptive, structural and contrast ethnographic questions (Spradley, 1979). Descriptive questions were centred around asking participants to paint a picture about what their experiences of different things were, keeping the phrasing of these quite open-ended, for example: 'Can you tell me a little bit about the camp?' or 'Can you describe who you would speak to on a normal day in the camp?' (for an example, see interview with Amir, Appendix 6). These were also accompanied by what Patton (1990) calls 'sensory questions', asking people to describe their experiences using their senses, for example: 'Imagine we are going for a walk around the camp. Can you describe to me, using all your senses, what do you see, what do you hear, what do you smell?'. Structural questions involve understanding the different stages in an event or a process, and these centred around experiences of the Busy Bee English language classrooms, for example: 'Can you tell me about all the stages in the English class?'. And lastly, contrast questions involve eliciting differences, for example: 'Can you tell me, what is the difference between 'container' and 'ice-box'?'. In addition to Spradley's suggestions, I also followed other types of questions that Patton (1990) recommends for qualitative interviews, such as basic demographic questions so as to have a general sense of the research participants; experience/behaviour questions, linking to specific incidents and responses to these, for example: 'What did you do when he said that?'; and feeling questions, for example: 'What does the word "refugee" mean to you?'.

Aware that in these contexts, the power differential lay in my favour as the researcher (Welch et al., 2002), I ensured to express cultural ignorance (Spradley, 1979) and to stress that they were the experts of their own experiences, and I was there to learn from them. I also aimed to ask open questions which allowed information to be elicited from the participants, where their words would provide me with an understanding of the terminology that they would use to refer to or categorise their own experience (Spradley, 1979). I tried to avoid planting my own culture-laden words into the questions as much as possible. For example, I had noticed during my participant observation that refugees would use the word 'container' or 'room' to refer to their current dwelling places, but that they would also sometimes use the word 'home' too. Whilst I wanted to know about this, I tried to avoid directly using the word 'home', until the participant raised it. Of course, there were occasions where I did ask a more 'analytical'

question, which was not always understood in the context, and I have reflected on this in my analysis (for an example, see interview with Yasna, Appendix 7). During the interviews with refugee participants conducted in their containers, I would begin exploring this topic by asking a question like, "Can you tell me about what words you would use to describe this place that we are in?", or if we were conducting the interview somewhere else in the camp, I would ask something like, "Can you tell me about what words you would use to describe the place that you live?" Depending on the participants' response, I would then ask further questions to understand what contexts the chosen words might or might not be used.

Considering the fact that the majority of the interviews conducted with refugee participants were done with interpreters, language choices by interlocutors played an important role in the interview process and in the co-construction of knowledge. I chose to conduct the interviews with interpreters to allow participants to speak in the language they were most comfortable using during the exchange (Gibson & Hua, 2016). Sometimes I chose to speak some words of Arabic or Farsi (very likely with a poor accent and probably grammatically incorrect) usually at the beginning of the exchange, to express vulnerability and to signal that the participants could feel comfortable to express themselves freely in their own language. Even when participants spoke some English or Greek, they often expressed how they were pleased to be speaking to me with an interpreter as for some, especially those who did not speak much English or Greek, this signalled that I was really interested in understanding their perspectives, in contrast to some of their experiences with camp authorities[10]. I found it particularly poignant when a participant who did not speak many words of English would choose to share something in English during the interview. At times I think that this perhaps signified something of great importance to them, that they almost wanted to ensure I understood, such as to say the exact date of their arrival to Greece. On other occasions, I think that participants' English language choices served to create a stronger interpersonal bridge between us, as they wanted to include me in their group against camp authorities who they deemed to be a "problem". This word would be spoken in English, often accompanied by rolling eyes and some laughter. Inevitably though, I did find that the fact that the conversations were mediated by an interpreter did sometimes restrict the natural flow of the conversation, as we sometimes had to stop, ask for clarification, or allow time for translation, especially when participants were in a flow of responding and the interpreters were not able to match their pace

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[10] In these instances, I took care to reiterate my positionality and lack of capacity to immediately effect change in their material realities, regardless of whether they participated in my study or not.

with translation. Furthermore, whist I welcomed multilingualism during the interviews, I am aware that this has certain implications for meaning-making, especially around culturally significant words like 'home' which carry different connotations in different languages, and these issues will be discussed in further detail in the following sections (see sections 4.4.4; 4.4.6; 4.5) .

Multiple factors influenced the interview dynamics (Charmaz, 2006). To begin with, the time and location of the interviews is important for participants' comfort (King & Horrocks, 2010). This was negotiated through a combination of the participants' wishes, the interpreters' availability and my schedule with Busy Bee commitments, though I was extremely flexible in February after I had finished my official volunteering role. Refugee participants largely decided and confirmed with the interpreters, and I followed the interpreters' lead on this to negotiate the appropriate setting, constrained by rules and conventions of the official authorities, and cultural appropriateness. This all tended to run very smoothly due to a good previous relationship with the interpreters, and their status within the refugee camp community, especially since my interpreters held active, public roles such as translators, and people who worked with children, and could therefore definitely be trusted. In Dorian camp, since it was more frowned upon by Dandelion Aid to enter refugees' rooms, we mostly conducted the interviews in the classrooms where Busy Bee held the English language and Young Explorer activities in. These spaces had the advantage of being associated with places of education and safety, and therefore some participants felt comfortable sharing their experiences. Nevertheless, other participants found these rooms too close to the central building related to official business, and insisted on us entering their rooms, where they felt more comfortable. Conversely, in Minoan camp, the vast majority of interviews were carried out in people's private living spaces in the containers, for lack of a safe, easily accessible communal space. During these interviews, this sometimes meant that I ended up talking with more than one participant at a time, as a group conversation since other family members or friends occasionally walked into their home and wanted to join in the discussion. In these instances, we would pause the discussion to seek informed consent and then carry on (more details in ethics section 4.6).

Gender norms played a large role in dictating whether or not participants felt comfortable and open to share their experiences with me and to invite me and the interpreters into their private living spaces (Charmaz, 2006). I think on the whole, the fact that I am a woman was to my advantage in the space of the camp in terms of conducting this research, as

this made me appear non-threatening, and families mostly felt comfortable with me entering their private living spaces, even if I was accompanied by a male interpreter. Furthermore, my experience of my positionality as a Cypriot and Greek woman means that I grew up in a highly patriarchal environment, where I experienced gender norms assign to women responsibility for cleaning and cooking in the home, as well as a general deferential attitude towards men. As a result, I felt quite comfortable in the refugees' private living spaces, as most of my participants – especially those from Syria and Afghanistan – shared similar gender norms which I effortlessly picked up on and followed. For instance, when some women would nudge me to help prepare the food come cooking time, I would go along with them without thinking twice, while my male interpreter would remain sitting, discussing with male participants or other male family members. I only came to notice that this was something worthy of reflection when, during a group visit in a refugee's room with another female Busy Bee volunteer, I noticed that this other volunteer did not instinctively pick up on the non-verbal cues that indicated that it was time to go help prepare dinner. After the event, in fact, she told me that she had felt a bit strange being 'expected' to help because of her gender. Overall, I think that this continuity of cultural experiences made for an ease of rapport with the majority of my research participants. If nothing else, it made it easier for me not to offend others and distance myself from them unknowingly and I think this made them feel more comfortable in our interactions and enabled a more natural conversation to emerge, as far as I could tell. However, I am aware that these same gender norms may well have hindered some of the men from expressing their vulnerability to me in their responses, as they may have considered this an inappropriate emotion to express to a woman. Throughout the empirical chapters in the rest of this thesis, I have endeavoured to address instances where I believe that my positionality may have affected the way that I was experiencing and interpreting the events, and I have reflected on this.

Interview occasions were regarded by many refugee participants as an occasion for them to entertain guests, which most participants mentioned they enjoyed, and this involved a tremendous hospitality treat of being offered delicious food and tea whilst having these conversations. Navigating the rules of the appropriate behaviour in these situations and for eating and drinking involved inferring shared cultural knowledge, and thus these occasions also became an opportunity for participant observation and for a temporary inversion of the power dynamics, placing the refugee participants in a position of cultural authority over me, where I would be a learner and follower. For example, to begin with, I always took off my shoes outside the door before entering and realised that it was inappropriate to rush to begin interviews before

at least tea and sometimes even food had been served and everyone began eating. I also felt uncomfortable that I would be the one offered food and drink first, with people waiting for me to begin before they would eat, and that I seemed to be offered more food at what appeared to be the expense of other family members. However, when the interviewing began, I was aware that I had much more power in the dynamic and that my positionality as someone of high mobility, not a refugee herself, and from a university in the United Kingdom carried a lot of weight in the interaction and needed to be approached with care, as well as the fact that I was a guest in people's home and sometimes hosts or family members would not eat until I had eaten. Finishing interviews (King & Horrocks, 2010) took equally as much care in these contexts, as we could not leave too soon as we had to ensure the appropriate amount of time was spent together to respect participants' hospitality which also meant that most of the interviews with refugees were around two hours long, between an hour to an hour and a half of recorded conversations, and then approximately half an hour of socialising. I would use this time to jot down any relevant notes for context. For example, on one occasion, I began to feel extremely ill during an interview needing to leave as soon as someone poured some tea. This led to the participant feeling quite upset and the renegotiation of returning to complete the interview needed to involve a longer time commitment.

Interviews with Busy Bee volunteers were all conducted in restaurants, bars and cafes in Artemopolis, and are approximately two to three hours long, whilst some with key participants such as the founding members are around five to six hours long and were conducted over several days (for an example, see Appendix 8). Some of these interviews are part of extended conversations that I engaged in over my entire time with Busy Bee. A couple of interviews though were conducted online due to time constraints of them leaving Artemopolis before we were able to discuss in person. Gibson & Hua (2016) discuss the question of whether virtual interviews negatively impact on both the researcher and the participant's experience as non-verbal communication is largely lost in this technology-mediated interview. However, as far as I am aware, I did not encounter any difficulties with this, likely because I already had a good relationship with each of these volunteers before the interview took place. I suspect that if I was meeting them for the first time in a virtual context, it would have been more difficult to recognise things like their tone of voice that I could fortunately have a sense of. Since all of these interviews were conducted in English, they tended to be more conversational in style than the interviews with most of the refugee participants. Nevertheless, despite the ease of communication, these interviews presented some challenges

in terms of me needing to express more cultural ignorance (Spradley, 1979) about activities that we shared in common since participants considered me as an insider in these contexts, and sometimes could not understand why I was asking such open ethnographic questions about things I 'already knew'. In these moments, I would reiterate that they were the experts in the cultural scene, and that I was seeking to understand their experiences.

4.4.4 Working with Interpreters

My relationships with the six interpreters, who were insiders to the refugee communities themselves and who played an active role in their communities (O'Reilly, 2009), formed the bedrock of my research with refugees within the camps. They were both key informants in the research themselves as well as vital in working with other refugee participants and we had many extended conversations that spanned beyond the recorded conversation of their participant interviews. We worked closely together for many months and I formed friendships with them and their families that are sustained beyond the fieldwork period. They were highly sensitive to refugees' issues, especially Samiya who had previous experience of mental health support work and was a great help in dealing with sensitive issues, and they were all kindly flexible to adapt to last-minute interviews and scheduling issues. They also acted as 'intercultural persons', operating in the in-between space as 'cultural mediators' (Hamaidia et al., 2018) during some of our interactions with refugee research participants, where they would guide me about how to behave appropriately in certain contexts. For example, one of our interviews with Kala in one participant's container coincided with prayer time, and Kala guided me about where the appropriate place to sit was and to wait until we were able to resume the interview.

Thus, recognising the crucial role that interpreters played in my research context and in line with my commitment to a social constructionist ontology and an ethnographic epistemology to understanding social processes of meaning-making, I acknowledge that "translators *must* also form part of the process of knowledge production. There is no neutral position from which to translate and the power relationships within research need to be acknowledged" (Temple & Young, 2004: 164). To begin accounting for this, I decided to interview the interpreters first themselves, as participants, so that they would be able to answer the questions freely from their own perspective first, before being influenced by what other participants said, and to ensure that their own voices felt heard in the research process before

they embarked on hours of interpreting for others. When I discussed this with Kala, Yusef, Amir, Bilal and Samiya, they all agreed that they wanted to proceed in this way, but Soroush decided that he wanted to wait to be interviewed last, after we had completed all the interviews with other participants. He stated that this was because he wanted to continue reflecting on his thoughts throughout the process. This did not impact the interviews with participants that he was the interpreter for, but for his interview, I think that there may have been some occasions where he was giving me some answers that he thought I 'needed' to hear, because either other participants had not told me, or because he thought that positioning himself as a very open-minded person would make me hold him in higher esteem. I have reflected on this in the empirical chapters where relevant. Regarding the conversations with the other five, these were approximately two to three hours long, in which we had a semi-structured interview which included the sample questions that I planned to ask the other participants, but they also included much more in-depth conversations than was possible with the rest of the participants. This was in part due to the fact that we both shared a common language, and so follow-up questions and a more dialogic interview was able to occur, but also because we were setting up our relationship (for an example, see interview with Amir Appendix 6). They would also ask me questions in return, but this would happen more when I switched the voice recorder off, and we were able to have more of a conversation. This process was vital for levelling the power dynamics between myself and the people I was going to spend over one hundred hours working with, as they asked me questions about my own positionality and by sharing stories, often over food, a trusting relationship was formed and both researcher and interpreter were empowered to raise any issues that may occur in the upcoming process of interviews with other refugee participants.

We then discussed how we would approach the rest of the interviews. One particular issue I was concerned with was the question of power and throughout the process I was asking myself 'whose voice is central to the exchange?' I wanted to strike a balance between the participants feeling fully acknowledged by me during the interviews, as well as acknowledging the role that the interpreters played in meaning-construction in the act of translating. I asked the interpreters to try to use the closest translated words that the participants used, especially when seeking to convey words that do not have an obvious translation in English. In practice, this became a delicate dance between appropriate non-verbal communication, and managing choice of language when phrasing questions. The interpreters would also oscillate between using the third person to account for what was said, or using the phrase, "they said" and then

proceeding to use the first-person pronoun, "I" for the rest of the response. Edwards (1998), who conducted a study with homeless refugees in the UK via interpreters, explains how she explicitly chose to ask her interpreters to use the third-person pronoun to deliberately account for the social construction of meaning in these contexts. However, I found that in my context, since in practice the interpreters used both, it felt overly demanding to ask them to remember to phrase responses in a certain way, especially as they too were operating in a second language. We would also debrief after some interviews, especially if there were any moments of contention for them to add anything they wished. Since I endeavoured to transcribe the interviews exactly as they were spoken, the quotations from research participants in the empirical chapters sometimes contain a mix of first person pronouns and third person pronouns, as the interpreters used both.

The interpreters' positionality also greatly affected the research process. For the most part, I experienced that many refugee participants found it easy to open up to someone who shared similar cultural backgrounds, as Fink and colleagues (2005) have suggested. Sometimes the interpreters would have a side conversation with the participants, or laugh at a joke that was not translated, and I would not press them to always explain, as this felt like a normal part of the interaction, and I did not necessarily need to be a part of it. In fact, at times I felt like linguistically, it was important for participants to feel like they did not need to include me and that they could have an interaction with the interpreters that did not need to be translated, as this created moments of rebalancing the power dynamics between us (Holmes et al., 2013). More generally, the interpreters knew many of the participants in advance as they had often already translated for them in multiple other contexts such as at the doctor's or the lawyer's, and therefore they were both at ease in each other's presence.

Whilst their high social capital created many opportunities for discussion, I was also aware that they might hold more interpersonal power in the exchanges with participants since the interpreters knew a lot of sensitive information about some people already. To mitigate this, I took care to not bring up these kinds of personal sensitive topics that are a feature of many refugees' lives in the camps, but that were not the direct focus of my research – unless the participants raised these themselves, at which point, I would turn off the voice recording, have the conversation, and then continue when appropriate. I also strived to be conscious of how long each person was speaking for, and aim for a relatively similar time spoken in each language in an attempt to curb too much extra commentary. Beyond this though, there was not

that much that I could do to address this in practice other than stress the importance of confidentiality.

However, it was also true that some people felt more comfortable speaking to an outsider, not part of the local network of contacts and allegiances (Welch at al., 2002). The most extreme instance of the interpreters' positionality posing a problem that I encountered was when one participant told me that they did not wish to speak with me if I was going to use a particular interpreter because they believed that this person already held too much power in the camp. Temple and Young (2004) discuss how conducting interviews with an interpreter might reinforce problematic intracommunity power dynamics, and indeed, the participant perceived the interpreter to be a source of cultural pressure that the participant wished to escape from now that they were in Europe. On this occasion, I ensured that I conducted the interview over the phone, with an interpreter from another camp. Yet, I am also aware that other participants may have felt similarly but chose not to, or could not, tell me about it. Nonetheless, in practice and as far I could tell, my interpreters behaved wholly respectfully and deferentially towards the participants and, other than the one incident discussed above where a participant requested that I avoid a specific interpreter, no other participant raised any problems regarding the identity or the positionality of the interpreters with me.

Within the act of translating during interviews, there were occasions where the interpreter would carry out an act of "translation as social practice" being "understood as a form of intercultural communication" (Hamaidia et al., 2018: 127). These instances would be extremely valuable in the exchange, as they would add a deeper meaning to the understanding and move the conversation along. For example, see the extract from a transcript below:

"(R): So in your mind, you feel like Syria is home?

(I): Yeah.

(I/A): In your mind, Syria is the Watan?

(P/A): Syria is the sea, and I am the fish.

(I): Syria is the sea, but I am the fish.[11]"

(Interview with Dilara and Malik, L. 495-499)

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[11] (R) denotes 'Researcher speaking English'; (I) denotes 'Interpreter speaking English'; (I/A) denotes 'Interpreter speaking Arabic'; (P/A) denotes 'Participant speaking Arabic'. Red words denote what the professional interpreters in the UK added for me.

Operating as an intercultural person and a cultural mediator (Hamaidia et al., 2018), the interpreter decided to translate my use of the word 'home' in English as 'Wattan' in Arabic, instead of for example 'bayt' meaning 'house', since they understood that this was the appropriate word in Arabic that would incorporate the cultural connotations that I was seeking, and this enabled the participant to add something more meaningful in this context. Interestingly, the interpreter did not mention that this was a significant point of cultural translation in the field, and I only became aware of this after I returned from the field, and happened to pass this transcript along to the professional interpreter in the UK, whom I consulted to ensure that the translation was close enough to the original language used, since I was working with interpreters in the field who did not speak English fluently. A further discussion of this and what it means about the cultural implications around the notion of 'home' can be found in Chapter 6. On other occasions, the interpreters would take on the role of the researcher, either pre-empting my questions because they had learned what the set questions were by the end of the data collection process, or by asking their own follow-up questions as they believed that this would add to the discussion. I regard these moments as ones of great opportunity and am grateful for the intersection.

4.4.5 Flexibility in the Field

Although I would have liked to gain a greater sense of Greek locals' perspectives throughout my fieldwork, this proved to be nearly impossible in practice. The 'twinning programme' which Busy Bee was running that was supposed to help refugee and local Greek families meet and get to know each other had run out of funding by the time I began my fieldwork. When I tried to approach some of the Greek camp authority staff for a conversation about my research, they consistently avoided me, perhaps because they did not wish to be 'evaluated', as some had suggested before I began my fieldwork. Moreover, on a few occasions when we were in local cafes and at the community centre carrying out Busy Bee activities, the local staff were also consistently too busy to have a longer discussion. Therefore, my understanding of locals' perspectives is filtered through my own participant observations and informal conversations with locals, not within the context of the refugee camps or Busy Bee related activities. The only exception is a brief group interview that I was able to conduct on the last day of my fieldwork with two local Greek people who were running an integration programme for refugees within Artemopolis city centre. However, this was an impromptu

discussion after the project's final exhibition event, which I had only learned about because one of my refugee participants told me about it at the last minute, but I did not have enough time left to pursue this further. Thus, it became apparent throughout my data collection that in line with the flexibility that is required in ethnographic research (Spradley, 2016 [1980]), I shifted my focus to only involve locals insofar as refugees or NGO volunteers reported their experiences of their interactions with locals.

Before embarking on my fieldwork, I also thought that after my period of intense participant observation during the first month or so, I would then be engaging in many focus group discussions as I had envisioned these conversations occurring around 'community spaces' around the camps. However, after having spent prolonged time around the camps, I realised that this had been an assumption I had prior to commencing fieldwork, and that these places where people could naturally 'hang out' did not really exist in Minoan and Dorian camps, largely due to the infrastructure and planning design of the camps. Thus, I discarded the idea of conducting focus groups with refugee participants. As for conducting focus groups with Busy Bee volunteers, this also proved challenging as Busy Bee's intense work and programme schedule meant that it was extremely difficult to schedule a focus group when multiple people could be present. Hence, the findings discussed in the following chapters are largely based on my extended field notes from participant observation, and interviews conducted individually with refugees and Busy Bee volunteers. Nevertheless, I did conduct one focus groups with eight participants comprised of volunteers from Darling Crafts, including one of the founders, in an evening in a local park in Artemopolis, lasting approximately one hour. I was prompted to investigate Darling Crafts further as it became apparent that the refugees from Minoan camp who went to Darling Crafts experienced it as an environment that was in stark contrast to their experience of the refugee camp, as well as the fact that when some volunteers heard about my research focus, they actively wanted to participate since they articulate one of their core values as fostering an environment of intercultural dialogue and a sense of belonging within Darling Crafts. As such, these volunteers welcomed the opportunity to critically reflect on their own work, through me acting as a facilitator for the discussion, encouraging people to challenge each other and potentially change their views throughout the discussion (Gibson & Hua, 2016: 182).

Similarly to focus groups, since one of my research questions focused on 'space', I expected to use walking interviews quite substantially, to allow refugees to take me to places that were meaningful for them around the camps, believing that this might potentially reveal

something about feelings of space ownership and a sense of belonging if there were places of importance to people. Interestingly, the sheer lack of interest or refusal that refugee participants expressed at the prospect of walking around the camps, let alone to show me places that were meaningful to them, further highlighted, along with the findings that will be discussed in the following chapter, that refugees did not feel much sense of ownership at all over the space of the camp at large. Therefore, my belief that this would be a useful method to accompany the ethnography proved to be premised on my assumption that refugees might feel a sense of ownership over the space of the camp, much like how some Syrian refugees living in Zaatari camp in Jordan have claimed the physical space to match their sociocultural living patterns back in Syria (Dalal et al., 2018).

Lastly, I intended to also conduct creative research activities with the refugee children, involving drawing activities (e.g., draw 'your home' or 'the camp') but when I encountered the reality on the ground, I decided against doing this kind of active research with the children. Given the amount of time and the linguistical complexities that would have been entailed in obtaining informed consent from all the parents, as well as the logistical complexities of having access to a space given to us by the camp authorities, I made the decision to focus on interviews with adult participants. I was planning to carry out a second round of fieldwork for a couple of months in the spring of 2020, and I planned to do this work then, however, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, I was unable to return to Artemopolis.

4.4.6 Transcription and Analysis:

Returning to the UK, I had approximately 50 hours of interviews with refugee participants and 64 hours of interviews with NGO volunteers of voice recordings to transcribe. Though I did the majority of it myself, to follow Fetterman's (2010: 71) suggestion of keeping the ethnographer "close to the data", I also enlisted the help of a professional transcriber due to the sheer number of interviews. Nonetheless, I did listen to all the voice recordings with the transcripts, to ensure that I was confident about what was recorded, and I made amendments that were necessary where misunderstandings occurred as well as made the transcripts consistent with the other transcripts. Indeed, as Green and colleagues (1997) affirm, transcription is an interpretive process in terms of deciding what is transcribed and involves representational issues about how it is transcribed. Decisions need to be made about what to include or omit, how many details to include, what language to transcribe in, and the format of

presentation (Gibson & Hua, 2016). With some early transcripts, I wrote the entire words 'Researcher' and 'Participant' but I quickly transitioned to shorter versions. The following table indicates how I signalled each speaker and the languages that were spoken on the transcripts:

Table 6: Transcript Indexing.

Speaker	Language	Indexing on the Transcript
Researcher	English	(R)
Interpreter	English	(I)
Interpreter	Arabic	(I/A)
Interpreter	Farsi	(I/F)
Participant	English	(P)
Participant	Arabic	(P/A)
Participant	Farsi	(P/F)

I made the decision to transcribe everything into English, including the interviews that I had conducted myself in Greek and in French without the presence of an interpreter. This was because, even though my research is multilingual and I wanted to ensure that different languages were evident in the research process, due to practical personal constraints (I do not speak Arabic and Farsi) and financial constraints, I did not want the representation of the data to appear to be giving undue epistemic authority to some participants over others. However, on the occasions where there may be intercultural translation tensions, I have noted this, and included it in the discussion in the following chapters. In the transcripts conducted with an interpreter, there are blank lines that are marked with '(P/A):' for example, to hold space and remind the reader that the participant was speaking another language, again due to the limitations mentioned above. In the presentation and discussion of some of this data though throughout the empirical chapters, I have used '[Arabic/Farsi spoken]' for the sake of brevity and ease of reading so as not to have empty lines. The ones that were conducted in Greek and French, for simplicity's sake, only have a note at the top indicating what language was being used, but then continued to be transcribed only denoting '(R)' and '(P)'.

I also sought help from professional Arabic, Farsi and Kurmanji interpreters in the UK in order to check that my interpreters in the field were on the whole able to interpret the interviews accurately. I sent them one full interview conducted via each interpreter in the field,

as well as some extracts of moments of tension or confusion, for them to fill in the blanks. Some of the professional interpreters made notes on the margins of the interviews and some added words in red letters next to the blank spaces marked for example '(P/A):' to add their translation. Overall, they confirmed that the quality of the translations was high and accurate, however, on a few occasions, they marked where they thought there may have been something added or that the meaning may have been altered. For an example of this, see the interview with Yasna, Appendix 7.

Within the broad guiding themes of identity, language, home, belonging and space, which structured the interviews, following an inductive approach to data analysis, I began to read the transcripts and search for initial patterns and eventually this led to codes and themes (Fetterman, 2010). A sample of this process is evident on the transcripts (see Appendices 6, 7 & 8). Making sense of all the data was a 'messy' (O'Reilly, 2009) process, but I decided against using any coding software like NVivo as I wanted to remain close to the data and to become deeply familiar with it before beginning to write up my analysis. I did this by hand, using highlighters, and then began to create "open codes" (O'Reilly, 2009: 37) in the margins that included some reflections and analysis ideas, and then more "focused codes" (O'Reilly, 2009: 37) with patterns and themes that became prominent such as: 'inside/outside', 'time', 'food', 'clean/dirty', 'rules', 'education', and then began to form cultural analyses "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses" (Geertz, 1973: 20) by drawing these codes together into over-arching themes such as 'language', 'space', 'home', 'belonging', which began to speak more directly to my research questions. In analysing the transcripts, I discovered that there were moments in some conversations that I wished I had asked for further clarification or elaboration, and as would be expected of a Grounded Theory approach where "[y]ou may start observing to study a topic and as your analysis proceeds return to participants with more focused queries" (Charmaz, 2006: 28), I would have liked to have pursued these questions in a follow-up interview with some participants; however, this was impossible due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Despite this limitation, I ensured to triangulate my findings by drawing on multiple sources including the transcripts and my extended field notes, to piece together my understanding (Fetterman, 2010).

During this phase of data analysis, I used the transcripts to add to the existing domain analyses, and to create new ones (see Appendices 13, 16-20, 22-27, 29-30), in order to build my layered understanding to inform the way that I ultimately have presented the data in the empirical chapter discussions (Spradley, 2016 [1980]). The new domain analyses included

more analytical cover terms than the initial ones conducted during my fieldwork, such as 'inside/outside' (see Appendix 16), where I included moments that people discussed moving from one place to another, entering and exiting the camps and places within the camps, or people being included and excluded from groups, both from my extended field notes, and where mentioned by research participants during their interviews. Through these domain analyses, broader themes such as 'borders/bordering practices' emerged, which have informed the way that I have discussed, for example, Chapter 5. Where relevant, I have also used the domain analyses to create taxonomy charts, simplifying the main terms emerging from the domain analyses, which have also influenced the way I have discussed the material in the empirical chapters. Whilst the domain analyses are very long, and include the full context of the relevant quotations, the taxonomy charts offer a more focused synthesis of a combination of terms used by myself and research participants. For instance, from Domain Analysis 1 (see Appendix 13) about 'characteristics of refugee camps', I have made the more focused synthesis of the main terms in Taxonomy Chart 1 (see Appendix 14).

4.5 Positionality

As discussed above in section 4.2, a crucial element of ethnographic research is critical self-reflection at all stages of the research process (Spradley, 2016 [1980]). Since we are all products of our own cultural environments, observing the world through our own cultural lenses (Spencer, 2001), undertaking ethnographic research requires a reckoning on behalf of the researcher about their role in the research. This includes considerations about the impact that their various 'field roles' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983) have had on the research, how they are positioned in various power relations (Taylor, 2002) that, though based on a spectrum rather than a strict binary (Ryan, 2015) and regardless of the researcher's best attempts, can never be fully equalised in the research process (Bhopal, 2009). This section will explore various aspects of my positionality throughout the research process, conceptualised as a "situational and fluid construction" involving a negotiation between how the researcher is conceived of as an insider/outsider by research participants, and how the researcher conceives of themselves within these contexts (Tewolde, 2021: 1033) as well as how "a researcher's characteristics affect both substantive and practical aspects of the research process" (Carling et al., 2014: 37).

As LeCompte & Schensul (2015: 116) emphasise, the 'researcher persona' has three components: first, the 'roles of the researcher' which entails all the different acts they need to perform to carry out the research that may position them in 'odd' positions, such as scribbling notes in the back of a classroom whilst conducting participant observation; second, the actual individual undertaking research involving their personal characteristics and identities, regardless of their role as a researcher; and third, the context in which the research action takes places. Each ethnographic encounter throughout the research process inevitably involves a negotiation between the various identities involved in the researcher persona. Within my own research context, these were often complex and conflicting. As an individual, I am a Greek, Cypriot, American woman, who is a permanent resident in the United Kingdom, is highly educated and is from a middle-class background, with a Cypriot refugee parent. All of these identities and cultural markers of my positionality (Carling et al., 2014) became relevant, at one point or another, in my interactions, as they placed me in differing positions in the 'space between' (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009) enabling me to be an insider and/or an outsider in social contexts. As a researcher in the field, I had a responsibility to the various institutions that supported my research, such as the University of Sheffield, and the Ethics Committee that had approved my research endeavour to adhere to strict research ethics and high levels of probity, my academic department, my supervisors and my funders to produce valid research. And the research context which demanded the highest level of ethical considerations when working with vulnerable populations, whilst also involved me also being a Busy Bee volunteer which involved a responsibility to behave according to their guidelines within the camps and to partake in appropriate activities over a certain amount of time, as contracted before I arrived in Greece.

Although these did not conflict *per se*, they often pulled in different directions. A key example is navigating time-keeping and scheduling interviews with refugee participants. My positionality as someone who grew up in Cyprus where timekeeping is not of high social significance meant that I was very comfortable with a loose attitude to timekeeping for interviews, especially given the dynamic context that I was operating in. When my interpreters or participants had unexpected issues arise, I was quite happy to be flexible, and had often even factored that time into the planning. However, when these coincided with days that I had other Busy Bee volunteer commitments, this was more challenging as they insisted on very strict timekeeping. Additionally, sometimes participants would ask me questions too in our interviews, and if they asked me where I was from, this usually ended up in a conversation

about how Cyprus is an occupied island and that I am the daughter of a refugee. This would then either lead to perplexed faces, as refugee participants would position me as 'not a refugee' because I did not 'look like a refugee' which I felt created some distance between us, or it enabled a further moment of sharing and empathy. Still, I was highly aware that in this regard, I was very much an outsider, as I was not a refugee myself; I often found leaving refugee participant's containers, especially at night very challenging, as this moment heightened the fact that I was a highly mobile person of privilege, who would be leaving the camp, whilst they stayed behind.

My positionality in terms of language use was also significant. On multiple occasions, I noticed myself instinctively switching language use in order to build a rapport with different groups that I was working with. For example, when operating in Busy Bee contexts, I would use English and often actively avoided speaking Greek in front of volunteers, as there was a certain degree of palpable negative affect towards locals within this group and I – perhaps only partly consciously – did not want to be perceived as Greek in those interactions. However, I would use Greek in front of volunteers when I was conversing with locals where the result had a direct benefit for Busy Bee (e.g., talking to the local bus company to get a cheaper rate for an excursion). Conversely, when I interacted with officials in the camps, especially at the gates with the security guards, I would only speak in Greek, actively distancing myself from the rest of the international volunteers of Busy Bee, who explicitly refused to learn Greek and with whom the guards and NGO officials in the camps had a somewhat conflictual relationship (whether or not this was due to language issues is debatable). I did this partly subconsciously, I think in order to make the crossing of the threshold into the camp go more smoothly. Moreover, when interacting with various adult refugees, especially when invited into their private living spaces for interviews, I would begin by speaking some basic Arabic, which I had learnt prior to arrival in the field, and some basic Farsi, which I swiftly realised I needed to learn when I arrived in the field to avoid making one refugee group believe that I favoured one group over others. Lastly, when speaking with the refugee children, I often spoke Greek with the ones who enjoyed Greek school and saw this as a way to connect with a Busy Bee volunteer in a rather unique way (especially given that some children, who had been in the camp for longer than others, had acquired a good level of Greek language skills), as well as mirroring some of the folk terms that they used in the camp context to be more easily understood. All of these language choices were building blocks towards fostering relationships of trust, that then meant people were more open when sharing their experiences during interviews.

However, being seen as an insider or outsider in certain contexts did pose some challenges, as well as the fact that participants were also ascribing certain identities to me that I perhaps would not have chosen to make relevant to some interactions. As Shaffir (1991: 79) remarks, "the researcher does not simply appropriate a particular status, but discovers that he or she is accorded a status by the hosts that reflects their understanding of his or her presence". For example, I noticed that some refugees were reticent to disclose their negative experiences with locals at first during our interviews, as they considered me a 'Greek person' and were worried I would be offended. I had to reiterate that this would not be the case, and that they could speak freely. I also noticed on a few occasions during the interviews with refugee participants that some of them felt uncomfortable speaking openly to criticise elements of Busy Bee's projects since they ascribed the identity of 'Busy Bee Teacher' to me, as they often initially knew me through my role as the Greek language teacher. In these contexts, this aspect of my positionality made me a kind of 'authority figure' with an asymmetrical power dynamic as they did not want to say anything negative about Busy Bee that would potentially threaten my continuing to provide Greek language services, or their wider relationship with Busy Bee. This was in relation to my NGO role of 'teacher' which superseded my role as 'researcher' in this context and despite my assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, this did not always make participants feel at ease. However, I did find that once I had officially ended teaching for Busy Bee in February 2020 and refugees began to note this, the interviews that I conducted after this point did include more open conversations about Busy Bee's perceived shortcomings among some refugees. This tension between the 'teacher' and 'researcher' role was also present with navigating cultural norms of politeness around hospitality. For instance, in the middle of conducting an interview with the family of one of my Young Explorer children, I was offered some food, which I could visibly see was something that they had prepared specifically to offer me as the child's revered 'teacher' who was coming for a social visit, not necessarily as a 'researcher'. Here I felt that it would have been extremely disrespectful to not eat what was given to me, even though personally I would not have eaten it in a different context.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Scholars working in the field of migration should, as Block and colleagues (2013: 4 – italics in the original) emphasise, "*first, do no harm*", especially when working with 'vulnerable' populations, such as refugees, taking the utmost care to protect their

confidentiality and be sensitive to wellbeing issues as a result of participating in my research project, whilst acknowledging refugee agency and that the 'vulnerability' is not an inherent quality or deficit. It is rather "the potential vulnerability of research participants as resulting from the circumstances in which they find themselves - rather than locating it within the person - helps to remind us that such groups consist of 'ordinary people' buffeted by extraordinary - albeit disturbingly common - events" (Block et al., 2013: 6). This doctoral research project has been approved by the University of Sheffield Research Ethics Committee. Nevertheless, despite meticulous planning in advance of commencing fieldwork in regard to formal ethics procedures about how to approach what I knew would be complex ethical concerns involved with researching with vulnerable participants, there still arose difficulties with the informal ethics involved in negotiating daily interactions in the field (Lambek, 2010). This section will discuss both the formal and the informal ethical considerations and my responses to challenges as they arose.

The ethical principles of ethnographic research as identified by Spradley (2016 [1980]) are: to consider informants first and respect their wishes; safeguard informants' rights, interests, and sensitivities; communicate research objectives; protect privacy of informants; not to exploit informants; and to make reports of research findings available to informants. I have used these as a guide, but these had to be adapted to be appropriate for my situated practice. As stated in Chapter 1, I have ensured that all the names of participants, along with names of organisations, the refugee camps, and the name of the city I conducted research in are all pseudonyms to protect confidentiality and the anonymity of my participants. For 'Busy Bee', I selected this pseudonym based on words that participants had used to describe the organisation. For the camps, the location, and the camp authorities, I selected pseudonyms based on Greek history. The only potential issue arising here was the prospect of protecting anonymity and confidentiality between refugee and volunteer participants, who could potentially be identifiable to each other by virtue of the description of their roles within the organisation or camps. In such cases, I made this extremely clear, to the best of my knowledge, to these people in question, and they all maintained that they were comfortable with this degree of anonymity.

Before arriving in Artemopolis, Busy Bee had made the appropriate arrangements to secure permission from the relevant authorities for me to conduct research in the refugee camps where Busy Bee operates. Busy Bee volunteers were made aware at the start of my fieldwork during staff team meetings about my research project and my conducting participant

observation, and they were able to ask me questions and all gave verbal consent. As for interviews, they read my detailed research information sheet (see Appendix 11) and gave informed consent by signing my consent form (see Appendix 12). As new volunteers arrived throughout the duration of my fieldwork, they were all immediately made aware of my study and we went through the same onboarding process as with the previous volunteers. Obtaining informed consent from refugee participants was more complex due to language barriers and literacy levels, and as Mackenzie and colleagues (2007) discuss, written consent forms are not always the most appropriate form of consent for refugee participants.

Throughout the entire process, I was committed to fully respecting the autonomy, anonymity and confidentiality of the people that I encountered throughout my fieldwork. To this end, I was always asking myself the questions, 'how confident am I that they have given informed consent?' and 'how potentially identifiable could these people be if they appeared anonymously in my field notes?'. I met many refugees within the camps and whenever I would have an extended informal conversation with people, I would explain my study and let them know that I was carrying out loose participant observation in the camps. In terms of more focused participant observation in the classrooms, adult refugee students in the Busy Bee English classes and the adults of parents of the Young Explorer refugee children were all made aware of my study by Busy Bee and myself at the point of them signing-up for Busy Bee classes, with the help of an interpreter, where verbal consent was given. For the sake of being as transparent as possible, I endeavoured to remind people at the beginning of the sessions (with interpreters where possible), letting the students know that I would be observing and they were given the chance to ask me questions and opt-out. On the whole, this worked quite well but this was not always a seamless process (see reflections on extended field notes, Appendix 4). In terms of interviews with refugees, my interpreters would talk the participants through each line of my information sheet (see Appendix 9), stressing the safeguarding measures that were put in place regarding anonymity and confidentiality, and participants were able to ask me questions. We also discussed whether they would permit me to voice record the conversation for the purpose of transcription afterwards. Then interpreters would talk them through each line of the consent form (see Appendix 10) and participants were given a chance to ask questions about any parts before signing the form. I had also prepared a video recording in advance of starting my fieldwork, with a professional Arabic interpreter, where we both explained my study. I did use this video as an extra information tool in some contexts, but mostly I relied on the interpreters in the field.

Some of the interviews were with parents of the refugee children from the Young Explorers programme, so I would take this time as an opportunity to remind parents that I had been conducting participant observation throughout and that some actions or words that their child may have expressed or carried out during class might appear anonymously in my extended field notes. Occasionally, members of the Young Explorers also attended and participated in their parents' interview with me, in which case I asked with the aid of the interpreters for the parents to consent both in their own name, and on behalf of their children on the voice recordings and the written consent forms.

In terms of ethical considerations in relation to generally conducting research with refugee participants, I was careful to strike a balance between being aware of their potential vulnerabilities and also being cautious in my approach to not essentialise refugee participants with the cultural category of 'being a refugee'. As Gifford (2013: 56) discusses, what is at stake when considering what is 'right' in terms of an ethical approach to conducting research with refugees is in fact a clash of 'value cultures' of the research project stakeholders which leads to "the *refugee* — produced as a naturalised, essentialised subject — and who serves as a mirror reflecting back the values that shape the projects of the various stakeholders." I strived to be aware of and critically reflect on the 'value cultures' of myself and the various institutions that were involved in my research process, so as to not essentialise, to the best of my capacity, my research participants. Nonetheless, I was aware that I was working in a context with vulnerable participants and I made sure to take the utmost care with being sensitive to the needs of the people I interacted with. In some cases, this meant that even if I was walking around the camp and someone asked me who I was and what I was doing, when I replied explaining my research, if they expressed interest in being involved, I never refused. Sometimes this was problematic in terms of research tasks, since my time also involved my interpreter's time and payment, and sometimes it became apparent within ten minutes of conversation that they did not really wish to engage in a research conversation about any topics that I had loosely prepared in advance, but were either lonely, needed help with a problem or had mistaken me as a therapist somehow given that the room that I said I was conducting interviews in Dorian camp was usually used for meeting with therapists. In these instances, I took the ethical responsibilities of working with vulnerable participants very seriously, and simply turned off the voice recorder, or put down my pen, and continued to have a conversation for at least as long as I had already committed to paying the interpreter for the session, or until the person decided they had received what they needed.

Ethical dilemmas occurred when deciding how to appropriately reimburse interpreters and participants for their time participating in my research. It seemed very clear to me that I should pay interpreters for their time as they spent many hours helping me with translation, and although they too were interviewed as participants and I did not want to offer payment for partaking in the research so as not to induce participation from those that did not wish to speak with me (Lammers, 2007), the sheer number of hours involved in them translating certainly amounted to a small freelancing job that I felt required monetary recompense. I had accounted for their payment of €10 per hour of interpreting within my request for financial support from my doctoral funders, and in practice, this became somewhat symbolic as they would often give much more of their time than the scheduled time for which I am indebted to them, as their input was invaluable to the research project. With refugee participants, as I conducted most of the interviews in their private living spaces, I behaved in the norms that hospitality would dictate as a guest, and I always brought some chocolates or biscuits with me to give to the families. With Busy Bee volunteers, I paid for our coffee at the cafes.

I found it more straightforward to explain the limited parameters of the potential benefits of partaking in my study with the Busy Bee volunteers, but with refugee participants, this was sometimes more complex, especially as my positional power within the context was sometimes confused (see section 4.5). I did my best to adhere to the ethical principle of reciprocity (Maiter et al., 2008; Mackenzie et al., 2007), searching to establish some sense of equitable exchange for all parties involved in the interaction. I addressed this in practice by ensuring the interpreters would clearly set out my position as a researcher and within Busy Bee from the outset of the interaction. Many refugee participants stated that they felt I had 'given back' already by being their child's Greek language teacher, or that they were looking forward to the discussion for the simple reason of wanting to have a conversation with someone about their stories and experiences. Furthermore, as Lammers (2007) discusses, some of the 'difficulties of giving' in a research context are inextricably linked with the 'difficulties of receiving', and that for there to be an equal encounter of some sort, both parties need to give and take. Indeed, I found myself feeling somewhat uncomfortable eating elaborate meals in people's rooms or containers that they had dedicated their limited financial resources and time towards. And yet in some cases, sharing a meal with me, regardless of my purpose for being there, felt to many participants as a moment of social contact that resembled normality for them, which they articulated to me, and that had I refused to accept their hospitality, I would have been denying something important that they wished to give. The difficulty of the

encounter lay in my discomfort to receive rather than in the participants' desire to give. In other cases though, the difficulty also potentially lay in the material consequences of their giving, which I am aware could have possibly meant in some cases that some family member may have paid the price in food forgone as a result of my presence.

I found contending with the limitations of my expertise and position as a mere Greek language teacher in the camps, rather than what I felt would have perhaps been more useful for many of the refugee participants I spoke with, such as being a lawyer, a social worker, or a mental health professional specialised in trauma, difficult to deal with and frustrating that I was so limited in my capacities. Some people for example would ask me to look at their passports and ask me to try to give legal advice about their asylum claims, at which point I would feel utterly useless and be honest in reiterating that I was only a researcher (Fetterman, 2010) and that I had no relevant expertise to understand anything about their legal status. In these situations, I would advise them to speak with Busy Bee or Magnolia Aid and Dandelion Aid. Hammett and Sporton (2012) discuss ethical issues arising in fieldwork with research participants in the Global South, and note that they chose not to give payment or favourable treatment to research participants as it would be unethical towards the rest of the community members who did not partake and would then have therefore missed an opportunity for some kind of 'reward'. I faced similar issues when some refugee participants asked me to give their child special treatment in Young Explorers at which point I explained that I could not help as it would not be ethical for their children to receive this kind of favouritism, simply because their parents took part in my research.

Lastly, what I found as the most personally challenging aspect of ethical issues in the field was how to deal with situations where a participant would admit something to me during their interviews that I found morally wrong. As LeCompte & Schensul (2015: 24) discuss: "[w]hile ethnographers may not be neutral at all regarding how the practices are viewed *outside of the field site*, within the field site, and even in the presentation of the data outside the field site, the ethnographer is constrained by principles that forbid criticizing what the informants do or believe in comparison with what ethnographers have been trained to do or believe." One particular issue that I struggled with was listening to someone explaining that they disciplined their children through corporal punishment and that they lamented how, in Europe, their child has realised that they can no longer hit them. I found it extremely difficult to maintain empathy for this participant whilst I so strongly disagreed with the content of the discussion. And yet,

as required by the principles of ethnography, I strived to remain as neutral as possible throughout the interaction.

There are also some ethical considerations in regard to making this research available to the people who took part in this study. Jordan and Moser (2020) reflect on their experiences of similar research with refugees in informal transit camps along the Balkan route and they conclude that due to the temporary and mobile nature of their research encounter with their refugee participants, they consider their time given as volunteers within the context as the most meaningful way to 'give back' whilst they were in the field, as disseminating research findings afterwards would be impossible. Whilst some participants did express these kinds of sentiments to me, I still think it is an important part of this research process to make the findings available to participants. In terms of disseminating to Busy Bee volunteers, they all speak English sufficiently to be able to understand any outputs as I produce them, and they are all easily contactable. In terms of disseminating to the refugee participants, this is more problematic because most adults lack electronic means of communication (access to phones and mobile data was difficult for refugees in Artemopolis) and many of them have moved away from the camps due to their legal status. Nevertheless, I am still in touch with my interpreters, and with the help of Busy Bee, I am investigating the options for making a version of this research available for them and translated into Arabic and Farsi.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodological approach I took when designing and carrying out my research, discussing the theoretical underpinnings of ethnographic research and tracing the complexities and challenges I faced when undertaking an ethnographic study within highly sensitive, intercultural and multilingual settings of two refugee camps in Greece. I have considered issues arising during data collection, data analysis, as well as my positionality and ethical dimensions and outlined how I dealt with these. Underpinning this discussion and my decisions has been a continual process of grappling with the challenge of adapting an ethnographical methodological outlook to a complex multi-sited field, where I was able to become an insider in the local NGO but only a part-insider in the general camp community. Even achieving this less than ideally anchored role required walking a tightrope between my roles as a researcher, as a volunteer, and as a teacher, between my identities as a Cypriot-Greek

person, an American, and a descendent of refugees, between my use of English, Greek, French, and my more limited Arabic, between my identity as a woman and the complex gender-related social customs I interacted with, between my status as a cultural outsider and my desire to understand the experiences of insiders. Moreover, my research activities saw me interact with people in all different types of groups (e.g., from the one-to-one to class context, via interviews with an interpreter, and other group formations occurring throughout). Throughout these experiences, I wanted to ensure that everyone I interacted with felt respected as a person and never felt merely used for the sake of my research. This led to building rich relationships that were both personally rewarding and invaluable to the research process. But this also meant that sometimes it could be challenging to balance my own needs with those of other members of the camp community. I started off feeling a little overwhelmed by the complexity of the task and balancing my research and volunteering commitments, but as I went through the research process, I built the confidence to draw on my different roles, and ask for help from others, as well as to make the key decisions where required. This chapter will hopefully have offered the reader a chance to understand how complex conducting an extended ethnographic study in this type of setting can be.

The remainder of this thesis involves three empirical chapters, which each contribute to partially addressing components of my research aim. Each chapter in order predominantly addresses a research question in order, however, they do still overlap where relevant, and all chapters address the fourth. Chapter 5 will explore how the spaces and places of Minoan and Dorian refugee camps are constructed, including through intercultural interactions, and how these are related to identities and socio-spatial belonging, therefore contributing to addressing Research Questions 1 and 4. Chapter 6 will explore how refugees construct a sense of home in Minoan and Dorian camps, and how these are related to identities and socio-spatial belonging, therefore contributing to addressing Research Question 2 and 4. Chapter 7 will explore how refugees engage in creating a sense of socio-political belonging through intercultural interactions with other refugees, NGO volunteers and locals, paying particular attention to processes of identification, therefore contributing to addressing Research Question 3 and 4.

Chapter 5: Constructing Minoan and Dorian refugee camps: space, place, intercultural interactions

5.1 Introduction

As the first empirical chapter of this thesis, the aim of this chapter is to provide an in-depth understanding of the relationship between the ways in which refugees and NGO volunteers experience and construct Minoan and Dorian refugee camps and how this is shaped by, as well as impacts on, their identities. This chapter is guided by the theoretical understanding that space and place have a co-constitutive relationship, and constructing spaces and places involve physical, mental, social and temporal dimensions (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005). It also draws on the theoretical understanding that there is a dialectical relationship between people constructing places through social interactions, and places shaping people's identities and their experience of the sense of self that can be expressed within these places (Jenkins, 2008). This takes place in a situated context and is greatly shaped by the power dynamics governing the social interactions (Murdoch, 2006), producing groups of inclusion and exclusion within certain places (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This chapter explores the processes through which the physical, mental, social and temporal dimensions of Minoan and Dorian camps are socially constructed, paying particular attention to power relations and how these impact different actors' agency to construct the spaces of the camps, through intercultural interactions between refugees, NGO volunteers, and local Greek people and authorities. The structure of this chapter firstly focuses on the scale of the camp in section 5.2 and then at a smaller scale narrowing down on specific places within the camps in section 5.3, and ending with a concluding discussion in section 5.4.

5.2 Constructing the place of the camp

This section will examine how Minoan and Dorian camps are socially constructed at a scale of the camp, especially in relation to how the borders of the spaces of the camps are constructed, by which actors, and what this implies about the spaces of the camps within these boundaries, and the identities of the people who are produced as (il)legitimate occupants of

these spaces (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). Section 5.2.1 focuses on constructing borders in relation to refugees' and NGO volunteers' movements of entering and exiting the camp, the gates, and the moments of crossing the threshold of the camps, as well as what these borders and boundaries suggest about the spatial dimensions of the camps and the related implications about the identities of the camp dwellers and the NGO volunteers who work there. Section 5.2.2 explores the physical and social boundaries constructed around the camp in relation to the geographical and material elements of the camps and the associated implications about refugees and NGO volunteers' identities. Section 5.2.3 examines how the physical and social borders of the camp influence or constrain refugees' agency to construct the space of the camp. All of these sections build on Domain Analysis 1 (see Appendix 13) which provides an 'Attribution semantic relationship' analysis (Spradley, 1980 [2016]) of refugees', NGO volunteers', and my own perspectives about the characteristics of Minoan and Dorian camps. They also draw on Taxonomy Chart 1 (see Appendix 14) which emerges from Domain Analysis 1, and provides a synthesis of the key characteristics of the camps. It also uses Domain Analysis 2 (see Appendix 16) which displays a 'strict inclusion' semantic relationship of the references to the analytical themes 'inside' and 'outside' in the data.

5.2.1 Constructing the camp: gates and thresholds

The borders of Minoan and Dorian refugee camps are constructed through physical and social dimensions, which produce certain implications about the space inside the borders, who are the legitimate occupants of these spaces inside the boundaries of the camp, and who has the legitimacy to traverse the threshold at the gates of the camps. Minoan and Dorian camps are largely experienced as hostile, unwelcoming and desolate places by the majority of refugee participants which in turn negatively impact upon their identities. Many refugees invoke the analogy of living in a prison; the physical perimeters of the camps symbolise the borders of this prison, with an emphasis on freedom and incarceration on either side of the boundary. For instance, Jameela implies that she experiences herself as a prisoner inside Dorian camp: "(I)[12]: *When I go out the camp, I feel comfortable, but when I go inside, I feel I live in prison*" (Interview with Jameela, L. 41). Zulema echoes this, adding that the entrance to Dorian camp, which is protected by a security-guarded gate, serves as a heightened boundary that reinforces

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[12] As a reminder, the parentheses at the start of the empirical quotes denote who is speaking and the language. For a full discussion, Chapter 4.

her experience of feeling like a prisoner of the camp:*"(I): Because if I, for example forget my card inside my room I can't go out, and the same thing when I was when I lost my card in the shopping I couldn't come inside. Because of this I feel like I am in prison"* (Interview with Zulema, L. 67-69). Zulema's freedom of mobility is restricted by the physical and social boundary of the camp, which is policed by the security guards who require her to identify herself every time she crosses the threshold of Dorian camp, just like a prisoner would need to be identified before making significant movements in a prison. If she accidentally forgets her identification card, the camp becomes a double prison, rendering her a prisoner both locked in and locked out. Additionally, Zinah reflects on how the presence of security guards not only accentuate her feeling like a prisoner, but also have more subtle implications about her identity: *"(P/A)[13]: I don't know. I am mostly feeling like I am imprisoned living always inside the house and they are outside sitting...I feel like I am not in a familiar place. I feel like I am a stranger, and I am a refugee"* (Zinah, L. 124-128). For Zinah, the place of the camp is unfamiliar, which carries connotations of an unknown or unfriendly place.

The camp is also constructed as a prison by refugee participants partly because they believe that others regard it in this manner and they are influenced by how other non-camp-dwellers position them in relation to the spaces of the camps. For example, Yasna portrays Minoan camp not only as a prison, but also as an austere mental health asylum which is locking her in and threatening her mental health: *"(I): She say, when you stand in the gate, just you, the camp look like a psychologic place, or like a prison. And she say, this is a place there are not someone from Europe he can say this place is good for the people"* (Interview with Yasna, L. 165-167). Yasna's account implies that the space of the camp, and particularly from the viewpoint of an onlooker at the gate which marks the entrance threshold, makes her feel as though she is inferior to European citizens, as they would never deem Minoan camp as a suitable place to live, and she believes that the fact that she lives there might signal to them certain negative implications about her value as a person. Moreover, Amir expresses how approaching Minoan camp entrance, getting off the bus at the stop there, and having to engage in interactions with local people and verbally explain to them that he lives in Minoan camp, makes him feel like a criminal:

> *"(P): About the camp, it is different, and it has bad feeling. And sometimes we take the bus from the city, and the bus he want to let us in the gate of the camp, so when we start to get out, and the people, the local people, they talking, 'Ah, they are living outside,*

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[13] In this case, even though this was spoken in Arabic by the participant, I have included the English translation provided by the professional Arabic interpreter asked to quality control the translations.

they are living here'...So even sometimes, even if you want to invite some your friends to drink something in your house, it's difficult to invite them. Because the situation for the camp look like jail. And also when you say, 'I am living in the camp', they feel like you have done some crime or something like this and you are in the punishment. So the camp for me, the camp is like death. This is my feeling" (Interview with Amir, L. 216-223).

Amir's construction of the camp as a prison is worsened by locals' preconceptions about what the fact that he currently lives in an outdoor container in a rural area rather than a house in the urban city might signal about his identity. Amir believes that the locals construct the camp as a prison and thus categorise him as a criminal and as a legitimate occupant of such a physical place because he supposedly must have committed some wrongdoing if this is where he resides, or rather, is confined.

Amir also introduces the notion that the camp is actually a form of death for him since, a kind of social prison, as it denies him the capacity to engage in important social rituals such as freely hosting his friends in his personal living space. This spectatorial dimension of the construction of the camp, where those who do not live in it (i.e. the spectators) seem to have disproportionate power in defining the social meaning of the place, is reminiscent of Foucault's (1995) analysis of the institution of the prison. Now, clearly the space of refugee camp does not, in itself, signify to the public a formal punishment. But the accounts of the camp dwellers suggest that a social and civic scar results, nevertheless, from living there. In this case, there is no pretence of justice. It is the mere fact of not yet having full legal rights of residency that result in this misfortune, which is often misinterpreted by an onlooking local population. This sense of a deep spatial dichotomy between the inside and the outside is made all the more stark when Dilara and Malik say that the camp is a place worse than death; a place where they feel like they are in an inferno, "(I): *Like some people go to the paradise, and some people go to another hell, like the hell*" (Interview with Dilara and Malik, L. 42). For them, the space of the camp makes them feel like they have been condemned after death.

Conversely, some refugees experience the borders of the camp as demarcating a zone of security for them and their children, and a temporal boundary between their current experience of safety and their previous experience of threat of persecution: *"(I): Safe because we have the security here*" (Interview with Sanam and Amany, L. 444). Additionally, mothers experience the boundary of the gate of Dorian camp as a protection barrier against wider dangers beyond the borders of the camp, rather than as a gate locking them in the camp:

"here it's very safe, especially for children when they go in the morning, I know they will not go out the camp." (Interview with Suha, L. 183-184)

"…there is safety here, no one can enter without permission, my kids are growing up in a respectful environment, there isn't much intoxication here, like people drugging themselves, who drink alcohol, so our children are free in here." (Interview with Arezo and Ayan, L. 331-333)

For Suha, the physical border of the gate, which is guarded by security, provides her with peace of mind to allow her children to play within the boundaries of the camp without worrying that they will be able to exit without her permission. Moreover, Arezo implies that the boundaries of the camp mark a relatively safe social space within the camp for her children to move freely without constant supervision. Interestingly, Arezo draws attention to alcohol and drugs as being notable threats, and given the fact that she is a Muslim woman, this could suggest that she is implying that, as far as she is concerned, the boundaries of the camp serve as a delineation of the microcosm of a social reality that she occupies, which is created by a majority of camp residents who mostly share her religious and cultural beliefs that forbid alcohol and drug use, and which is in contrast to the wider reality that her children might be exposed to outside the camp, in Greece, or even in the wider European context.

In contrast to refugee participants' accounts of their experiences of crossing the camp borders as having implications for their identities as whole people, Busy Bee volunteers report their experience of traversing the threshold into the camps as having implications for their local identities in terms of the social function of their role in the camp. For example, Beatrice explains how she enters the security-guarded Dorian camp:

"(P): When you get to [Dorian camp] they look at who is arriving, they open the gates to let you in, they are like electric gate and everyone who is getting in should give the documents. When you give the documents they give you the key which you may need" (Interview with Beatrice, L. 407-409)

Her use of the word "documents" makes the exchange sound like a simple transaction as opposed to a moment fraught with tension, which could involve a contest over entry, as expressed by Zulema. Furthermore, as a Busy Bee volunteer, she benefits from the positional power of being able to enter and exit the camp whenever she would like as long as she observes the daily operating hours, and where she is automatically 'given' the keys to some of the rooms within the camp, rooms that refugees are not automatically entitled to access as users. It seems as though the gates open for her and other Busy Bee volunteers as soon as the guards see them arriving, thus implying that her identity as a legitimate occupant of the space of the camp is ascribed to her by the camp guards as well as self-claimed. Beatrice's use of the words "they

let you in" signals that she regards entering Dorian camp gate as a moment of being permitted to enter a desired place, where others wish to be, but only a select few are given permission to cross the boundary into this space.

Moreover, Niamh's anecdote of her experience of being allowed into Dorian camp when other non-Busy Bee NGO volunteers would have been denied entry by the security guards further demonstrates how traversing the borders of the camps serve as a symbol of work pride for Busy Bee volunteers, in stark contrast to refugees' experiences. As one of the Busy Bee volunteers who teaches adult English classes Niamh recounts how the guards attempted to deny her entry when there had been an incident with some refugees inside the camp:

> *"P: ...at [Dorian camp]...this is kinda the joke, that we refer to it as the 'mini riots' but what we are calling an 'incident' that we jokingly called a 'mini riot' at [Dorian camp]. And how you know who was allowed in and who wasn't allowed in. And eventually after so many phone calls I was allowed in but the security guy didn't want me in that day and I thought it was too much of a hassle and in [Busy Bee], we've had a lot of discussions about like, we pride ourselves on giving the teacher the decision to go to the camps see what's it like and to go, 'Do I want to enter today or do I feel unsafe?' Umm which we have had tons of discussions about because maybe you have a new teacher and they don't feel comfortable saying no and things like that, but we also, I know, that there is this sense of pride that a lot of the times when the other NGOs or organisations aren't allowed in, we are allowed in. So, the camp and that's why it's so important to us when [Dandelion Aid] says, 'no classes', we still go and show, 'no we are not allowed to have classes today but we are still part of the camp, the community, we want to be here'. We are not just not going to come because they say no class."* (Interview with Niamh, L. 683-695)

Niamh's account echoes Beatrice's, presenting the camp as a special place where only a select few are allowed to cross the borders to enter, which is closed off to the public on most days, but is also closed to other NGO volunteers who run activities in the camp on the days that there is some sort of security incident inside the camp. However, for Niamh, her identity as a Busy Bee volunteer is one that she wears as a badge of honour and is somehow the key for her to be allowed to enter the camp after many phone calls (likely between Marco and the ministry) to the security guards at the gate of Dorian camp to let her inside the camp. Here, although the place of the camp is constructed as an insecure place for other NGO volunteers, who may be afraid of "mini riots", and who the security guards are likely trying to protect by enclosing the supposedly 'dangerous' refugees inside the borders of the camp and not permitting NGO volunteers to enter, for Niamh and other Busy Bee volunteers, they consider something that could potentially be seen as a threat by others as a joke, and not something to worry about enough to hinder them from standing in solidarity with the refugees inside the camp, rather

than be on the outside of the border of the camp. Busy Bee volunteers experience different kinds of freedom of mobility around the camp as well as when entering and exiting the camp, since Busy Bee allows each volunteer to decide for themselves whether they feel safe enough to enter the camp on any given day if there is an incident, and the charity's standing with local authorities allows this determination to be made by volunteers and as such they are even more privileged than other NGO volunteers, which therefore probably contributes to Busy Bee volunteers' positive construction of the place of the camp. Niamh also self-identifies as belonging to the "the community" of the camp, which includes refugees and excludes local authorities. This self-claimed identity is a positive one for her, however, it does implicitly label refugees as the legitimate occupants of the space of the camp, which she aligns herself as belonging to. However, this statement itself suggests her categorising refugees as belonging to a space that they do not necessarily identify with.

Nora is the only Busy Bee volunteer who experiences the gate at Dorian camp as the boundary of a prison, just like some refugee participants:

> *"It's that there is a huge metal fence that looks like a prison and you know, like no matter what is going on behind that door, it's not normal. Like it's not a normal way for people to live. So, it was an orphanage before. I don't know that gate was there when it was an orphanage. But that gate for me, it's just a symbol of oppression and isolation, and I hate it."* (Interview with Nora, L. 970-976)

Her language expresses empathy for the camp dwellers, and she distinctly uses the word "people" to refer to camp-dwellers, rather than refugees, which stresses that she is focusing on how the gate symbolises an unjust confinement and segregation of human beings rather than categorising them with the label of 'refugees' with implicit connotations that they are legitimate occupants of the space of the camp. Furthermore, her use of the words "oppression" and "isolation" and her declaration of her hatred towards this gate signals that she has an embodied experience of the space of the camp much like refugees do. As Nora explained to me in our extended informal conversations, as a founding member of Busy Bee, she has spent a significant amount of time working with camp-dwellers and identifies as part of their 'community'.

5.2.2 Constructing the camp: geography and materiality

The physical and geographical aspects of the camp, in terms of location and surrounding landscapes, as well as the material conditions of the camps, also play a role in the way that refugees experience the camps and how these impact on their identities. The camps are both geographically isolated from Artemopolis city centre, especially Minoan camp, which is located on dry land without many trees or local residents nearby, making refugees feel insecure and segregated from the local population. For example, two refugee participants compare Minoan camp to a desert:

> "*(P): Yeah, when I go to the camp, the first time when I came to the camp, it was at night. I feel like in a desert. When we came here, I say, 'Where are you going? This is not a place to live, this is a desert.'*" (Interview with Bilal, L. 31-33)

> "*(I): In my mind, the camp is located in like a desert, so without any safety or security…She says like the island, like the sea, there is not a place that the people are living in, especially the back, there is no one living there.*" (Interview with Hamida and Mohseena, L. 31-36)

Both participants characterise the camp as being a vast and bleak space, like a desert or a sea, devoid of other local human activity. Hamida and Mohseena's account suggest that it is the fact that Minoan camp seems borderless, especially at the back of the camp, the place which is furthest away from the entrance and the most remote, and seems unprotected by security guards, that makes her feel unsafe. This feeling of insecurity could be in reference to either danger inside the camp, or perhaps outside the camp. Notably, this is in contrast to Zulema and Zinah's accounts of the security-guarded gate at Dorian camp discussed in the previous section – whilst they experience Dorian camp gate and borders as *locking them in*, Hamida and Mohseena suggest that they would welcome more secure camp borders which would be *protecting them inside*. Bilal's account implies that the vastness of the camp and its arid environment is what is engulfing and threatening, firstly to their civic identities as being placed in these camps by the Greek state makes them feel inferior to locals; and secondly to their very existence as humans since as these are environments in which they feel like it is difficult to sustain human life. The camps are considered an acute physical threat for the vulnerable, such as children who can get injured easily, *"(I): In one year, my son hurt his head inside the camp 6-7 times. And also, one time, we carry him to the hospital*" (Interview with Almas and Jawana, L. 70-71) or the elderly who are less agile, *"(I): I prefer to walk during the day in the camp, because when I walk during the day I can see you, see other people in the camp, at night I, it's not the looks, the look is not good for me*" (Interview with Zahiya and Badia, L. 610-611).

Moreover, again echoing similar themes discussed in the previous section, the camps are constructed by some refugee participants as spaces which negate their identities as full human beings, reducing them to feeling like they are somehow less than human. Some participants evoke the metaphor of life within the borders of the camp as them feeling like kept animals, comparing their daily activities to the behaviour of farm animals:

> *"(P): The first word, 'jail'. [Laughs] No good life, nothing to do. I think we feel like animal, only eat and sleep. I think this is the bad thing in this camp."* (Interview with Bilal, L. 488-489)

> *"(I): And he say like, we are afraid some epidemic to start here. Why? Because they put us in the middle of the places for the chicken, for the sheep. Because all around us, the place not good for living."* (Interview with Hamal, L. 81-83)

> *"(I): He says that this is not a life. Maybe the animals can live here."* (Interview with Dilara and Malik, L. 36)

In these accounts, the space of the camp is an embodied experience (Soja, 1999), which is viscerally and degradingly felt by refugees who construct the camp as a place that threatens their human dignity, as they feel like living in the camp makes them akin to farm animals, and makes them susceptible to diseases which threaten their bodies. These testimonies which stress the mere survival of refugees in the camps, reduced to animalistic functions ('*zoe*') rather than people who can engage in meaningful activities ('*bios*') besides eating and sleeping, are reminiscent of Agamben's (1998) notion of the refugee camp being a space of 'bare life'; a place that produces humans living in an extraterritorial 'state of exception' (Agamben, 2005), and a place which serves to enclose the figure of the *homo sacer* (a person banned from society and denied all rights) (Ramadan, 2013). In this case, these refugees report living in a contained and segregated space of exclusion from the rest of civic life in Artemopolis, and these echo the findings of studies in relation to refugee camps on the Greek islands (Witcher, 2022) and experiences of confinement refugees report experiencing in Germany (Fontanari, 2015).

The internal layout as well as the material conditions of the camps prompt a varied response from refugees in terms of how they experience the space and their identities. Again, the imagery of the prison is called up; for instance, Sharif remarks that Dorian camp *"(I): [...] presents itself like a prison, with all the different cells, all the rooms are the same. It's like a prison as you see in the films"* (Interview with Sharif, L. 85-86). There is a surreal element to Dorian camp evident here, as though the people inhabiting the monotonous concrete rooms are characters trapped in a movie rather than living life freely. However, in contrast to Sharif, Jameela, who regards the camp in general and the threshold of the camp as a prison (discussed

in the previous section), does in fact experience the material conditions of Dorian camp as contributing to the camp being a safe place, since it offers her housing in the form of a solid structure, rather than tents: *"(I): This is camp fortunately it's safe and the other places or other people live in tents we thanks God because we have buildings to live"* (Interview with Jameela, L. 430-431). Jameela constructs the space of the camp in relation to other spaces and times (Massey, 2005), perceiving Dorian camp as comparatively better than other camps that other refugees inhabit, or perhaps as better than other camps she has previously experienced living in which had more flimsy material conditions, thus she positions herself as lucky to be residing in Dorian camp. This points to the ambivalence refugee participants feel towards the camps; on the one hand, the material conditions reinforce the notion of a prison, whilst on the other hand, these living conditions may still be better than the ones they faced in the immediate past.

Interestingly, the notion that the concrete material conditions of Dorian camp are perceived as an unusual characteristic of refugee camps is discussed by many of the Busy Bee participants, including myself in my first Extended Field Notes of visiting Dorian camp. I describe Dorian camp as having "*proper buildings… It feels more like a decent, temporary housing place. On first glance, it could resemble Council housing in the UK for example.*" (FN 14/10/2019, L. 161-162) and as looking "*more like a neighbourhood*" (FN 15/10/2019, L. 40). Another Busy Bee volunteer uses the word 'neighbourhood' when she states, "*I wasn't expecting that at all […] looks like a normal neighbourhood*" (Interview with Rafaella, L. 10-15). Other references are made comparing Dorian camp to "*a village*" (Interview with Beatrice, L. 421), "*a town*" (Interview with Beatrice, L. 507), "*a school building*" (Interview with Cassie, L. 486), and one comments that it is "*probably the nicest refugee camp in Greece […] it consists of a series of what looks like big stone cottages*" (Interview with Emma, L. 463-464). All of these characterisations carry connotations about the underlying stereotypes that non-camp dwellers, including myself, have about the spaces of refugee camps and how they produce the space of the camp from their own subjective realities (Thrift, 2004), and about the related implications that these terms might suggest about the identities of the camp inhabitants. The words 'stone cottages', 'neighbourhood', 'village', and 'town' all carry positive connotations of a cosy yet built up environment, suggest permanence and a place where people typically choose to live together and take part in social exchanges. These depictions are in contrast to most refugees' accounts of the camp feeling like a prison, since the positively connoted words suggest free movement. Yet, the sense that the camp is a safe environment also comes across and this echoes the accounts of the refugee mothers who feel like the enclosed

camp is a safe environment for their children. Furthermore, the description 'stone cottages' and my description of 'Council housing in the UK' carry differing implications about associated class identities; whilst the former implies middle-class semi-rural housing and categorises refugees as potentially experiencing less financial difficulties than they might actually be facing, the later implies housing for poorer people and categorises refugees as potentially experiencing greater financial difficulty than they might actually be facing. What is more, the terms 'school building' and 'Council housing' carry connotations of being related to the state and public services, which imply that the camp residents are people who are beneficiaries of the state or of public institutions. Moreover, whilst the content of the Busy Bee volunteer descriptions mirrors Jameela's characterisation of Dorian camp as having 'buildings', the salient difference is that Jameela experiences this material spatiality as an embodied experience (Soja, 1999) which she needs to contend with daily, whilst the Busy Bee volunteers experience this space as a mental (Lefebvre, 1991), discursive construction, which they only experience occasionally, and as oddly contradicting the stereotypical image they had created in their minds prior to arriving at Dorian camp.

In terms of Minoan camp, some Busy Bee volunteers who refer to the materiality and internal layout of the camp seem to align with some aspects of how refugee participants characterise the space of the camp, whilst others present a starkly different experience, drawing particular attention to the positive social elements of the camp. For example, on the one hand, a Busy Bee volunteer describes the camp as "*I wouldn't […] say militaristic, but it's definitely utilitarian*" (Interview with Fay, L. 1767), echoing refugees' characterisations of Minoan camp as a space of 'bare life' rather than of a 'flourishing life' (Agamben, 1998), as the word 'utilitarian' implies that it was built for functional purposes rather than intended to provide the basis for a long-term community. Similar implications are derived from my descriptions of Minoan camp in my Extended Field Notes, "*I can see a sea of white containers, very bright, reflecting the sunlight- the kind of containers you would imagine to see construction workers setting up headquarters inside on a construction site*" (FN 15/10/2019, L. 19-33). The metaphor of construction workers conjures similar notions of the space being a place of work and impermanence, where living structures are erected to serve functional purposes but not necessarily to facilitate positive social encounters or to be beautiful or pleasant, similar to the kinds of living conditions reported of Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan (Dalal et al., 2018). Furthermore, one Busy Bee volunteer characterises Minoan camp as "*a proper refugee hot spot*" (Interview with Kalia, L. 153), and this image conjures connotations of overcrowded

living conditions, and has certain implications about camp-dwellers being in a state of emergency. In fact, since Kalia is a Greek volunteer describing Minoan camp in this way, it layers our understanding of Amir's account in the previous section of how he constructs the space of the camp and his own self-identity in relation to the negative stereotypes that local Greek people ascribe onto him. On the other hand, Maddy's account in terms of the material conditions of the camp parallels these connotations, but is juxtaposed with the social dimensions of the camp, which alter her perspective of the place:

> *"[I]t's just flat and then a sea of containers. I remember when I first walked in, I was a little shocked by it, I didn't expect it to be like that. It almost looked like futuristic, weird on first look. You'll think it was soulless but it's the complete opposite. When you first walk in you can't see anything, it's when you then walk in between the containers that's where everything is happening. [...] But [Minoan camp] on a dull day, it's very eerie, like when the weather's not nice, it's very eerie, very quiet, no one is out and it's almost like something from a horror film. Or like if the characters went there, you knew something bad was going to happen. And it makes me feel weird and I don't like being there when the weather's bad. And when it's sunny you walk in and there's thousands of people everywhere, kids playing with the football. Kids just walking about on their own just jumping about entertaining themselves a massive group of teenage boys playing volleyball they play it a lot and you just walk around and there's just kids everywhere. And it's great I love it. When it's sunny it's the best place ever. When it's not it's strange."* (Interview with Maddy, L. 632-646)

The references to the materiality of the camp, the "sea of containers", prompt her to construct the space of the camp as "soulless", "futuristic" and an "eerie" place to be in when there is bad weather, which carry connotations of the camp as an ominous place where 'something bad might happen'. And yet, when she refers to the social dimensions of the camp, such as the children playing football, she then places herself as an actor walking around and occupying the space of the camp in these instances, she then constructs Minoan camp as "the best place ever".

Emma presents an even more positive account of Minoan camp as a rich social environment, and refers to the materiality of the camp to allude to notions of the space being like a holiday campground:

> *"(P):...the other really nice time is during the summer in the evenings when everybody is outside the ground is dry. The kids are playing, there is lots of food. There are lots of barbecues. But I almost feel, and this is a strange thing to say, but I always when I'm on holiday in caravan in caravan parks and you would see people that were just you know have a patio table outside the caravan and everybody would come and sit there. There is a lot of that so you will you know you will find groups of sixteen, twenty men [...] like there is a really that kind of like hour of Middle Eastern hospitality really comes into it though. So it's really like it's lovely to be able to see that and be a part of it and the camp is very beautiful when the sun is setting."* (Interview with Emma, L. 423-433)

The image of a holiday 'caravan park' has a very positive, almost nostalgic, connotation of a happy childhood place, and positive images of being on vacation, with a lot of spare moments passed pleasantly relaxing with friends. On the one hand, this temporal dimension of the construction of the camp (Lefebvre, 1991) is at odds with refugees' experiences of being stuck in a camp, placing a rosier lens on an experience of liminality for the refugee camp dwellers. On the other hand however, Emma could also be implicitly making connections between her feelings of feeling welcomed in the camp and of making the most of hospitality, and friendship, despite the difficult context. Yet, both Maddy and Emma's spatial constructions occur from a situated position of freedom of mobility inside and outside the camp, which is in contrast to the experience of restricted mobility that refugees experience, as well as the fact that they are in the privileged position of not having to live in the camp whilst the refugee participants do. Like Maddy, Emma associates Minoan camp with a positive environment to be in when she feels like a legitimate occupant of the space, which occurs when she gets to be included in the 'Middle Eastern hospitality' of being offered food and drink when visiting.

5.2.3 Constructing the camp: agency and solidarity

Whilst the previous two sections involve a discussion about how refugees construct the camp in relation to how other non-camp-dwellers position them and border the space of the camp, either explicitly or implicitly categorising them as legitimate occupants of the camp, this section will discuss occasions when refugees claim agency over these bordering practices, and are in fact also the agents who decide when to assert the social borders around the space of the camp and who is produced as legitimate or illegitimate occupants of the camp space. For instance, Yusef recounts the tale of when local authorities decided to bring more refugees to Minoan camp two months prior to our conversation, which was already overcrowded, and how this became an occasion for refugees living within Minoan camp to band together and resist the influx of newcomers:

> *"(P): Yes, 2 families in [this container]! At least 6 people, but maybe more. So when [Magnolia Aid] announced this, the people said, 'We are not going to accept this! Right now we don't have a good place to rest, so you want to put more pressure on our shoulders?! We cannot accept this.' And the [Magnolia Aid] said, 'You have to do this, because the ministry told that you have to put in the small cabins 6 persons and in the large cabins 10 persons'. So when the [Magnolia Aid] bring the newcomer in front of the camp, the people of the camp closed the door and they start fighting with the police and with [Magnolia Aid]."*

Yusef's example demonstrates how refugees from multiple different national cultural groups united as a community with a shared goal to claim ownership over defining who is a legitimate member of the camp space. By working together to close the camp entrance and not allowing the local authorities to allocate new refugees to live in Minoan camp, the camp-dwellers constructed the borders of the camp as being the boundaries that mark the camp as their own territory, protecting the refugees *within* the camp. This can be read as rejecting the legitimacy of formal authorities in deciding what life within the camp should look like, and it can also be read as excluding newcomers coming from *outside* the camp and denying them entry. This comes as a contrast to the way that many refugees experience the camp as a prison locking them inside the camp, as discussed in the previous sections. Thus, the space of the camp is produced here with a temporal dimension (Massey, 2005), as solely the refugees who were already camp-dwellers within Minoan camp are considered legitimate occupants of the space. Judging from Yusef's anecdote, it seems likely that this was not done out of any loyalty or pride of belonging to the actual space of the camp, but rather out of not wanting to have more daily problems caused by overcrowding. Nonetheless, the camp-dweller-initiated collective action of barring the police from forcefully introducing newcomers is a clear display of what Sigona (2015) calls 'campzenship'. In so doing, the presently encamped refugees reclaimed agency over their own lives as political agents and citizens of the camp in direct opposition to formal authorities, in order to influence social life and decisions that impact on the place. Albeit short-lived, because the authorities ultimately did return and forcefully introduced newcomers in time, this particular moment of collective resistance still signifies a moment where camp dwelling refugees stood up to the authorities and exercised civic agency that had some impact over their lives, at least in the short-term.

It appears as though formal, regulated and physical camp borders make it much more difficult for refugees to resist, since the anecdotes from the early days of Minoan camp, in 2016, when it was not yet formally regulated by external authorities, suggest that it was much easier for refugees who arrived in the first wave of resettlement from the Greek islands to feel empowered and exercise civic agency in determining their living circumstances, echoing the discussions around the protests in Zaatari (Clarke, 2018), where refugees assert their agency.

Nora, as one of the Busy Bee founders, suggests that this was also partly due to a strong sense of solidarity between groups of individual international volunteers who had come to respond to the emergency situation:

> *"(P): Oh, it was literally a sea of tents. Like a sea never ending. The tents were like on a bed of rocks and the tents had no flooring so people were sleeping on rocks…And then towards the end of August they were like…'It's cold, it's going to snow, we're going to die in these tents we need better accommodation. We want to leave.' And then they started rallying, protests and eventually there was a response…There was like eventually a response from I can't remember if it was Oxfam or who was doing the accommodation and to try to start moving people out basically. I mean Oxfam had done something, I mean, again all these blunders of the organisation. But they had invested, I can't remember how much money in new tents. So, the old tents had all these issues. They were flammable and they were not waterproof they were on rocks, there was no flooring. They were old like it was just a not, not a good situation to be in so to improve on that they invested so much money in more, in other tents that were just on a raised platform. So, they created this other second camp and they had convinced the community…that they are better, they are waterproof, they are not flammable, there is a shading above them and there is a floor. And obviously nobody trusts these organisations, so somebody overnight went and tried to set one of them on fire, and it went down. The next day there was a wind. Oh no, it started with the wind. They were like, 'Oh these are sturdy'; the wind had blown one down. Then they were like, 'They are not even wind proof, are they fireproof?' So, they went and set it on fire, it burnt. Like so many things happened people were like, 'We are not moving into them, lie you lied'. So, they spent all this money to buy these tents and then nobody wanted to move into them…So anyway, people were really in solidarity with each other in improving their situation. They protested, they demanded with letters I mean with our help and eventually they all got moved out and that's how the camp closed because there was just like a lot of work that had to be done to make that camp appropriate for living. And simply dropping containers there was not the solution."* (Interview with Nora, L. 184-216)

Nora's account demonstrates that one aspect of the initial form of Minoan camp was that it was less structured, and there were more porous boundaries around the borders of the camp since refugees were living in ad-hoc tents, and the initial process of setting up an official refugee camp was a long and conflict-ridden one between the refugees who were aided by individual international volunteers and the local authorities as well as big international NGOs who were trying to instigate some order and structure to the camp. Although the material living conditions were arguably worse for refugees in the early stages, as they were living in tents, less stable structures than the containers, it could be argued that this more informal settlement permitted the refugees more civic agency and decision-making power over their own lives, insofar as relationships of solidarity emerged quite naturally among refugees and with international volunteers. Nora further highlights how porous camp borders such as in Minoan still presently permit refugees to resist authorities, and even physically exclude them from the space of the

camp as an extreme form of protest, but that this is extremely difficult in the physically bordered Dorian camp, where the formal response to incidents and protests is to shut the gate, locking refugees as 'criminals' inside the camp, and protecting non-camp dwellers outside from the 'threats' refugees pose inside the camp:

> *"That's just how the response is. But in [Minoan camp] at least, you have the space to yell and bang and and get the community rallied up and leave, if you want to, come back and you can shut them out, like the community has control over. […] In [Dorian camp], you know they shut that gate and they lock people in."* (Interview with Nora, L. 1118-1122)

Nora's statement suggests that a camp in which there is a constant presence of guards is one in which refugees have fewer opportunities to exercise agency, and build solidarity in response to formal authorities – she uses the word 'community' referring to a united group of camp-dwellers in relation to Minoan camp, and the word 'people' referring to individuals in relation to Dorian camp.

5.3 Constructing specific places within the camp

Having explored the ways in which Minoan and Dorian camps are constructed at large in the previous section, this section will now turn to a discussion about how specific places within the camps are constructed. It will examine this through the lens of intercultural interactions between refugees, NGO volunteers, and local authorities, paying particular attention to the power dynamics throughout and refugees' agency to construct these places and their identities within the camps. Intercultural interactions are considered from a mediated discourse approach to intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), where the purpose of the social action they are trying to achieve is to either categorise others or claim themselves as belonging or not belonging to different places, to be legitimate or illegitimate occupants of particular places within the camps (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This section will also use Holliday's (2013) 'grammar of culture' to discuss the dimensions of culture and identity being negotiated during these intercultural interactions. This section draws on Taxonomy Chart 2 (see Appendix 15) which demonstrates a summary of the specific places within Minoan and Dorian camps which seem to be significant for refugee and Busy Bee volunteer participants as locations where intercultural interactions occur, as well as Domain Analysis 2 (see Appendix 16) which displays a 'strict inclusion' semantic relationship of the references to the themes 'inside' and 'outside' in the data. The three subsections will

present intercultural interactions between refugees and: other refugees (5.3.1), NGO volunteers (5.3.2); and local authorities (5.2.3).

5.3.1 Intercultural interactions amongst refugees within the camp

Refugee participants largely raise gender as the most significant aspect of their identities which is at stake during intercultural interactions around places within the camp where people come together to carry out daily functional activities, such as cooking and socialising. To begin with, the communal kitchen (I will refer to it henceforth as 'the kitchen') in Dorian camp is a place where women from different national and linguistic cultural groups, but who tend to share a religious cultural group, come together to conduct largely positive daily tasks:

> *"(I):[...] Because this is the only place, if I get bored or if I feeling not good, I go to kitchen to search about my friend."* (Interview with Saalima)

> *"(I): For cooking my mom in general cooks, but I help her with her bring spices or things to use in the kitchen and at night in general I clean the dishes and I call my friends to make a conversation and to have fun together and this makes me happy."* (Interview with Rabia)

> *"(I): Yes. When we meet each us with, in kitchen, sorry, we make different conversations and we make celebration with us."* (Interview with Faiza, L. 436-437)

> *"(I): Sometimes we read Qur'an in the kitchen."* (Interview with Jameela)

The kitchen is constructed by these women as a place of comfort and fun, where they can go to for respite when they are feeling upset and share stories with others as well as a place where they can share in religious practices together by, for example, reading the Qur'an. Zinah expresses how she spends most of her waking time in the kitchen, *"(I): The day 24 hours, for me 12 hours in the kitchen"* (Interview with Zinah, L. 507). Nonetheless, being such a popular and necessary place does mean that some women experience difficulties within the kitchen as there is not always enough room for all the women to cook simultaneously, *"(I): We cook, but also we fight because of cooking, [Laughs] because we don't find empty stove so I ask them to take me one but they refuse and we start to fight. Because just 2 stove"* (Interview with Sadia, L. 203-204). Despite these difficulties, intercultural interactions between women of different linguistic and national cultural groups in the kitchen serve to construct the kitchen as a place where the women are the legitimate occupants of this space and to produce the space of the kitchen as a place where gender norms of their religious cultural groups implicitly govern the

construction of the social space of the kitchen (Lefebvre, 1991). In this sense, it could be argued that women refugees are able to exercise a degree of agency over their lives and their identities. However, this is not as straightforward for the men who also need to use the kitchen sometimes and therefore feel uncomfortable using a space heavily gender-dominated by women. Consider the following:

> *"(I): Of course, the kitchen is very important here in the camp and sometimes I have to go to cook but the other womens and I will be shy, but I have to cook. But the place here force you to make like this, because our habits aren't like this. We can't cook with the woman. But I have to what I can do."* (Interview with Karim)

> *"(I): I've asked 5 times to have an apartment somewhere else. Why? Because my wife's condition is going to get more difficult. She is pregnant, as you can see, and I already have 2 kids. When this one arrives we will be 5 people in one room, and that is very difficult. In Samos it was better because at least there I could cook and do housework. Here, I can't do that because all the women are in the kitchen and I can't go there easily to cook or to clean the plates. And for my wife it's very difficult. If it was my house, I could help my wife in all these ways and here I cannot…Because he is saying, there are many women in the kitchen, and he could go there, no one says he is not allowed to, but he is shy to go."* (Interview with Rahim, L. 98-107)

Karim's statement about the fact that some men are "forced" to enter the kitchen and cook with the women means that they would rather choose not to, and yet they are obligated to share this space because the reality of living in a communal space where they must share the kitchen means that they cannot fully occupy the place in the ways that they would wish to. Whilst Karim and Rahim would prefer to enact gendered behaviours involving a segregation of the spatial use of the kitchen which would recreate a microcosm mirroring expected spatial behaviours in the previous time-space of their homeland (Massey, 2005), they are restricted in their capacity to do so as they are obligated to contend with entrenched particular cultural products whilst negotiating social structures (Holliday, 2013). These men refugee participants are confronted by the physical limitations of the cultural artefact of the architecture of the kitchen which carries the cultural symbolism of the fact that the Greek state and local authorities control many aspects of their lives (Holliday, 2013). Since Dorian camp was originally created by the Greek state for the purpose of being a Greek orphanage, it is not a space that is culturally sensitive to different gender norms. Therefore, although the Greek state and local authorities do not control the daily behavioural patterns of refugees within specific places in the camp, the enduring physical structures of the camp, which they do control, impose a material reality onto refugees that restrict their agency in being able to reproduce their preferred cultural boundaries. Ultimately, these intercultural encounters demand that refugees

engage in a new 'small culture formation' (Holliday, 2013), where they renegotiate new rules of space occupancy, combining existing gender identities with new hybrid ones which are particular to their situated context.

Similar processes of inclusion and exclusion occur in relation to the Dorian camp library (hereafter 'the library'), but in respect to inverted genders as the library is largely experienced by refugee participants as a place for men. The library is a kind of common room, with a few sofas, chairs, tables and a television, and is occasionally opened by Dandelion Aid for refugees to use:

> *"(T): In the night time they are open for boys. But in the morning, like day time, only the use it [Dandelion Aid][...] Nobody say 'don't sit there', but the feeling."* (Interview with Titti and Arjin, L. 466-472)

> *"(I): No I don't see women there. Just men from different countries, from Arabic from Afghanistan from Kurdish."* (Interview with Karim, L. 91-92)

Similarly to the space of the kitchen, Titti and Arjin hint at the unspoken rules that are constructed by the camp-dwellers about the social space of the library, and the women sense that this place does not belong to them. However, even though it is a place dominated by men, there are still some men who encounter a social barrier to entry. For example, Jameela implies that the intercultural interactions that her husband engages in at the library means that he feels uncomfortable in the space: *"(I): Because in the theatre the people are drunk, and play cards so my husband didn't like to go there"* (Interview with Jameela, L. 297-298). It appears as though there is small culture formation occurring between the men refugees within the library, which are shaped by the material infrastructure of the Greek state, much like the kitchen, but it is a space where the actors' 'cultural resources' take centre stage in the identity (re)negotiation process (Holliday, 2013). According to Jameela, her husband finds that the library is a space that challenges his Muslim religious identity and makes him feel excluded from the space as he finds it inappropriate to partake in the social activities of consuming alcohol and playing cards (gambling) with the other men which appear to be the norm in the space of the library.

And yet, much like the space of the kitchen, the small culture formation within the space of the library occurs within a power struggle for identity assertion and control over the spatial construction of the place which must be negotiated within the constraints of the camp authorities imposing seemingly arbitrary time restrictions on the spatial use (Merrifield, 1993). Therefore, whilst refugees exert their agency in shaping the social dimensions of the library, the camp authorities and even NGO volunteers seem to have more control over the physical

and temporal dimensions of the space of the library (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005). For instance, as Titti and Arjin have stated above, and is further discussed by Niamh, refugees do not have full freedom of mobility in and out of the library, or in determining the opening hours of the space:

> *"(P):[…] in [Dorian camp], this kills us, but there is a library but only, and I haven't looked into it, but only certain people have keys to this library, the quote unquote 'library' has books, but they are locked away so no one can use them and one of the old teachers there used to have like a library hour every week where they open, she would get the key because she was from [Busy Bee] to unlock the books and then the students would go into the library and use the books for hours for like an outside study time."* (Interview with Niamh, L. 699-705)

Although the mental dimension of the place is discursively constructed as the 'library' (Lefebvre, 1991), this place does not easily serve its function as a library as ordinarily conceived in most social contexts for refugees uncontestably, as the camp authorities are gatekeepers of this space. Symbolically, the use of the space as a library enables refugees to connect to other time-spaces whilst reading books and studying in the hopes of a better future, and therefore arguably, refugees occupying space in the library is a form of resistance to the camp borders by connecting to a time-space beyond the confines of the boundaries of the camp (Massey, 2005). However, Magnolia Aid and even Busy Bee volunteers, who are not actually camp-dwellers, have more control over the spatial use of the library than refugees as Magnolia Aid entrusts them with the key to this place rather than leaving it as an open space. This therefore reinforces the dimension of political struggle in the construction of the social space of the library for refugees, since the physical and temporal dimensions tend to be controlled by non-camp-dwellers (Murdoch, 2006).

5.3.2 Intercultural interactions between refugees and NGO volunteers within the camp

The previous section has demonstrated that there are specific places within Dorian camp where refugees enact gender norms within the spaces of the camp that suggest socio-spatial cultural group membership. Similar processes of spatial construction occur in Minoan camp in relation to specific locations where refugees play sports, namely, 'the volleyball net', a place which is constructed by camp-dwellers as belonging to men in the camp, which prompts identity (re)negotiations during intercultural encounters between refugees and Busy Bee volunteers in Minoan camp. For example, consider the following extract from my Extended

Field Notes about an incident when female Busy Bee volunteers, including myself, wanted to play volleyball with men refugees in Minoan camp:

> "*Since we had finished doing the rounds and were still waiting for the bus to arrive and take us back to town, we decided to join in the volleyball game. Maddy was rushing ahead, completely unaware of the mens' eyes glued to us as if we were daring to enter some forbidden territory. As we got close to the volleyball court, Nesrin immediately stood on the left side, not making much eye contact with the men on the court, moving swiftly, as if she knew her place was on the side of the court. Meanwhile, as soon as the ball was hit out of the court and one young boy ran after it, Maddy approaches the two men that she seems to know and asks, 'We're gonna play with you, is that alright?' I am standing next to her, very uncomfortable with this interaction. Clearly these men are uncomfortable with us being here too, shifting their eyes, trying to look away, but the way she asks and has already moved onto the court makes them feel like they can't say no. I am instantly grateful for having chosen long trousers and long sleeves today, but I can't help but notice the men on the other side of the net staring at Maddy's exposed legs – she is oblivious to this. But then the two men she is talking to say, 'Yes, sure!' and so the game is on. Two men move from the side of the court they were on to the other to make some room for us. Maddy kept waving at Nesrin to join us on the court, but Nesrin didn't budge.*" (Field Notes, 06/11/2019: L. 146-154)

My description detailing the men's behaviour as we women approached the space of the volleyball net: "men's eyes glued to us", and "shifting their eyes, trying to look away", as well as the Nesrin's behaviour as we did so: "immediately stood on the left side, not making much eye contact with the men on the court, moving swiftly" triangulated with Yusef's statement that: *"(P): In the camp, it's just for the men playing volleyball"* (Interview with Kala and Yusef, L. 151), all suggest that the space of the volleyball net is predominantly produced by refugee men as a place that belongs to them, and this is upheld by refugee women who share these gendered cultural norms in terms of spatial behaviour. By my account, the way the men respond through non-verbal communication indicates that the social action they are engaging in during this intercultural encounter (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) is to signal to us that they would rather we did not intrude into their space. However, Maddy appears as not having noticed this as I describe her movements as "rushing ahead, completely unaware" and "she is oblivious to this", which makes me believe in the moment that she is not being sensitive to the fact that we may be transgressing an invisible social boundary of the space. Reflecting on my possible underlying biases though, I am aware that I may have been assuming that Maddy was unaware of the men's behaviour – indeed, it is plausible that she was aware and simply did not want to respond to it by changing her behaviour; or that the fact that the men then verbally responded by allowing us to play meant that they did not feel this way. It is also possible that since this occurred during the second month of my fieldwork, I had already picked up on the implicit

shared cultural knowledge about the appropriate modes of behaviour within this space through conducting Participant Observation. And yet, it is also possible due to my own positionality and cultural background (see Chapter 4) which makes me at least familiar with segregated gender norms, meant that I interpreted this incident as if I was a part of the cultural group of refugees who regarded our actions as a breach of implicit spatial social norms. Alternatively, it is also possible that a 'small culture formation' occurred, where the men and us as Busy Bee volunteers engaged in a complex renegotiation of expected behaviours within this space: the men perhaps considering our 'global position and politics', and our 'cultural resources' (Holliday, 2013) positioned us as not belonging to their cultural group since we were both White, non-Muslim women, and also Busy Bee volunteers with a lot of positional power in this context, and therefore exempt from their expected spatial behavioural norms. In this account, the men could have plausibly renegotiated their expectations and behaviours to create a new 'small culture' of it being appropriate to play with women in this situated context in a way that they would not have were this intercultural interaction taking place elsewhere.

Intercultural interactions between refugees and Busy Bee volunteers also occur where the cultural dimensions at play are the roles of being a 'teacher' and 'students', and how these intersect with the spatial construction of the Busy Bee Adult English classroom as a small culture space (hereafter 'the classroom'). Firstly, the classroom, in both Dorian and Minoan camps, is a place where refugees clearly express notions of localised belonging and a sense of ownership over the space. Rahim and Hazim explain how the classroom is a place where everyone has 'their seat':

> "(I): Always in the same place. Because everyone knows where their place is, and everyone knows where the other's place is, and you go to your place. But if someone new joins the class, you are not going to tell them, 'that's my place', because you know they don't know anything yet." (Interview with Rahim. L. 399- 402)

> "(I): Yeah, he says, when I enter in the class for the first day, I select a place to sit, always, there, it's my habit. I used to sitting in the same place. But sometimes is coming different students. If someone is coming into the class, sometimes in front chair, sometimes in back chair, sometimes in middle, for some of them, it doesn't matter. For me, it's something that I feel comfortable sitting in same place." (Interview with Hazim, L. 349-353)

Rahim expresses how there is a shared knowledge amongst the refugee students of the classroom about which seats belong to who and that most people have 'their place' within the classroom, that others know and respect so as not to take each other's seat. Rahim's statement about new people not knowing anything 'yet' implies that anyone who continues to be a student

within this place will inevitably soon know better and have their own place in the classroom, strongly suggesting that refugees have agency over the construction of the place of the classroom as being their own. In fact, the Busy Bee volunteers who teach English in these places are also acutely aware of refugees' claiming ownership over their seating places, as evident in my Extended Field Notes from when I asked Fay where I could sit in the classroom to conduct Participant Observation: "*she says that I should probably take the corner, but sit on the side of the room that the women typically sit on, and she points me to the right direction. She says, "they are quite particular about where they sit""* (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 54-57). In a way, these acts reveal that these refugee participants behave in the expected manner that students in any other non-refugee camp setting might behave, displaying small acts of power over small areas of controllable space, exhibiting territoriality by repeatedly occupying the same position in a public space (Costa, 2012). In other ways though, due to the fact that this situated context is a classroom within a refugee camp, refugees expressing agency in this way and claiming their seats could be regarded as an act of reterritorialisation of the space of the camp (Brun, 2001), and a resistance against the social borders imposed onto them from the scale of the camp at large. Indeed, participating in the physical and social construction of the place of the classroom (Lefebvre, 1991), feels to many refugee participants like an opportunity to resist the identity of being 'a refugee' and to claim an identity of being 'a student' and thus a legitimate occupant of the place of learning with 'their seat'. This involves an opportunity to connect with a time-space beyond that of the camp (Massey, 2005), to other time-spaces of 'normal' and 'safe' learning environments, which is articulated by both Murad and Amir:

> *"(I): And he say, there are big difference between outside and inside. Why? Because when I enter this place, so I feel like most of the people around me, they have civilisation, they are educated. So this is different between outside, this is something I cannot find outside."* (Interview with Murad, L. 405-407)

> *(P): I feel like this is the places for the people they can improve. They can learn new things. This is the place they can feel like they have a right like the other people. Because they need to learn new things, but they don't have the opportunity. But this is the only place they can feel like they are learning something."* (Interview with Amir, L. 249-252)

Murad articulates a stark contrast between the physical boundaries of the classroom and the wider space of the camp, discursively constructing (Lefebvre, 1991) the classroom as a place of 'civilisation' and a place where he deems the legitimate occupants of the space are the other refugees who wish to improve themselves, and the Busy Bee volunteers, whom he deems to be 'educated', as opposed to the mass of 'uneducated' refugees that he believes are outside the

classroom, within the camp at large. Here he constructs a hyper-local elite place of belonging amongst a specific community of people seeking to learn. Amir further stresses this by producing the space of the classroom as one where refugees are able to assert agency to shape their own futures by investing in education and learning, making them on a par with 'other people' or 'non-refugees'. Therefore, the allure of belonging to the place of the classroom is to be able to feel 'normal' again and experience control over their lives.

Nevertheless, despite refugees' clear agency in constructing the place of the classroom once they are inside it, access to education in the camps is a privilege not a right, which is offered only to a select few refugees due to Busy Bee's limited operational capacity. Hence, refugees are also constrained in their capacities to construct the classroom by whether they are even permitted to enter the space of the classroom in the first place by the structures of Busy Bee's attendance policies. Thus, the processes of small culture formation in regard to constructing rules and meanings (Holliday, 2013) of 'belonging to the Busy Bee Adult English classroom' involve a complex negotiation of power dynamics and identities during intercultural interactions between refugees as 'students' and Busy Bee volunteers as 'teachers'. Consider the following extract from my Extended Field Notes:

"Then there is an uncomfortable incident with one student asking to be let into the class and Fay having to tell him that he can't join anymore because he has had too many absences. This is a Busy Bee policy in terms of the rules of attending adult English classes. The student enters the classroom and Fay notices him and says, "… Sorry, we need to speak". This happens next to the teacher's desk, right next to the door, and other students are still filing in, but as they speak louder and louder, the rest of the room quiets down. All eyes turn towards the door and this student being told that he can no longer attend these classes because he has too many absences. I wonder why Fay hasn't asked him to step outside?! I imagine this is very uncomfortable for both of them, especially with an audience now. Fay keeps saying, "Too many absences… 8 absences already…" but the student does not seem to be understanding what she is saying…Eventually Fay is visibly getting frustrated, furrowed brow, sad face, says, "I'm so sorry, I don't speak Kurmanji". At this point, one of the women says, "Teacher, I speak Arabic and Kurmanji. I help." Fay motions her hand up and down to signal come here and the woman walks up to her. Fay gives her a piece of paper with the rules of classroom participation written in Arabic. Fay asks her if she can read this in Arabic and then verbally translate this for the student in Kurmanji. She says yes and holds the paper and points to it and talks the student through why he can't come to class anymore. All three of them look quite sad and Fay is getting visibly more and more uncomfortable with every passing second. Clearly she doesn't like this part of her job of enforcing the rules. I wonder whether they make so much effort to explain the rules in the first place?! Finally, the student understands that he can't come to class and walks out and the woman takes her seat again. 10 minutes have passed and now the class is starting late. Fay addresses the class and says, "It's sooooo difficult"- stressing the 'so' and expressing how she empathises with them about how they feel it's unfair to not be

allowed back into class if you have too many absences. While saying this, she has her hands out to the sides, quite a resigned gesture, and then she places them on her hair and pulls down on her face." (Field Notes, 13/11/2019: L. 88-116)

In this incident, the student enters the classroom, enacting his identity as a 'student', expecting that he belongs to this place and that he has the right to enter, however Fay, as the Busy Bee Adult English teacher, forces him to exit the class because she notices that he has broken the attendance rules, categorising him through this intercultural encounter as an illegitimate occupant of the space. However, this becomes an even further complex intercultural encounter, beyond that of the roles of being a 'student' and a 'teacher' as they do not share a common language, so Fay needs to draw on a 'cultural artefact' (Holliday, 2013) of the classroom, a sheet of the rules of attendance, written in Kurmanji in order to enforce the rules of entry. This too requires a complex negotiation process though, and a third student is called upon to help translate, which takes a long time and results in many people staring at them, indicating that there is very little room for renegotiation of the small culture of the classroom in terms of the rules of spatial occupancy, as the 'cultural artefact' in this case strongly confirms the existing social structures of Busy Bee having more power in this context. And yet, even though Fay belongs to the cultural group which in this case appears to be more dominant, both student and teacher seem to experience an affront on their identities: for the student, this seems to be experienced as deeply wounding because by being excluded from the space of the classroom, he is denied the opportunity to exist in a time-space of 'normality' and 'civilisation' and a reprieve from the space of the camp, whilst for the teacher, her stressing the words 'so difficult' in relation to having to enforce the Busy Bee rules clearly displays how this action is an affront on her identity as a teacher, who is there to facilitate student learning, not to be a gatekeeper.

These intercultural interactions around the spatial construction of the classroom are all the more complex in light of the physical location of the classroom within Minoan camp which is inside the 'Warehouse'/ 'Hangar'/ 'Shopping' building which has multiple different uses and folk terms to refer to it, indexing the different functions the space serves. Busy Bee was granted permission to use this space for their classes just as I was arriving to start my fieldwork and since it was quite difficult to negotiate its use, Busy Bee was particularly concerned about making sure they followed Magnolia Aid and the local authority's rules about using this space, so all volunteers would always appropriately lock and secure all the gates after activities, to ensure no camp-dwellers would break into the space and take other items stored there. Domain Analysis 2 (see Appendix 16) displays the multiple occasions that Busy Bee volunteers engage in informal social bordering practices to keep refugees from entering the space of the Hangar,

similarly to the issues around access to the library discussed in the previous section. Although as Isla remarks, this is often somewhat comical and futile in practice as refugee children are particularly amused by trying to push these boundaries and break into this space: *"(P): […]the hangar where we have the classes now, very big space, it's painted on front, it's got a nightmare of doors. Err, so many locks and so insecure!"* (Interview with Isla, L. 776-778). Moreover, Maddy shares her experience of being a Young Explorers teacher within the Hangar:

> *"Like that hangar door, it gives me a lot of stress that hangar door because you have to lock it but then there's people that you're locking out […] and then you hear banging and like yeah, it's a lot of like I'll be teaching my class and I'll be thinking about that hangar door throughout my whole lesson like oh what if someone's come in late and we've locked them out and they can't come into English. So many times, a kid has come too late and be like 'I was banging for 10 minutes' but because the rule is the rule and even if they were at the hangar door before the 15-minute time period they still can't come into [Young Explorers], and I've got to be like next time you've got to be on time or the door will be locked like, it's difficult. But I don't think, I don't know almost sometimes I feel like the hangar is viewed as like almost a bit mysterious, like all the kids are like wanting to come to [Young Explorers] because, and [Young Explorers] is that place it's inside this and were not allowed in and there's gates and there's locks' and I think it yeah seen as a bit of, they were all allowed in because of all of the shopping and then it stops and all these new activities going in there…"* (Interview with Maddy, L. 846-862)

Maddy feels the weight of the responsibility of being the literal gatekeeper to the Warehouse, and the complexities of the rules of access for refugee children, much like Fay reports with the Adult English class. Maddy also reflects on how this is doubly complicated because the space of the Warehouse used to serve as a collective place for all refugees to freely enter and receive free or cheap food and clothes, 'shopping' as they call it, from the previous NGO that was in charge of distributing these items during the initial phase of Minoan camp. Therefore, the mental (Lefebvre, 1991) and temporal dimensions (Massey, 2005) of the Hangar are discursively produced with the folk terms 'Shopping' (see Domain Analysis 3, Appendix 17) which allude to its previous use, and yet the space is now predominantly used for Busy Bee activities which means that refugees who do not attend Busy Bee activities during the times that they are in control of the space of the Hangar are categorised by the Busy Bee volunteers as illegitimate actors within the space.

However, even though the physical space of the Hangar is largely controlled by Busy Bee and the camp authorities, similarly to the patterns of power dynamics governing the construction of social space in Dorian camp, in Minoan camp, there are occasions where refugees reclaim agency in controlling the space. For example, my Extended Field Notes

include a discussion of what Fay told me about an intercultural interaction she had in the space of the classroom:

> *"And then it was the end of her class and she wanted to be on lunch break, and that she was going to stand outside to smoke, but that the man asked her "if I wanted to be in or out, but that I couldn't be in and out" (this greatly disturbed her) and so she chose to stand outside, smoking her cigarette and thinking, "what the hell am I doing here?""*
> (FN, 08/11/2019, L. 38-42)

Fay recounts her encounter with a Muslim man who kicked her out of the space of the classroom within the Hangar during Friday lunchtime because it was time for collective Friday prayer. Through the verbatim that Fay uses to convey how the man was very firm with her, it is evident that there are instances when refugees assert their agency to take ownership over the space of the classroom, and categorise Busy Bee volunteers as illegitimate users of the space, even though Fay was there between classes. Therefore, the Hangar is a contested space of political struggle to assert ownership over the social construction of it for various purposes at different moments (Murdoch, 2006).

5.3.3 Intercultural interactions between refugees and local authorities

This section examines the intercultural interactions between refugees and non-camp-dwellers, local and camp authorities, and how these impact refugees' identities and their agency in constructing specific places within the camp. Bilal recounts his experience of some refugees' interactions with Magnolia Aid and other non-camp dwellers in relation to one of the few indoor places in Minoan camp used by refugees for various self-defined purposes (different to the Hangar), which in this case is to use it as a mosque for men in the camp:

> *"(P): The first the key was with us; Farsi people has a key, Arabic people has a key. Because we used it this place for some activity. Yeah, maybe Farsi people, for drawing or some activity, teach children. Also, before the organisations like [Busy Bee] come, there were some people here in the camp speak English, they teach some people English. Yeah, we have a key. But then some people come, they don't live in this camp, they need to use, like smuggling out of this country. He come here, this is a mosque, he say, 'For all the people, we have to have the key'. This makes some problem, so for this we make decision to give the key back for the organisation. But now, the organisation, if you didn't go to take the key, they come, 'Here to have the key, tomorrow will be Friday'. Yeah, they respect that. Also for Ramadan, they give the key for all the month, because it is specific time."* (Interview with Bilal, L. 602-611)

Bilal's anecdote displays how the social construction of this place is highly contested, and a site of political struggle for the assertion of identity (Jenkins, 2008) and legitimacy of space

occupancy (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). Firstly, this specific indoor room is constructed by various refugee groups within the camp as being a good place where collective activities and learning can occur, and Bilal appears to imply that these activities are run by groups of refugees who share the same language, as each of these groups have a representative who has a key to the room. We can infer from this statement that there is a loose degree of belonging created amongst people who carry out activities together within this place. There is also a stronger bond of sharing the same Muslim identity and belonging to a Muslim community within the camp generated by intercultural interactions between refugee members of these various linguistic groups, who share a common religion, and use this place as a mosque to collectively pray together every Friday. These reinforce the fact that refugees are able to express a certain degree of agency in constructing the social and temporal dimensions (Massey, 2005) of this place as a mosque that connects them to a larger time-space of belonging to the Ummah, which exceeds the boundaries of the camp and serves as a symbol of refugees' resistance of the camp borders. However, this becomes problematic when intercultural interactions with other non-camp-dwelling Muslims occur, which throws into question the legitimacy of this place occupancy. Bilal recounts how the Muslim non-camp-dwellers raise their shared religious cultural group memberships as a highly relevant dimension of culture within these intercultural interactions in order to claim that they are legitimate space occupants as they expect that since this place is a mosque, the conventional rules of Islam that this place be open to all members of the Ummah should be respected and that they are therefore rightful users of the place. However, Minoan camp-dwellers are constrained by the enduring social structures of Magnolia Aid's rules about space occupancy, which supersede the Islamic rules in this context, since the authorities cannot allow anyone without official permission from the Greek state to live within the boundary of the camp. Bilal reports that the outcome of this encounter was that the various groups of refugees decided to return their key to the authorities to avoid further conflict or complexities around such interactions, suggesting both that refugees do exercise agency over the construction of specific places within the camps, but also that these processes are especially constrained when they involve intercultural interactions with local and camp authorities. Whilst refugees do decide themselves to return the keys, and in fact, the authorities seem to be respectful and return the key to them at moments of heightened importance, such as for Ramadan, this incident could also be regarded as eroding refugees' agency since the authorities seem to have more power in adjudicating which identities refugees are permitted to enact within the boundaries of the camp.

In a more extreme case of authorities controlling refugees within the space of the camp, Yasna and her husband share their story of their creation of a restaurant behind their family's container which the Greek police ultimately shut down:

> *"(P/A): (Husband speaks in Arabic, wife joins in, speaking very passionately) We started to work and got some help from the organisation and they really welcomed the idea and started requesting food and opened us an account in Instagram and work got better. But suddenly the police came and told us that we were not allowed to work. Only eat, drink and sleep that's it. You know at that time we felt we had a dream and we were able to fulfil it. Life got better, we had better social life. We started forgetting about the war and we felt back to normal life. But when the police came, they closed the restaurant saying we are not allowed to open the restaurant and we closed the account at Instagram.*" (Interview with Yasna's family, L. 484-491)

Yasna and her family exercise a strong degree of agency in physically and socially constructing a restaurant, which can be considered a strong example of 'campzenship' (Sigona, 2015) and even reterritorialisation (Brun, 2001) of the space of the camp, which allows her to enact important social practices which index her cultural group memberships. The response from other refugees, NGO volunteers, and even Greek locals who frequent the restaurant suggests that the place becomes a microcosm of a Syrian restaurant, and a symbol of collective resistance to the borders of the present time-space of Minoan camp. And yet, unfortunately Yasna reports that when the local police hear about this place, they immediately shut it down, with the reminder that they were refugees who were only allowed to eat and sleep in the place of the camp rather than engage in enterprise. Here the local authorities explicitly assert their power and dominance over camp-dwellers, and almost brutally categorise refugees as legitimate occupants of the camp, whilst reinforcing a notion of being a refugee that resembles Agamben's (1998) notion of life in refugee camps being 'bare life', where refugees are unable to engage in 'bios', activities that would make their lives meaningful.

5.4 Concluding Discussion

The spaces of Minoan and Dorian refugee camps are relational and dynamic, involving physical, mental, social and temporal dimensions (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005) which are produced within and through intercultural interactions between refugees, NGO volunteers and local authorities. These spaces also have an impact upon these actors and the ways that they experience their identities, their agency and their ability to assert them within these spaces. At the scale of the camps, Minoan and Dorian camps are mostly constructed by refugee

participants as 'prisons', which are physically constructed as such firstly by the Greek state in geographical locations that are segregated from the local Greek population, and secondly by rudimentary material living conditions that refugees must contend with daily. These, in turn, have implications for the social space of the camp being produced as a prison, reinforcing the identities of refugees as 'inferior' to the local population, making some refugees feel like prisoners or animals, and some even feel like the space of the camp reduces them to what Agamben (1998) calls 'bare life'. However, this experience is not uniform. Indeed, one exception sees refugee mothers associate the camp with a space of security and temporally construct it as a safe space in relation to their previous experiences of living in more immediately threatening environments.

Overall, the experience of the camps as prisons is particularly heightened for refugees at the entrances and gates to the camps, which are experienced as both a physical and a social border that delineates freedom and incarceration on either side of the boundary. Entrances and gates are locations where intercultural interactions could potentially occur with locals, who are perceived to be more powerful, and this leads to a mental and social production of the space of the camp as a prison or as a space of exception and confers a negative association to being a refugee and to 'belonging' in or being recognised 'legitimate occupants' of the space of the camp (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The camps are also mentally produced in this manner through their discursive construction within our conversations: when I asked refugee participants to 'tell me about the camp and what it's like' or to 'describe the space of the camp', an overwhelming number of refugee participants discursively produced the space of the camp at large through its negative physical, social and temporal dimensions, and these have enduring and bordering effects on their identities and their experience of displacement.

In contrast, NGO volunteers generally construct the spaces of the camps in terms of its physical and social dimensions in more positive ways. They usually have less at stake during the spatial construction process as their gender, national and professional identities are not as contested within the spaces of the camps as they are for refugees. In fact, these identities equip NGO volunteers with more positional power to move freely across the thresholds of the camp entrances and to perform activities within the camp that affirm their professional identities. These identities and positional power combined likely explain the use of mostly positive words to discursively construct the camps for NGO volunteers, with the notable exception of Nora, who is a founding member of Busy Bee and seems to identify strongly with the refugee participants. NGO volunteers are categorised by the camp and Greek authorities as legitimate

entrants into the camp, but not as 'belonging' to the camp, whereas the refugee participants' construction of the spaces of the camps suggest that they feel like the camp space at large engulfs them and imposes a certain kind of 'belonging' onto them which they do not accept. Thus, on the whole, refugee participants have more of a negative embodied experience (Soja, 1999) of the space of the camp than NGO volunteers.

And yet, there are occasions when refugee participants express forms of 'campzenship' (Sigona, 2015) and reclaim forms of civic agency within the space of the camp to resist the social borders imposed onto them by the physical and social structures of the camps. They thus also claim some ownership over the construction of the spaces of the camps. On the whole, this capacity for 'campzenship' seems to depend on the level of informality of the camps: the greater presence of local, national and international authorities in the camp spaces, the more they tend to restrict refugees' sense of agency. This is particularly the case in Minoan camp which was more informal at its inception and permitted more refugee agency in spatial construction. It is also evident from the overbearing experience of the security guards in Dorian camp imposing physical and social borders onto camp-dwellers.

Whilst refugee participants largely construct the spaces of the camps at a large scale as physical, mental, social and temporal borders, separating them from the rest of society and from a time-space when/where they were not refugees living in displacement, a more complex process of boundary making occurs within smaller, more discrete places within Minoan and Dorian camps. Indeed, boundary making, and processes of inclusion and exclusion emerge in specified places which on occasion permit refugees to resist the borders of the camps. In terms of the social construction of internal places in the camps, such as the communal kitchens and the library in Dorian camp or the Hangar in Minoan camp, the camp authorities have less interest in directly intervening in refugees' and NGO volunteers' space occupancy patterns. Thus, what emerges is predominantly a socio-spatial construction which reasserts traditional gender norm identities that mirror a time-space beyond the borders of the camp. This is also the case within the Busy Bee Adult English classroom, where refugees express a strong sense of belonging to the social space and express place-ownership with 'their seats'.

However, even in these contexts, camp authorities and NGO volunteers have, on the whole, relatively more control over physical access to these spaces, with the power to engage in bordering practices during intercultural interactions, drawing the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion of refugees in coveted places. One such place is the Busy Bee Adult English

classroom, which is considered by many refugees to be a space that marks a social boundary of a place where they can, at least for a little while, set aside their 'refugee' identities and claim that of being 'a student', which enables them to connect to time-spaces beyond the camp. Intercultural interactions between refugees and local authorities tend to lead to a strong reassertion of refugees' precarious identities as refugees and camp dwellers. This is evidenced by the capacity of local authorities to compel dismantling spaces within the camp that are valued by refugees, such as the Syrian restaurant, which had served as a symbolic resistance to their experience of the borders of the camp but was ultimately ordered to close.

Chapter 6: Constructing 'Homeness' in Liminality

6.1 Introduction

Having explored the dynamic ways in which refugees experience the public space of the camp, in relation to the dynamic relationship between the wider space of the camp and more specific locations in the camp, and how this impacts on their sense of identity and belonging, this chapter will now turn to a smaller scale – to explore how refugees experience their personal living spaces in the camps (containers in Minoan camp and rooms in Dorian camp), focusing on belonging as a sense of 'feeling at home' (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 197). This is not to say, however, that constructing a sense of home solely involves a focus on the specific small scale of their current residences. Indeed, as discussed in my conceptual framework in Chapter 3, constructing a sense of home involves an interplay between physical, locational and social dimensions (Woodward, 2002), and constructing a sense of home in displacement has a particular focus on temporality, involving "intimations" of home from the remembered past or the imagined future (Ahmed et al., 2003: 9). This chapter will explore the ways in which refugees experience their current residences as 'a home' located in the 'here and now' in relation to what they consider to be an 'ideal home' located in another time-space, which are all intricately woven with questions of identity and power (Power, 2016).

Section 6.2 presents refugees' experiences of their current residences as far from an ideal sense of home, where the liminality of their current residences hinders them from experiencing their personal living spaces as 'a home' and where 'their home' is considered to be in the homeland of their past or in the imagined home of their future in another country. And yet, despite the limitations of living in liminality to feeling at home, refugees do indeed construct a kind of home, a 'homeness', which is explored in section 6.3, focusing on the physical and social homemaking practices that refugees engage in, and how they engage in hospitality rituals, particularly with NGO volunteers, as a way to resist liminality and construct a sense of home in the camp, which connects to time-spaces beyond the camp. This chapter ends with a concluding discussion in section 6.4.

6.2 Liminality as Limbo

This section explores how refugees experience their current places of residence in relation to their notion of 'a home'. There is a strong temporal dimension to this as they discursively construct their home in the present as a place that is in stark contrast to, and temporally dislocated from, their remembered homes of the past and their imagined homes of the future. On the whole, their current dwelling places are experienced as a place where the fact that they live in liminality means that they experience their current home as a state of limbo, which also negatively affects their identities. The analysis discussed in this section is derived from multiple domain analyses and taxonomy charts: Domain Analysis 4 (Appendix 18) which illustrates the characteristics attributed to 'home' by refugee and NGO volunteer participants; Domain Analysis 5 (Appendix 19) which includes the folk terms they use to characterise refugees' personal living spaces; and Domain Analysis 6 (Appendix 20) which collates instances that people referred to 'time'. These are built from my extended field notes which detail where people referred to refugees' 'home', as well as the way that refugee and NGO volunteer participants discursively constructed their 'homes' during our interviews. These key ideas have been synthesised in Taxonomy Chart 3 (see Appendix 21) which has also informed this section.

6.2.1 Home is not 'here'

A significant number of refugee participants experience their current personal living spaces as places that are, on the whole, not what they would consider to be an ideal home, expressing overall negative perceptions of their current places of residence which they discursively construct as being in opposition to their notion of what 'a home' should be. They raise several dimensions of home as wanting in the camp context, as well as stressing the blurred lines between the public and private spheres of home in the camp context.

Overlapping dimensions of home:

Notions of what 'a home' is or 'feeling at home' means are constructed by a range of refugee participants in relation to the following distinct but also overlapping dimensions of home: physical, geographic, social, emotional, metaphorical and temporal, as discussed by Hayward (1975) and Putnam & Newton (1990). In regard to the physical dimension of their

current residence, some refugees experience it as a fire hazard threatening their lives: *"(I): We're afraid that maybe...it's the be like fire, because it's easy"* (Interview with Zahiya and Badia, L. 579). Zahiya and Badia are fearful that their containers are made of flimsy material and could be a death-trap. Other less extreme sentiments towards the physical dimensions involve refugees mentioning the materiality of their containers in Minoan camp as being an impediment to feeling like it is 'a home': *"(I): The home should be construction, not with the metal. So with the metal, we cannot say 'khuneh'"* (Interview with Hamida and Mohseena, L. 62)." The fact that the interpreter decides to say the word for 'home' in Farsi to me as she is translating the participant's words in English, underscores the fact that the notion is symbolically loaded in Farsi and is therefore important to repeat the word to me. This suggests that Hamida and Mohseena's affective response to home does not match the feelings of what they experience in the materiality of their metal container, a view which is resonant with the interpreter too. The physical space of refugees' current residence in Dorian camp is experienced by Rabia as too small a place for the entire family to live there, *"(I): Because the room is very small, and the family is big and when we want to move the place is very narrow"* (Interview with Rabia, L. 60-61) signalling that the limiting physical dimension of their room is an impediment to feeling at home. Similar sentiments are echoed by Salma, who raises the physical dimension of her container as being too small for all her children to occupy, but she also mentions that the materiality of their rooms is an improvement from the previous tents: *"[b]etter than tent but not home, and sharing with other families. Because this is more not like a home because bedroom are not enough for my children. It has just 2 bedroom"* (Interview with Salma, L. 614-615).

Furthermore, the physical dimension of refugees' current residences are referred to with multiple folk terms (see Domain Analysis 5, Appendix 19) including, *"shelter"* (Interview with Inaya, L. 225), as a *"cabin"* (Interview with Kala and Yusef, L. 50), or a *"connex"* (Interview with Zahiya and Badia, L. 149) as the Farsi community calls their containers in Minoan camp, which some believe to be a variation of the German word for container. These words connote a more positive experience of their containers and rooms being a temporary solution protecting them from the world, without the expectation of the place living up to the feeling of home which would come from a more permanent arrangement. In fact, Zahiya and Badia (L. 149) clearly demarcate the distinction between their current living situation and 'a home', *"(I): This is not a home. This is a connex"*. These accounts portray refugees' current residences as a functional space, but not one that they would consider to carry the symbolic meaning of home.

Interestingly, Nabila draws a distinction between the way that she discursively constructs her current residence depending on her location to it when referring to it: *"(I): Inside the connex, we say like 'home'. But when I speak around like about the home we say 'connex'"* (Nabila and Masoud, L. 459-460). One way to understand Nabila is as her mirroring Zahiya and Badia's statement – when she is referring to the wider aspects of the physicality of the space when she is outside the container, she is negating its status as a home, but when she is involved in everyday social practices of inhabiting of it as a private space, she is comfortable with thinking of it as her home. But a deeper reading might suggest that in fact the emphasis on 'connex' in the public dimension of the camp, is stressing its physicality, but not necessarily negating its status as a home given that she is comfortable calling it a home inside it. When Sharif refers to his current dwelling place as a 'shelter', he considers it as such because he feels as though he does not have any control over determining his living conditions in Dorian camp:

> *"(I): I can't say, 'it's my home'. Why? Because I don't have any control or responsibility over the situation here, and therefore, we can't say it's our home. Because all the decisions taken here are by those responsible here [...] I can say that this place is a shelter, not a home."* (Interview with Sharif, L. 72-76)

Sharif's experience of powerlessness in the face of camp authorities who control his current residence makes him feel like it is "not a home", echoing Putnam and Netwon (1990) who outline having control over one's living space as an important aspect of home. However, Sabir and Deeba raise the fact that they do not have any control over where they live as a reason that they are forced to call it 'their home': "(I): *It's because we don't have any choice, we are obliged to call it our home, it's still our home*" (Interview with Sabir and Deeba, L. 142). In this case, it seems as though although they call it a home, they are implying that it is a home in name only as they recognise it as such begrudgingly because as refugees, they have lost the power to decide where their home is. If so, they are communicating that home is a matter of what formal authorities ascribe to them as their dwelling place and the resistance to being forced to accept it as their home is entangled with the resistance to the implicated refugee identity ascribed to them during the process of being forced to call here 'home'.

Refugees also raise the geographic dimension of their current living spaces as a contributing factor to the reason that they do not feel like they have a home in the camp. Zahiya and Badia link the physical dimension of home to the geographic one, stating that, "*(I): Because if we have a home it is in the city, this is not in the city, it's not looks, looks not like a home*" (Zahiya and Badia, L. 167-168). They draw a distinction between home being in an urban space, and having the material features of homes in cities, as opposed to their current container

that does not resemble an urban home in its materiality or location. Omar also draws a geographic distinction between the location of 'home' in the city versus 'not home' in the refugee camp: *"(I): Home is like, this is not like home because, this is inside the camp. In here, they are living a lot of people like Arabic people, African people and home is like, we have a home that we can live for a long time, inside the city, not like this inside camp"* (Interview with Omar's Family, L. 396-398). Omar's experience links the geographic location of home to the temporal dimension of home, stating that a home in the city would signal permanence, whereas their current residence, made up of temporary structures outside the city, signals impermanence. He also seems to raise the fact that the camp is a multicultural social space offering residence to people from different national and ethnic cultural backgrounds as a way that suggests that 'a home' would be a place where he would not need to contend with this.

Refugees also use multiple folk terms to discursively construct their current residences that point to the metaphoric dimensions of home (see Domain Analysis 5, Appendix 19). These largely imply that they feel as though their personal living spaces are eroding their sense of self and human dignity. Their construction of their current residences as negative places, distinctly 'not home', echo their experiences of the space of the camp discussed in Chapter 5. Bilal explains that the word he uses for his current place of residence in Arabic means a garbage shed:

> *"(P): The container? ((Laughs)) Yeah, the people living in containers. In Arabic, translate this word, it means something bad, that mean you live in something for the rubbish.*
>
> *(R): Can you say the word in Arabic?*
>
> *(P): حاوية 'Hawee'. We use this for the trash. I think the container is not good for the refugee because when the weather, when the rain come, I can't sleep. Especially here in [Artemopolis], it's raining all the time."* (Interview with Bilal, L. 492-497)

His account highlights how living in a container makes him feel as though he is an object which has been disposed of rather than a human being. Ali compares his container to a chicken coop, which suggests that he feels like a farm animal in his current residence: *"(I): And sometimes he feel like he living in chicken house"* (Interview with Ali, L. 235). These accounts of refugees' current residences, much like the space of the camp as a whole, are reminiscent of Agamben's (1998) notion of 'bare life' in refugee camps, which is in stark opposition to the way that 'a home' is understood by most refugees, paradigmatically articulated by Amir (L. 428):*"(P): Home… You feel like you are human"*. The issue of identity is raised here, and Amir stresses that for him, home is a place that is entwined with his sense of self, echoing Tognoli (1987)

who states that home is linked to personal identity. Furthermore, once again in parallel to refugees' experience of the space of the camp discussed in the previous chapter, some refugees compare their current residences to a "*prison*" (Interview with Inaya, L. 222) and even a coffin: "(*I*): *((Laughs)) I don't know what is the word. But when the people die you put it into the ground, inside it*" (Interview with Dilara and Malik, L. 84-85). Some participants metaphorically construct their current place of residence as being a physical and emotional threat, invoking the metaphor of a freezer: "*the icebox*" (Interview with Omar's Family, L. 409) which Amir extends to something that could kill them, both physically and emotionally:

> "*(P): Yeah... Because we feel that we are in the freezers... They put us in the fridges. So they doesn't care about your feelings or something like this. Just sit here because this place is warm, it's not cold, just sit inside, doesn't matter. It's not warm, it just protect you from the world.*" (Interview with Amir, L. 471-474)

Amir explains how his current residence is also a social threat, potentially leading him to feel social shame as a result of other non-camp dwellers experiencing the physicality of his container: "*(R): And you said that you don't feel like inviting people over… Do you ever invite people over? (P): I feel shy. Because this is like box*" (Interview with Amir, L. 476-479). Home is thus 'not here' for Amir because he feels restricted in his capacity to engage in important social practices, emphasising the importance of the connection between home and social relationships (Tognoli, 1987).

Linking both the social and emotional aspects of home, Nadeem (L. 81-83) states: "*(I): He says, home for me is a place where all of the family are together, and they are happy together, and they are staying together and they are taking care of each other. But here, they are not having this feeling*". He expresses that his home is 'not here' because his family is not, mirroring Hayward's (1975) discussion about the crucial role that the social and cultural aspects of family play in creating a home. Suha discusses the other side of this, stressing the fundamental social role that home plays in the creation and sustenance of an important social bond with family: "*the home is very beautiful word […] the home is the pillar of the family*" (Interview with Suha, L. 209, 216). Moreover, home is constructed as a place which evokes certain positive feelings, such as feeling secure, "*(I): She says in my mind, home is a place where we can feel safe in*" (Interview with Hamida and Mohseena, L. 61-62), or a feeling of ease and comfort. But some refugees emphasise that is the opposite of their current living conditions: "*(I): No it's not a house or home because I am not comfortable in this place. The home should be comfortable place for life, for live*" (Interview with Sadia, L. 48-49). Abyah

and Daiya further stress this metaphor, suggesting that their current residence is not a home because they feel suffocated inside of it: "*(I): Home means peaceful, hopeful but this is not home she said. Because I didn't take any breathe in this room.*" (Abyah and Daiya, L. 294-295).

Home is also experienced as 'not here' for camp dwellers since their temporal experience of multiple features of their current residences suggesting a feeling of living in liminality. Bilal articulates the metaphor of his current residence being a mobile caravan, which he explains makes him feel like home is 'not here' due to the lack of rootedness arising from living in a container which is not a permanent structure:

> "*(P):[...]We all the people, we don't feel it's a house. Cabin it's not for living. But maybe for temporary life, yeah, it's perfect. But not, I living 2 years here, in this cabin. I don't feel I stand in the land. Cabin. In Syria, we say another word about this, 'caravan'. That mean, like a motor-house. Here, I talk to my mother, I say, 'I live in cabin', she say, 'You live in the same place all the day or you move it?' ((He laughs)) 'No, it's constant'. Because we didn't see this cabin in my country. Only the motor-house.*" (Interview with Bilal, L. 503-508)

Bilal's statement about the extended liminality that he experiences as a result of the lack of permanence of the physicality of his current residence, which is not a 'house' but merely a 'cabin', 'caravan' or 'motor-house', is linked to the fact that this transient and potentially movable structure makes him feel untethered and ungrounded to the physical land. This suggests that for him, 'home' is where he can feel connected to the earth in some permanent way, where he can "stand in the land", which resonates with Relph's (1976) account of home as inextricably linked to the physical landscape. Bilal further introduces the idea that home is 'not here' because other people do not perceive his current dwelling as such, and they attach the symbolic meaning of transience to his current residence; when he tells his mother that he lives in a container, this in Arabic carries the symbolic connotation of being a transient place. Moreover, Bilal's metaphor of his current residence being a station, where multiple people pass through, is echoed by Sanam, who explains that she does not experience her room as a home because others have occupied the space before, and others will occupy it after she moves on: "*(I): Because I feel it's not for me because before this room was for another family and after it will to another family. I live here not forever*" (Interview with Sanam and Amany, L. 142-143). Sanam therefore, in contrast to Bilal, affirms that she does not feel at home in her current residence, not due to the impermanence of the physical structure, but rather due to the transience of the people who occupy the space of her current dwelling place.

Other metaphorical accounts of their current residence also link with temporal and physical dimensions of home, which also reveal refugee participants' sentiments about home being 'not here', not in the camp, but elsewhere. For instance, Nadeem explains how the materiality of his container invokes a temporariness that does not match his idealised notion of home:

> *"(I): He says it's like a real tent. So I have this experience in Iran, when you travel to desert, or you are out of the city, someone wants to make a bed something, so the people use these cabins for some limit time. Not for always, not for 2 years, 3 years. So, always when I enter to the cabin, I always think about that. That it's not a house, it's not a home. So it's a place like a station when you are waiting for someone and you leave. But for us it's not clear when we are leaving this cabin and where will be our home."* (Interview with Nadeem, L. 71-76)

The enumeration of metaphors of comparing his container to a 'tent', a 'cabin' and a 'transportation station' emphasise the transience that he feels is reinforced by the materiality of the container, which keep him in a perpetual state of liminality. He categorically denies calling his current residence 'a house' or 'a home' but rather believes that home is somewhere unknown in an uncertain and seemingly unattainable future.

Public vs. private spheres of home:

Many refugees express that a great impediment to them being able to feel at home in their current residences is the fact that the boundaries are blurred between their expectation that their rooms and containers should be a private sphere of home, and their lived experience in the camp, where the public sphere of the wider camp often intrudes into this private sphere (see Domain Analysis 2, Appendix 16). These boundaries are breached or challenged by refugees, camp authorities and NGO volunteers. For instance, Ibrar explains how the door to his room is constantly being opened by other refugees:

> *"(I): The same this door, you don't know who will come to open it and enter. But your house, you know… And the, if you have a house you don't need to open and the person said, 'I'm sorry I have mistake!'*
>
> *(R): This happens a lot? People just come in and…*
>
> *(I): Yes!*
>
> *(R): No privacy."* (Interview with Ibrar, L. 387-395)

This depicts how the supposed boundary between their private and public spheres is constantly breached, with the outside, public sphere of the camp creeping inside, into the private sphere of his room. He suggests that this lack of privacy makes them feel as though they must be

continuously on guard in case of an intrusion which detracts from the ability to relax and feel at home within the place. Indeed, as Tognoli (1987) and Putnam and Newton (1990) affirm, privacy is a crucial component to feeling at home. Amir echoes this feeling of being intruded upon by the outside world in his container– in his case it is the camp authorities who do this:

> *"(P): When you think you are at home, maybe you live alone, and at the same time you work and you rent, and you pay for your home, and you become able, not some organisation is help you, you are paying the tax like the other people. So in this time, you can feel like you have a home. That you live like the other people. Without this I'm not feeling like home.*
>
> *(R): Would you consider Chad your home?*
>
> *(P): In my home in Chad, like when I'm sleeping, I feel like this is my home, and no one come knock my door to ask me, 'Are you absent or not absent?'"* (Interview with Amir, L. 447-455)

In Minoan camp, the authorities check once a week that the 'correct' people are living in their assigned containers, without any other unregistered people. In this case, the 'outside' expects him to be 'inside' his container, always available, and potentially able to be counted and monitored. For Amir, this continual control of his body makes him feel akin to a prisoner in his current residence and like the authorities who belong to the public sphere of the camp are regularly infringing upon his desired sense of comfort within his expected privacy inside his container. What is more, Amir expresses that the privacy one should be afforded within their own home is inextricably linked with civil practices: having a job and paying taxes to contribute to the public sphere is what enables one to feel at home within their own personal living space that they pay for through their labour to secure the privacy of being left alone inside their own homes. However, this experience is not within reach for Amir within the camp, because he is obliged to live in a place that is given to him through aid, in a wider context in which he cannot work, and therefore, he cannot experience a clear distinction between the public and private spheres.

The public and private spheres of home are also blurred in terms of the people who inhabit the place of home and the language of intimacy that is used within the private sphere of the home. Yusef explains the issues that many refugees face:

> *"P: The space we are living, in the middle of the camp, it's so crowded and noisy, because lots of people. And also, five months ago because of lack of space, the [Magnolia Aid] forced two families together in the same cabin. And this was not good for the families, because they have different nationalities together, they cannot communicate, because they do not understand. For example, I am from Afghanistan,*

and the family, they were from Iraq, they speak Kurdish, so I cannot speak, so we have lots of problems." (Interview with Yusef, L. 38-46)

Firstly, Yusef's testimony reveals how the conventionally considered private sphere of the home, which usually consists of groups of bonded or self-selecting adults and younger kin who share a common space (Hayward, 1975), and how, more often than not, family kinship is challenged in the camps as many families are unable to have a container or room to themselves, and often do not get to choose who they live with in a very small space. Thus, there is a collapse of private and public spaces here as their private space of the home is not even a private space for just their families, but one that they *have to* share with others just as they need to share many other facilities in the wider public space of the camp.

Secondly, Yusef points to intercultural tensions arising as a result of families from different national and linguistic 'large cultural groups' (Holliday, 2013) needing to negotiate daily activities within their containers. Having difficulties communicating with people who speak different languages are challenges that they expect to face within the wider space of the camp, but not ones that they would expect to face within the intimacy of their own home. And yet, they do. Not being able to resolve daily issues easily, such as which family can cook at what time, is a struggle that many families face on a daily basis, as is paradigmatically articulated by Omar (L. 291-293): *"(I): We are living inside the connex and, this is difficult for us to live all three families inside the connex, it was enough for me, for us and for my daughter, not another family. We have problem with the bathroom, with the toilet, with the cooking."* The public norms and problems of the camp thus regularly come crashing into the supposedly private sphere of the container.

In contrast to Omar who lives in Minoan camp, where refugees live in containers with kitchens and toilets inside each container, Jameela who lives in Dorian camp, where refugees must share communal kitchens and toilets, emphasises how her room never feels like a home because so many of the daily activities that are conventionally carried out inside the private sphere of home are carried out in the public sphere for her: *"(I):…Because here where I live, when I go to kitchen I see another people, when we go out for pray, I see another people, but if I have my house I just see my family"* (Interview with Jameela, L. 366-367). She constructs her notion of home as somewhere where all of these activities can occur in the same place and which she only shares with her chosen family unit, in contrast to her current residence. Therefore, her home is 'not here' because the space needed to carry out the private activities

of 'home' is extended to the wider space of the camp, now demanding a degree of public engagement from her.

Building on the notion that home is a private sphere of intimacy, and that this is constantly being contested in the camps, Samiya expresses how home for her is a private place where she is able to feel comfortable in her gender and religious identities, and she adds that this is not her experience of Dorian camp:

> "(*P): Because this is one room, not house, not home. When you describe a place home, you should be private, but when you go out this room you see your neighbours, you see other people, you are don't have private, because I wear hijab, and all I... this is my problem in this place. Because I can't wear anything private. You understand?*" (Interview with Samiya, L. 49-52)

For Samiya, her feeling of home is inextricably linked with her being able to dress according to her gender and religious identities as she deems appropriate with the public and private spheres. As a Muslim woman who wears a hijab, it would be customary to be able to take it off in the privacy of her home, but the continued presence of others, of people who sit outside of her sphere of intimacy, makes it challenging for Samiya to follow this custom. Another way to look at this is to say that observance of cultural and religious norms is constrained in the public space of the camp, which once again crashes into the private realm of 'home', meaning that Samiya's personal living space is not private enough to be deemed a home.

6.2.2 Home is 'elsewhere' and 'elsewhen'

The previous section has discussed the ways in which refugees discursively construct their ideal notion of home, and how this is in stark contrast to their lived experiences in Minoan and Dorian camps, in their current places of residence. This section will now consider 'where' and 'when' they regard their home to be, if it is not in the camp, emphasising how refugees live in temporal and spatial liminality, their 'home' being somewhere else, or in some other time, either in the past or in the future. One example of this is Nadeem's (L. 76) statement, "*But for us it's not clear when we are leaving this cabin and where will be our home*". Implied in his use of the pronoun 'us' is a reference to his individual identity as part of a group of people who are refugees, living in an impermanent residence, a "cabin", and facing an uncertain future. Nadeem's comment evokes a sense of an internalised "ontological liminality" (O'Reilly, 2018: 834).

Some refugees situate 'home' in the future because of the hope that it will present a better life than the one that they experience in the camp in the present, or the one they experienced in their countries of origin in the past. This is often connected to refugees wishing for a better life for their children (Kabachnick et al., 2010), as expressed by Hada:

> *"(I): Home is better than the connex, bigger than the connex, always my daughter she is 5 years old always ask me, 'When will we go to our home? Because in here I don't have any bedroom, I want to have a bedroom, I want to have a bed'… Yes, we were in our country we hoped that we go to Greek to have a home, to be better than here."*
> (Interview with Hada, L. 386-396)

The use of the interpreter's word "here" is an ambiguous translation in this case, as it is unclear whether Hada is referring to her searching for a home that is better than her country of origin, or whether she hoped for a home that was better than the container she found in Minoan camp. Either way though, home for her is constructed as a place that is hoped for in the future. Home is also constructed as a place in the future because that is a time when refugees will be reunited with their families, as expressed by Sanam (L. 156) who states, "*Because in the future I will have my home because my husband with me.*" Many people in Minoan and Dorian camps, have been separated from their nuclear families who are either still on the Greek islands, or have resettled in other European countries. Soroush articulates the feeling of liminality that accompanies what he considers to be a typical experience of refugees currently living in mainland Greece and searching for a future home elsewhere:

> *"You know, we have seen plenty of people here over the years, who have come, and received their ID card, and left the camp immediately. And they went to another country. And so people ask themselves why they can't do this. By the sea, by the land, by the airplane, by the real identity cards, by the fake ones, people are always leaving to go anywhere else. This elsewhere, it is the place that for them, it's the 'last place', the final destination. And here, it's temporary. And so, it's difficult to find these kinds of communities, and groups like you are saying, with open hearts between people. My wife and I have seen so many people leave the day after they have received their passports. They don't feel like they belong here, so they don't want to stay here. And so, it's different for people in Germany. Because refugees there could say, 'Okay, today we are in this camp, but tomorrow, even if we are in the north of Germany, we are still in the same country, we are friends, we can see each other again somehow'. Here, tomorrow, I could be in Canada, I always say this, and others could be in Germany, in England, everyone is far from each other. And so we don't manage to have big projects and plans for now. We want to have a good room, like here, for a night, for ten nights, that's all."* (Interview with Soroush, L. 227-241)

Soroush describes the home that refugees aspire towards in the future and in other European countries as being "the last place" and "the final destination". Although these metaphors may have a slightly ominous undertone in English, this interview was conducted in French as

Soroush was my interpreter for Farsi into French, and the French words 'destination finale' indeed invoke a more lyrical image, a metaphor of the future home being the 'terra firma'; the final destination to a long journey; the sense that their new home in a European country where they stably wish to resettle will be like Odysseus finally returning to his home in Ithaca after a journey of many tribulations (see for example, Moore, 2000: 208). For someone like Soroush who has lived in Dorian camp for two and a half years though, he explains that refugees' feelings of liminality towards their current living circumstances, which are temporary, means that he finds it difficult to form connections and lasting friendships with people in the camps, as they are all likely to move on at some point, and live in disparate countries. Soroush suggests that this is a unique part of refugees' experiences in Greece, as opposed to other European countries, since they mostly regard Greece as a transit country. In contrast though to the experience of other refugees that he refers to, Soroush constructs his imagined future home in Canada, casting his hopes towards a much more ambitious 'final home' in the sense of geographic distance from his current location (and likely legal complexities involved in moving continents as a refugee) even though he states that he just wants a peaceful and simple life in the present. This is perhaps because he shares a common language with the people living in Canada and can therefore project himself as already belonging to their imagined community (Anderson, 1991), or perhaps because of his high social capital and professional standing, as someone who has worked as a professional journalist in Europe in the past (as he explained at the start of his interview), and is currently regarded as a community leader in Dorian camp, he is able to project himself into a desirable future, and therefore imaginatively break from the stale liminality of the camp. Indeed, as Morley (2000) claims, there is a dialectical relationship between socially constructing a sense of home and a sense of identity, and imagined places of home are powerful tools in the construction of self-identity in displacement. Soroush is perhaps able to draw on previous professional identities and imagine them as being ones that he can occupy again in the future, which allows him to resist the liminality of his current residence in the camp and his current identity of being a refugee, simultaneously inhabiting multiple temporalities (Sakti & Amrith, 2022).

Interestingly though, most of the refugee participants speak about their home being in the past, referring to their homeland as their home, rather than projecting themselves into a stable and concrete plan for a future home. One plausible explanation for this could be because the majority of refugee participants that I spoke to have been living in Minoan and Dorian camps for approximately one to three years, waiting for their asylum application outcome, and therefore it is possible that after such a long period of waiting in limbo and living in liminality,

their belief in a better future life is eroded by living in refugee camps. Many refugees express that their country of origin is their home, *"(I): Like, he feel like, the home, is...your country."* (Interview with Ali, L. 239), with different temporal relationships to it, including the memories from the past and the hope for return to their homeland in the future. For instance, Maddy, a Young Explorers English teacher, explains that she refrains from using the word 'home' to refer to her students' current residences because the children she teaches openly deny their home being in the camp:

> *"(P): Always 'container' because when I used to say 'home', they were like, 'my home is not here'...because I try not to say 'home' anymore because the kids don't associate home with yeah, even though a lot of them would have been three when they left their own countries, that's their home."* (Interview with Maddy, L. 734-744)

According to Maddy, the refugee children construct their sense of home as being in a fixed location, in the country that they were forced to flee from, and since she mentions their young age, this suggests that it is likely done through familial stories about their homeland. Therefore, for these children, even though their likely living memory of home is either of their journey, or living in refugee camps, their anchoring home is in their country of origin, in the past. This echoes Morley's (2000) discussion about the power of memory in constructing a sense of home in displacement. Home is therefore someplace other than 'here and now'.

Home is also constructed by the refugees as the feelings that are evoked when belonging to a homeland, which are intricately linked with national identity and belonging to a wide community (Anthias, 2013). Murad, who is from Syria, articulates the longing for the feeling of completeness, or wholeness, that a home in the homeland offers, which is deeply more valuable for him than any sense of home that can be created within the camp:

> *"(I): He say because, the house is where you live, with your children. And where you go to the walk and to come back. And I feel comfortable and relax when I have the house...And he say because, about the terrible thing it happen to us, when we was in Syria, from Daesh or something, they destroy our house. So, this things we have now, I live in container, and I study English class, and I go to [Darling Crafts] and sometimes I go to the city centre, but I feel something missing. So I feel something like this. So I need home...And he say like for the local people, like you, when you finish, maybe you can go out, and to feel like with your family. But for us, even if we have money, we still feel like we missing something."* (Interview with Murad, L. 531-549)

Murad suggests that home extends beyond the feelings that are created simply by being in a comfortable, safe place and partaking in daily activities. Home is remembered here as the homeland which offers a deeper sense of belonging to a place which is missing from his current

life (see also Woodward, 2002). Murad categorises me as a local Greek person in this exchange in order to emphasis that being 'from here' involves a kind of local rootedness which connects to wider feelings of belonging to a homeland. As Anthias (2013: 9) discusses, belonging involves being attached to a place and geographical location, as well as the symbolic attachments to the wider communities of that place. Murad expresses that the absence of this feeling cannot be made up for by simply living with one's family and having sufficient monetary means. Even though Murad has a "house", therefore, a safe shelter and place to live in with his family and can partake in activities that may resemble his life in Syria, he ultimately does not consider it a 'home'. These sentiments are echoed by Titti and Arjin who say, *"(T): If you try to happy in another country, like Greek or another country, but not like your country"* (Interview with Titti and Arjin, L. 140-141). They reiterate that the joy and sense of belonging that one feels in their homeland cannot be matched in any other country, reinforcing the fact that home is 'elsewhere' and 'elsewhen'. This feeling of belonging to a homeland is extremely powerful, to the extent that some people feel that they would like to return to their homeland as their ultimate home, the place they want to belong to and become a part of when they die: *"(I): [...] They don't like to die here, we want to die in our country"* (Interview with Zahiya and Badia, L. 212).

Samiya further articulates the distinction between 'home' and 'homeland' in Arabic, with 'homeland' encompassing the notion of home as place and home as feeling of belonging:

> *(P): 'Home' in Arabic, the small place, and private, for the family, they want to live together.*
>
> *(R): Like, 'bayt', and this has meaning, the space and family?*
>
> *(P): Yes, 'bayt'.*
>
> *(R): And then, is there bigger layers of 'home?'*
>
> *(P): 'Watan'.*
>
> *(R): Ah, and what is this? 'Home' but like bigger? This means like 'my country' home? Or in general, 'where I feel most comfortable' home? Can you tell me a little more about this? What does this mean?*
>
> *(P): 'Watan'. Like the place, but maybe the big place you live in. And maybe special feelings to this. Maybe when you ask someone about Syria, maybe he will cry. Because the place, will born in, spend all the time of childhood in, yes.* (Interview with Samiya, L. 719-729)

She explains how in Arabic, 'bayt'/'home' carries connotations of a private sphere, implying the physical structure that houses the small family unit and the place where the small family

unit inhabits, whereas 'watan' means homeland and implies a nostalgia for the land where one grows up in and deep feelings of belonging to a wide community of people. She suggests that talking to refugees about Syria will stir an emotional response of sadness and a longing for return to a place that is currently war-torn, reflecting how "[b]eyond being experienced as a place, a space, and a structure, home is also memory, feeling, and affect" (Chawla & Jones, 2015: xi). In an exchange with Dilara and Malik, the interpreter decides to use the word 'watan' in Arabic when translating the word 'home' in relation to 'Syria':

> *"(R): When you go to the Syrian market in town, you visit them? Do you go there?*
>
> *(I/A):*
>
> *(P/A):*
>
> *(I): Yeah.*
>
> *(R): How do you feel when you go there?*
>
> *(I): I feel like I am in Syria, in my town, in my country.*
>
> *(R): So in your mind, you feel like Syria is home?*
>
> *(I): Yeah.*
>
> *(I/A): In your mind, Syria is the Watan?*
>
> *(P/A): Syria is the sea, and I am the fish.*
>
> *(I): Syria is the sea, but I am the fish."* (Interview with Dilara and Malik, L. 487-499[14])

Malik's metaphor about Syria emphasises how home for him is his homeland in Syria, which incorporates the place as a land, a way of life, but is also an imagined community (Anderson, 1991), constructed as a place where he feels a sense of deep belonging to a wide community of people. He compares Syria to the sea and himself to a fish, implying that Syria is like what the water of the sea is to a fish – all-engulfing in multiple ways – surrounding him entirely, protecting him as the sea provides a home to nurture life for a fish. The sea and the fish also co-exist in symbiosis, as opposed to the current fragmented life that refugees experience in their lives in exile. This notion of home as an affinity felt with the homeland echoes the notion of placemaking as a process of co-becoming articulated by Bawaka Country and colleagues (2016). Therefore, 'watan' is constructed as a place of belonging that resides in the temporalities of 'not now'; to the past where it is preserved through memory, and to the future, where it is longed for to return to.

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[14] Reminder: Red words indicate the changes/additions from the professional interpreter in the UK.

When the memory of the homeland is conjured in refugees' current temporality, there are mixed responses from refugees, with some finding it a sad reminder of what was lost, whilst others find it a comforting reminder of what can still potentially be reclaimed. Bilal expresses how hearing about his homeland reignites feeling of losing it:

> *"(P): No… I don't think I am belong here, like I was in Syria, in my city, I have a lot of friends, I have job, I have family, relatives, I have everything there. Also, I think that no people can feel like the origin country, where he was born. Yeah… Now when I watch the news or something, when I hear the name of my country, I feel, yeah, now I feel bad, because I lost, yeah. But I feel super happy when I go back to my country. Because my parents there."* (Bilal, L. 132-136)

For Bilal, his homeland is the place in the past where his life was settled and made sense, he was secure in his identity as a worker, a friend, a member of a family, and where he belonged to a wider community. Being reminded of Syria in the current temporality of his life makes him feel the loss of this rather than comfort of belonging to it, and it jolts him back to his current reality where all of this is lacking. However, Dilara and Malik's account of entering the Syrian shop in Artemopolis, discussed above, rekindles their feeling of being connected to their 'watan' and catapults them into a feeling of being in their homeland. Arjin expresses similar feelings of being connected to her homeland when visiting the Syrian shop: *"(T): She say I feel happy when I go in the shop Syria, I think I am go in the Syria. They are speak for me in her language, Arabic, so I feel happy"* (Interview with Titti and Arjin, L. 197-198). Home is constructed here in the imagined space of memory but becomes a place the refugees can visit in their current temporality (partially through language), echoing Chawla and Jones' (2015: xiii) articulation of the home as homeland being "generative because it can survive its material loss by being imagined and poetically excavated". We can see the power of reconstructing home in the present through memory as a tool for constructing identities in exile that resist current hardships and identities as refugees by offering an imagined community (Anderson, 1991) of their homeland to belong to, to a time before they became refugees.

Quite differently from refugees who have recently lost their homes, the Yazidi refugees do not have the same experience in the refugee camps as perhaps refugees from countries like Syria, because they have been persecuted and living in protracted exile from their homeland for so long, that they do not have an immediate memory of a geographically located place they call home. This is articulated by Hamal (L. 182-183) who states, *"(I): He say because, for us the Yazidi group, even in Iraq, especially in Sinjar, we don't have place. Because we don't have place, so for that, it is not make different for him."* Home for Hamal as a place of

permanence in a homeland is out of memorial reach, which makes their current experience of living in liminality in Minoan camp as more congruent with their immediately preceding experiences of home.

6.3 Liminality as ambiguous home

The previous section explored the ways in which refugees do not consider their current residences in the refugee camps to be their home, constructing their sense of an ideal home as looking and feeling different than their current containers and rooms, and being located in another time-space. And yet, despite the overwhelmingly large number of refugee participants who experience and discursively construct their home as 'not in the camp', there are still some ways in which refugees do create a sense of home within the camp, predominantly in the social realm. This section will now turn to a discussion about how refugees engage in homemaking practices within the camps whilst examining how they negotiate the power relations involved in them doing so in section 6.3.1. It is informed by Domain Analysis 7 (see Appendix 22) which details the actions and activities refugee participants do at 'home' and NGO volunteers' experiences of refugees engaging in actions that suggest homemaking practices. The subsequent section, 6.3.2, will focus on the specific dimension of hospitality, examining the dynamics of being a guest (see Domain Analysis 8, Appendix 23) and being a host (see Domain Analysis 9, Appendix 24), focusing on behaviours that participants engage in or report engaging in when in refugees' containers and rooms, paying particular attention to intercultural interactions between refugees and other refugees and NGO volunteers and how this impacts on their identities and sense of feeling at home in the camp.

6.3.1 'A home' vs. 'making home'

Whilst section 6.2.1 has revealed that many refugee participants regard the physical and material aspects of their containers and rooms to be a hindrance to their feeling of it being 'a home', there is a gendered element to the way that women and mothers have expressed that they regard their current residences to be 'their home in a way', because inside them, they and their children are protected from the wider space of the camp. For instance, Inaya (L. 94-95) states, "*(I): Especially for my girls. When they go out, I call them to come back because I*

always afraid for them". Madina and Tarik also refer to their personal living space as 'home' when they describe how sharing this space with friends makes them feel protected from the wider camp that they do not want to enter: *"(I): Most of time we don't want to go out, the most of time we are inside our home, sometimes when my husband want to see something, go to the [Darling Crafts], sometimes we go to my neighbour's home, she is Iranian people and sometimes she come here*" (Interview with Madina and Tarik, L. 492-494). They raise a cultural dimension to the safety presented by the inside of their current residences, since inside their containers, they are able to spend time with friends who share the same nationality, and she suggests that this cultural familiarity offers respite from the wider space of the camp.

There is a gendered element to the way in which women refugee participants state that their current residence is 'like home' because it is a place where they carry out their normal daily activities and routines, thereby engaging in processes of emplacement to situate themselves in their new locale (Hammond, 2004). For example, Madeha (L. 31-32) states, *"(I): I am at home, I am mother. I have three children and also, I have normal life in here. Every day I clean home, I take care of my children*" and Madina (L. 501-502) says, *"(I): Yes of course when I wake up the morning, I clean the home, I wash the clothes this is like our home*". Madeha affirms her identity as a mother, and both women describe the daily domestic activities they undertake, explaining that this makes them feel as though their current residence is 'like home'. As discussed by Power (2016), the process of homemaking is inextricably linked with performing social identities, and the women's social identities as wives and mothers is something which has remained constant, despite the rupture to potential other identities resulting from displacement. Therefore, performing daily 'mothering' activities anchor the women in the present and enable them to refer to their current residence as 'like home' – the modulator 'like' suggesting that it is not the same as feeling 'at home', but that it is a home of a kind.

Elodie also refers to similar domestic activities that she carries out in her container, and she refers to the space as 'her house', very clearly making use of the pronoun 'my' to signal she feels ownership over her container:

> *"(P): Ah, yes, I say often that it's 'my house' ('ma maison'). It's my house.*
>
> *(R): Yes, and why do you feel this way?*
>
> *(P): I feel this way because it was given to me, and I was sent here, I sleep here, I do everything here in the house, I wash myself here, I get ready here, it's my house.*

(R): You know, it's really interesting because you are the first person that I have spoken to that has said, 'Yes, I feel like this is my house'… Perhaps for others they feel like this is something temporary, something that they don't feel very good inside of, but for you, this means something different…

(P): Yes, we must say the truth, I look after this house, it's my house.

(R): And you have been here for 6 months?

(P): Yes, 6 months." (Interview with Elodie, L. 71-81)

The activities which she refers to carrying out in her container are more corporeal such as eating, sleeping, washing and getting dressed, which are more personal that the social activities of looking after other people that Maheda and Madina refer to, and point to the importance of home being an embodied experience (Eckenwiler, 2018). As well as the domestic practices she carries out in her container, she also raises the fact that this container was 'given' to her as being a relevant component of why she considers it her house, again, centring herself as a significant social actor in the process of receiving this container that was given to her by the authorities. This is in contrast to the accounts discussed in section 6.2.1 where refugees felt like their current residences were merely temporarily allocated to them and thus could not feel like home.

And yet, whilst Elodie is firm in stating that her current residence is 'her house', she does not consider it 'her home'. During this interview, Elodie and I were speaking in French, which we both spoke as a second language yet sufficiently well to note the very clear distinction between 'maison' as 'house' and 'chez moi' as 'home'. In Elodie's case, it is plausible to postulate that she calls it 'her house' because of her temporal relationship to her current residence. During the interview, Elodie explains how she has only been living in the camp for six months, which compared to the majority of other refugee participants who spend between one to three years in Minoan and Dorian camps, is a relatively short time. She states at the beginning of her interview that she has just received a positive outcome on her asylum application to remain in Greece with official refugee status. She is also one of the rare participants who states that she wishes to remain in Greece, and was in the process of being resettled to a permanent residence in Artemopolis. What is more, she states at the start of our conversation, "*I am proud to live here*" (Interview with Elodie, L. 12), explaining that this is because she considers Greece her final destination at the end of her long and difficult journey across the Mediterranean Sea in search for asylum. Therefore, with Elodie we see a case of the asylum process working overall, with her current residence in the camp being a six-month affair, and her being promptly relocated to a permanent home in the city – all factors which

likely contribute to her being able to consider her current container as 'her house' in a positive way, as something between a 'shelter' and a 'home'.

Building on this cultural dimension of homemaking, my participant observation conducted during the interviews in refugee participants' containers and rooms demonstrated the significance of refugees' being able to engage in symbolic cultural practices and religious rituals inside their current residences as a way of feeling at home to a certain degree. For instance, during my interview with Pirnaz and Alen, they explained how they had carried this Qur'an with them on their journey from their homeland, and they wanted to share this with me during the conversation. In my field notes, I added the following description:

> *"Pirnaz tells Alen to get the Qur'an from on top of the fridge and bring it to her so she can read me a passage. Alen walks over to the refrigerator and uses both hands to pick up the Qur'an, which is placed on a cloth and wrapped in an embroidered cloth, and she says something that sounds like a blessing or a prayer in Arabic, and then she kisses it. Then, almost as if she is holding a baby, she passes it to Pirnaz, who also says something similar and kisses it. Alen then goes to the other room to bring two cloths. She hands one to her mom and delicately places the other over her head as a veil, and wraps it around her chin and shoulders. Once both of them have finished covering themselves, Pirnaz opens the Qur'an and begins to read."* (FN, 06/12/2019, L. 12-21)

The choice of the location of this object within their home on top of the refrigerator and protected in a cloth so it cannot get dirty or be accidentally touched, coupled with the careful actions that both Alen and Pirnaz carry out when handling it, signals that this object is a symbolic cultural artefact, that has been important enough to carry with them on their journey to Artemopolis. Connecting with the materiality of being able to touch this significant cultural artefact enables them to feel connected to their home in their country of origin, as well as connected to a wider religious community when they use it for religious practices, which allows a sense of making home in displacement. Indeed, as Dudley (2011) discusses, a materiality approach to making home in displacement enables a continuity with the time-space of 'before displacement' and allows refugees to resist the rupture that has been caused in their lives.

Building on the importance of temporality in the processes of socially constructing a home in displacement (Hart et al., 2018), refugees' temporal relationship to their camp residences also play an important role in their willingness or capacity to call it a kind of home. For example, as one of the early volunteers who helped to set up Minoan camp, Nora recounts how refugees strongly resisted homemaking practices in 2016:

> *"And then there was uproar, 'build a school? So, we're staying here forever? Is this what you mean? We don't want a school' and I'm like 'guys like, you're not staying here*

forever. But you are here for a while and you're here right now. And the kids are outside throwing rocks at each other. And like cause, you know, rolling around in shit. Why not have a school where you can teach them and they have something to do with the day?' And this was like, you know, it's like reasonable people. They were like, no, this this just means this means permanent." (Interview with Nora, L. 2471-2477)

Throughout Nora's account, we can see how profound the negative response from refugees was when Busy Bee volunteers suggested they could build a school to occupy the children when they first arrived in Artemopolis, as they considered this a symbol of permanence in a place that they did not wish to remain in. At that point, the refusal to construct a more permanent situation was used as a tool to reclaim some control of their lives. She stresses that the refugees were "reasonable people" but that they resisted making anything that could remotely resemble permanence in the camp, considering it a temporary place of shelter in juxtaposition with their imagined permanent home either back in their homeland or onwards in some other European country. Perhaps counter-intuitively, we can see in this interaction how it is in fact the liminality of their situation, the temporariness of the camp dwelling that makes daily life in the camp bearable.

And yet, unlike Elodie, most refugees in Minoan and Dorian camp indeed spend a significant amount of time there awaiting the outcome of their asylum application, and their willingness to consider their current residences as a kind of home is often related to their capacity to express agency over reconfiguring their personal living spaces and improving their material living conditions. Refugee participants express that these homemaking practices involve a kind of power struggle (Jansen & Löfving, 2009) between themselves and the camp authorities. There are tensions that arise around issues of the scale of home as well as the boundaries between the 'private' sphere of refugees' containers and rooms and the wider 'public' sphere of the camp (although section 6.2.1 has highlighted that this is not clear-cut). Camp authorities' responses to refugees' engaging in homemaking practices signals an ambivalence about whether these boundaries are clearly demarcated.

In terms of small-scale changes to their current residences, such as cosmetic changes, the camp authorities seem uninterested in this, and refugee participants stress the importance of being able to engage in these kinds of decorating practices as a way to feel at home in a way in their rooms and containers. Indeed, Omar emphasises the importance of making his current residence cosy, regardless of the timescale that he will be occupying the space for: *"(I): Eh, if we are living for one night…we have to feel like our home, one night is one night"* (Interview with Omar's Family, L. 387-388). This is echoed by Nabila who has made great efforts to hang

paintings on the walls: *"(I): We know that that this is not our really home but now we are living in here we have to make it beautiful"* (Interview with Nabila and Masoud, L. 444-445). The use of the word "really" indicates that even though they seem to consider their 'real', or 'permanent' home to be elsewhere, they still engage in homemaking practices to make their current residence a place they can temporarily inhabit.

Moreover, Nora explains how many refugees in Dorian camp engage in homemaking practices that reaffirm the boundary between their private spheres of home inside their rooms, and the wider public sphere of the camp:

> *"(P): And I think, like [Dorian camp], you know, when you go into those buildings like, it's like there you see people try to make the buildings more homey. Like they have, like, these big curtains that they have over their doors. Like, they do like their privacy, especially the families with covered women. And so, they have these big, long cloths that covers, that replace the door. So, in the summer or even if it's like warm enough, they have the doors open, but it's like it's supposed like you have the curtain, but you can come in and out of it. So, there are attempts at making it, you know, more homey."*
> (Interview with Nora, L. 1157-1163)

Nora uses the word 'homey', again suggesting that it is not exactly a home, but home of a kind. The homemaking practice of refugees hanging cloths on their doorframes to replace the doors in the summertime suggests a small-scale cosmetic change to the physical space of their rooms, which enables them to feel more comfortable in the weather, but is still providing them with the privacy that they wish to feel inside the private sphere of their home. As Power (2016) explains, a key dimension of being able to feel at home is being able to engage in homemaking practices which express self-identity. In this case, refugees in Dorian camp hang the cloths to be able to comfortably uphold gender identity cultural norms of behaviour in their current residences; the women who live with their nuclear families are able to remove their headscarf inside their rooms, with the cloth offering them privacy from the corridor where other men walk (yet, recall this is not always the case, as discussed by Samiya in section 6.2.1).

However, there are occasions when refugees do engage in small-scale homemaking practices, but the authorities consider this to be a breach of the boundary between the private spheres of their homes and the public sphere of the camp, hence intervening to hinder the homemaking practices from occurring. For example, Zinah recounts her experience of trying to remove unnecessary beds from her room and store them in the corridor, which other camp-dwellers do not object to, and how Dorian camp authorities decide that this is unacceptable:

(I): And if I were change for example anything in my room and [Dandelion Aid] said 'no this is not for you'. So, I yes I don't feel this is my home [...] My heart now is like stone [...] Because of my sadness [...] I have six beds in my room and they are all, it's very small and so I decided to take out five of them outside, but they came and they come around they ask me for one month why I take them out?" (Interview with Zinah, L. 308-329)

Although having the appropriate number of beds in a room to match the number of people occupying the space seems like a bare minimum degree of homemaking practices to make her room fit for purpose, the camp authorities decide that she cannot occupy public space to improve her private space in this way. In fact, this is accompanied with a reiteration that her room does not belong to her, "this is not for you". Therefore, in Zinah's case, her attempt at engaging in homemaking practices to make her current residence feel like home results in her being categorically told that it is not her home, to which she has a strong affective response illustrated by her use of the metaphor that her heart is now "like stone". The denouement of this scenario is unclear from her response, but what is evident is that she feels bad about it and does not like the fact that the camp authorities were asking her about it for a month.

In contrast to Zinah's experience, it seems as though some refugees' experiences of engaging in more permanent modes of territoriality (Sack, 1986) are met with different responses from the authorities when refugees either decide to move into a different camp dwelling than the one they are allocated, or when they try to make more lasting changes to the physicality or materiality of the camp, such as by building extensions to or growing gardens outside their containers and rooms. For instance, Faiza explains how she was constantly fighting with her roommate and then eventually decided to occupy another empty room, despite the authorities' attempts to make her return to her allocated dwelling: *"(I): For four months, they fight, and sometimes she take out a bed [...] Bad words. Fighting [...] (I): When [Dandelion Aid] bring a bed for her daughter, she takes out it [...] (I): After that, [Faiza] broke the door and enter inside another room, so [Dandelion Aid] gave her"* (Interview with Faiza, L. 357-366). This account displays successful occupation of a physical space that Faiza wants to claim as her home and suggests that if refugees are forceful in expressing agency through territorialising practices, the camp authorities may bow to allow this.

Refugees also engage in other forms of territorialisation by adapting their homes in a way that is connected to the land. For example, during my participant observation, I noticed some people had built gardens connected to their containers with *"some tall plants, gardens planted, some with flowers, some with vegetables"* (FN 22/10/2019, L. 72) which Nora (L.

290-292) posits allows refugees to "*try and have a bit of a say into how their living situation is and this immediately gives them agency and um a kind of like power in a way to control their environment, one that's totally out of their control.*" Although I did not have the opportunity to speak to anyone with an elaborate garden, the growth of some of the plants suggests that they had been cultivated for a while, implying that some refugees demonstrate a degree of repeated willingness to invest in nurturing something in a literally rooted way within the camp, even though the land does not technically belong to them, symbolising to some extent that this homemaking practice acts as a resistance to the temporal liminality in the camps. And yet, these kinds of more permanent alterations to refugees' current residences seem to also be linked with the temporal dimension of refugees having more freedom at the start of Minoan camp, and is perhaps also linked to the level of informality in the camps. As Dakan (non-voice-recorded interview), who had newly arrived in Minoan camp just as I was finishing my fieldwork reported during his interview, he was not granted permission to plant a garden outside his container. Whether this is due to a change in management policy which was less rigid at the time of creation of the camps or a large influx of new refugees, implying a concern regarding limited space is unclear. However, it is clear that the refugees who have been living in the camp for a longer period of time, approximately between one to two years, seem to have more agency to engage in homemaking practices that extend beyond the immediately indoors area.

Other territorialising homemaking practices involve people building extensions to their rooms or containers, also indicating a degree of refugees making home in the camps. In Dorian camp that is made up of concrete buildings, these homemaking practices are constrained by whether they live in a room on the ground floor which has access to the outside or not. But some refugees who are able to build extensions do indeed refer to their rooms as their 'home'. For instance, Rafik and Geeti have built a kitchen and storage space at the back of their room, and Rafik (L. 316) exclaims, "*it's my home, I do as I like*". This is said in express reference to the fact that he has autonomy over when he can cook or clean because his family have their own private kitchen including a stove which means they do not need to contend with any other refugees in the communal kitchen other than for using the oven or feeding extra people. Geeti remarks: "*sometimes I need to put some bread in the oven, so I go there, and sometimes if I have guests here, I need to make a big pot of rice, I go there, but otherwise, I do all my work here*" (Interview with Rafik and Geeti, L. 304-305). For Rafik's family, being able to spend most of their time inside their room, and engage in daily activities such as cooking within the privacy of their nuclear family unit, means they are able to call their room their home.

The homemaking practices discussed so far all relate to improving the material living conditions of refugees' immediate family unit to feel a sense of home, and the related implications regarding negotiating these homemaking practices within the power relations involving camp authorities. However, there is one example of a group of refugees inside Dorian camp, who demonstrate a desire to expand their remit of home beyond their room, and beyond the scale of their families occupying that place, to include a group of friends feeling at home at a communal scale, by claiming territory from the wider space of the camp to build a shed-like, cabin-like structure:

> *"(I): And he said, when I go there, he says I feel really very good. It belongs to him now. In the camp, it belongs to him, it belongs to us, as if it was ours. When we go inside of it, we feel warm feelings [...] This belongs to us [...] We don't need keys to open, to close, nothing like that. We decide whether to come here and open or not [...] those that want to come to our home, we invite them over. Yes, if they prefer to be with us, we invite them to come."* (Interview with Sabir and Deeba, L. 83-105)

The use of the personal pronoun "ours" and "belongs to us" exemplify how the homemaking practice of building this structure has allowed these men to claim communal ownership over this space and call it 'their home'. These men therefore extend their sense of 'their home' beyond the rooms that were allocated to them, to create this new place, which at least geographically, would normally be considered as part of the public sphere of the camp, but which instead becomes a private place that belongs to a small group of refugees. This example of territorialisation is different to the way in which Elodie states that she feels like her container is 'her house' because it shifts making home beyond accepting the space that is assigned to you as home, to creating a kind of home from scratch inside the camp. The fact that they have built this structure themselves, rather than it being given to them through aid signals a feeling of pride that accompanies this homemaking practice as this has allowed the men to feel more at home through expressing strong agency and autonomy to reshape the camp. This reconfiguration of the public space into the private space in order to make home in displacement is a case of reterritorialisation (Brun, 2001), since the reshaping of public camp space involves physical and social dimensions that contribute to refugees' feeling at home within liminality. Sabir explains that the group of men are the physical and social gatekeepers to their place, only allowing people to enter and occupy the place with them under the condition that visitors acknowledge that this place belongs to them and that they control the rules of the social space within 'their home'. Sabir implies that this includes anyone who wants to 'be with them', but Soroush informally adds to the conversation afterwards that in practice, there are

linguistic and cultural dimensions governing space occupancy here, where people who tend to be invited to the place are people who share the cultural identities of the men who built it.

6.3.2 Negotiating host/guest relations at 'home'

Having established in 6.3.1 that refugees' willingness to consider their current residences as a kind of home is intricately linked to their agency to shape them, and that they seem to have more agency to do so in the social realm than in the physical realm, this section will now turn to a deeper discussion of the processes of socially constructing a sense of home within refugees' current residences through refugees' accounts of inviting fellow camp-dwellers to their residences, and through intercultural interactions between refugees and NGO volunteers around hospitality within refugees' containers and rooms. As briefly previously discussed in Chapter 4, Busy Bee volunteers are in a unique position to engage in social homemaking practices with refugees in Artemopolis and within Minoan and Dorian camps because they explicitly permit their volunteers to enter refugees' residences if they are invited inside, and if they want to enter, as opposed to other NGOs and camp authorities who have a blanket policy against this[15].

Throughout the interview process, when I asked refugee participants about what words they would use to describe their camp dwellings, they did not refer to it as 'a home', or 'their home' when the spatial dimensions of their current residences were emphasised. However, many refugee participants spontaneously used the word 'home' to refer to their current residences when they were not consciously discussing it in terms of its physical spatiality, but rather in terms of its social function. This would typically occur within the context of them sharing anecdotes about the social rituals of hospitality that they engage in with their friends in the camp, echoing Rottman and Nimer (2021) who argue that hospitality rituals allow refugees to assert and reclaim personal agency within displacement. For example, Arezo uses the word "home" to refer to her room in Dorian camp when she invited her neighbours over to her room for food and drink at important life events:

> "(I): She says firstly, all the people that arrive here for the first time, I invite them to our home, and we share with them whatever food we have…Then her husband's mother

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[15] According to Marco, this is likely due to safeguarding reasons because these organisations are too large to deal with individual cases and ethical concerns, and therefore opt to make a policy stating that their volunteers are not allowed to enter refugees' containers and rooms.

passed away, and we had a ceremony and invited people over. And then, [a friend's] wife had a baby and we invited them over." (Interview with Arezo and Ayan, L. 266-270)

These collective gatherings serve the symbolic function of creating a sense of community by celebrating important occasions together which would naturally occur in a 'home' and are likely mirroring the kinds of cultural activities she would engage in in another time-space, back in her homeland, as the friends she refers to share similar linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. Arezo's experience echoes the findings of Hart and colleagues' (2018) study with Syrian refugees in Jordan whose capacity to engage in hospitality rituals in displacement enabled the reassertion of cultural identities that resist liminal life in refugee camps and enables them to feel a sense of home. This is also emphasised by Yusef (L. 112-113) who says: *"P: Yes, some of our neighbours and countrymates, they are coming to our home, and maybe drinking tea, maybe lunch, so we are talking and sharing this experience […] If someone have a problem, we are discussing together how to find a solution to the problem"* and Arjin (L. 414-415) who says: *"(T): She like to other people come to her home, and drink coffee and talk, like this today, and she forget"*. Both participants highlight the importance of being able to share food and drink with their friends in their homes as being a relief mechanism from the challenges of living in the camps. And yet, recall as discussed in section 6.2.1, some refugees express that they do not feel at home in their current residences because they feel unable to engage in important social interactions around hospitality. Sabir and Deeba accentuate this in relation to the way that the official explicit rules of Dorian camp (see Domain Analysis 10, Appendix 25) impact on their ability to perform their social identity of being what they would consider a 'good host':

> *"(I): For me, I use the word 'home' sometimes, but I don't really feel like it's my home. Why? Because sometimes I invite guests, here, in my home, and I am obliged to throw them out after 10pm, and this breaks my heart. It's not my home in this regard. He says, if this was really my home, I would never let my guests leave in the night and so he doesn't really use the word."* (Interview with Sabir and Deeba, L. 123-127)

Sabir attaches the social practice of hosting his guests until they are ready to leave as crucial to the social identity of being a good host in his home.

Whilst many refugee participants stress the importance of engaging in hospitality rituals for making home, the symbolic meaning of what feeling at home demands of guests and hosts in interactions involving 'hospitality at home' varies amongst different linguistic and cultural groups. This makes (re)negotiating the appropriate ways to carry out these rituals within the

liminal residences of their camp dwellings a complex intercultural interaction. For example, consider the following extract of my conversation with a Farsi-speaking family:

"(R): Of course, of course. Yeah, yeah, yeah. Okay. So, would you ever invite people over to your home?

(I/F):

(P/F):

(I): Which people?

(R): Okay, which people would you invite? Very good question. Yes! Who would you invite over?

(I/F):

(P/F):

(I): No not. Just, I invite my teachers of my children. They came inside our cabin, but no.

(R): Friends?

(I/F):

(P/F):

(I): No I have just say hi and goodbye outside our cabin. No, inside no.

(R): Can I like… Why? Never, you wouldn't invite somebody over for tea? Or maybe food or… it doesn't happen?

(I/F): ((Looks a bit confused))

(P/F):

(R): No, no, no, it's fine. I'm just curious.

(I/F):

(P/F): Yes, invitation for tea, yes. Sometimes women get together for a cup of tea and I go too[16].

(I): Yes. I understand. I will explain for you. Because 'invite' it's mean come for food. THIS LINE WAS ADDED BY INTERPRETER. THE INTERVIEWEE DID NOT MAKE THIS COMMENT.

(R) Aahh. Okay. Interesting.

(I): When we say 'invite' it mean 'come for food'.

(R): What is the word 'invite' in Farsi?

(I/F): … 'dava'… Da'avat

(R): Okay. Aha.

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[16] Recall red words are added by professional interpreter in UK.

(I): For tea yes, of course my friends came for the tea.

(R): Okay.

(I): I also go for tea.

(R): But invite means food, big party, like it's a big thing it's not just come on in, let's talk?

(I/F):

(P/F):

(I): Yes of course.

(R): And that requires more effort, prepare food, it's more difficult so you don't do that very often?

(I/F):

(P/F):

(I): Yes.

(R): Okay. I understand now. What is the word for just come for tea? It's not invite, it's like...?

(I/F):

(P/F): ((laughter))

(I): Come inside our house for the tea.

(R): Okay. Interesting. In Afghanistan would you have people 'inviting' over for food often? Or not so much??

(I/F):

(P): Hmm, all the time.

(R): All the time.

(I): Yes.

(R): And here no, because why? Like why?

(I/F):

(P/F):

(I): Because of the culture, because of the culture in Afghanistan we invite our family because we know their husband, their sons and in here we don't know, just say hello.

(R): Okay so it's about feeling safe with who you know. Like you will invite people you know?

(I/F):

(P/F):

(I): Yes. Invite someone that we know.

Firstly, this exchange demonstrates how 'rich points' of intercultural communication (Agar, 1994) can be an opportunity for intercultural learning, as I was an outsider in this context and the discursive construction of home through our dialogue enabled me to learn that refugee participants attach different symbolic meanings to words in relation to hospitality. At the start of this exchange, I ask Salma if she would ever "invite" people into her home[17], thinking that this word simply referred to people being asked to come over and enter her container as opposed to remaining outside in the wider camp. Through Salma's clarification question asking, "which people?", she reveals that there are further layers of symbolic meaning attached to the word 'invite' in Farsi and within her linguistic cultural group. In fact, it carries such symbolic weight for Salma and the Farsi-speaking community in Minoan camp, that it was considered implicit shared cultural knowledge (Geertz, 1973). As the exchange continued, I got the sense through her non-verbal cues that perhaps she felt as though I was judging her for not being 'a good host' so I reiterated that I was simply asking, but at that point I was going to change the subject. But then Kala continued to speak so understood that Kala was being a cultural mediator (Hamaidia et al., 2018) for me as an outsider. Then as the exchange continues, it becomes apparent that Salma uses "come inside" and "house" to refer to people sharing a cup of tea – a less elaborate form of host/guest obligations than 'inviting someone over to their home' entails, meaning a full meal. Once I understand this, I am able to ask the follow-up questions about whether the way that she is able to engage in these hospitality rituals in her current residence is different to her experience of doing so in Afghanistan, and Salma responds that it is indeed different, raising cultural and security issues as being a relevant factor in deciding who to 'invite for food'. This suggests that the "task of producing locality" (Turton, 2005: 275) within her current residence in the camp is complex because gender norms from the time-space of her homeland are reproduced in the camp context, which means that she is unable to freely 'invite' anyone she, and crucially, her husband, doesn't know them well. And although Salma does not explicitly state this in our conversation, it is plausible to believe that if these gender norms are carried over from a previous time-space, it is likely that the symbolic connotations of what it means to 'invite' someone over who shares similar ethnic and linguistic cultural group memberships, will also be guiding her choices about whether she is able to

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[17] This interview was one of the first ones I conducted, and I had not managed to avoid using the word 'home' before the participant raised it in the conversation. However, although I somewhat 'planted' this word in this dialogue, it led to a very rich discussion which gave me insight to how Salma believes the Farsi-speaking refugee community in Minoan camp behaves in relation to rituals of hospitality.

'invite' people over and to fulfil her expected 'host' duties (see Domain Analysis 9, Appendix 24). Salma does state that she invites her children's teachers over though, indicating that Busy Bee volunteers are ascribed the social identity of 'teacher' which carries perhaps three related implications: that they are familiar and therefore they can be invited over for a meal; that Busy Bee volunteers, who do not have the same cultural expectations of her as a host and therefore the stakes are lower than people from her own community; or that Busy Bee volunteers' social status in the camp as people who help improve their children's lives means that she is willing to engage in the full 'inviting' ritual with these NGO volunteers more regularly.

From an NGO volunteer perspective, this feeling of being a guest within refugees' homes is felt and affirmed by many Busy Bee volunteers. For example, Fay shares her experiences of her students hosting her:

> *"the 'sit', the 'your your time to have the tea', 'have this' insisting, insisting, and very much pride in 'you're now in my space' and you know 'slapping the kids to get up and get you something' [...] you know they maintained their cultural identity in terms of their generosity and kind of graciousness [...]the generosity the no end of food [...] I think there was pride in having not just teacher, and I don't think it was that kind of 'authority figure teacher', I think it was pride in having a visitor and a visitor probably but they had respect for"* (Interview with Fay L. 2509-2525)

Fay suggests that refugees enjoy entertaining Busy Bee volunteers because they have respect for them (possibly implicitly contrasting them with other kinds of visitors – perhaps authorities) and Fay illustrates the obligations of not only the host who invited her over, but also the host's entire family to appropriately entertain their guest. These are intricately linked to entertaining guests in "their space", echoing the notion that engaging in hospitality rituals enables a continuation of cultural identities to be reasserted in the camp context and a reterritorialisation (Brun, 2001) to occur where refugees reclaim ownership over their residences in the camp and make home through these social interactions. Fay also points to the 'endless generosity' that her hosts offer her, which as well as being very kind, given the context also suggests that there may perhaps be financial repercussions to the family as a result of such elaborate hosting. Considered together with Salma's account, this implies that engaging in hospitality rituals involves complex obligations on behalf of the host and therefore demands certain responsibilities from the guest as a response.

Many Busy Bee volunteers express that they are willing to fulfil the social role of being a 'good guest' (see Domain Analysis 8, Appendix 23), and that these intercultural interactions even lead to a personal growth opportunity for them. For example, Niamh recounts her

experience of being invited to one of her students' rooms for dinner, where they engage in the hospitality rituals that indicate they are making home:

> *"P: So, on… Thursday last week [a refugee] asked me that I go home on a later bus, like stay for a long time because they will prepare a really nice meal… And you know he made this big point that it was going to be a really nice meal and I was so excited because they make me such amazing food and then I got there and it was stomach lining stuffed with rice and sheep skull that we cracked open and ate the brain… So, as an American, ((makes a funny face)) but the funniest part was that I came into the door and they showed it to me and said, 'Do you like this?' and I was like, 'Yeah sure, I've never tried it before'. I told them I've never had it before so I don't know if I like it but I'm excited to try it, but they made a huge joke about it, 'Teacher, we spoke to our friends in Germany and they told us Americans don't like this and we told them you like all food'.*
>
> *(R): Oh okay. Did you eat it?*
>
> *(P): Yeah, I did. Because a part of it, because I've travelled so extensively like I always try food, I do try to not eat a lot of meat for environmental reasons but when people serve me meat like I've always said that half of the reason why I travel is to try different food and like a huge part is like okay I can't travel to Syria, but I can eat Syrian food and kind of experience Syrian culture through food and tea and spending time with each other in people's homes, so yeah I told them I was excited to try it. It was fine. There were a few times when I thought about what I was eating and it grossed me out a little bit but the taste was not that bad. We cracked the skull open and it was a brain and there were bones in the brain and they told me how to eat it properly 'cause on my first bite I got brain and skull. The brain wasn't my favourite…but I told them, 'It's okay but I like the stomach lining more' so I ate more of that, it wasn't bad though.*
> (Interview with Niamh, L. 1149-1171)

The students choose to make a Syrian delicacy that they have prepared especially for her, as it is an occasion for them to share and feel pride in a part of their national and ethnic identities with her that make them feel at home. This occasion also means that they have a reason to reach out and connect with their friends who live abroad, to share the fact that they have a special guest who would be trying some of their ethnic food. This points to place-making in liminality (Sampson and Gifford, 2010), as the students reassert cultural identities that stem from the past, but that are reconfigured in the present, in their current residences, where they share this meal with a cultural outsider, and share this moment with other people beyond the space of the camp. Here we also see what Vandevoordt (2017) describes as a subversion of typical power dynamics through hospitality as the refugees who are typically in a position of inferiority and are the ones extending themselves to learn new things within the English language classroom with Niamh as their teacher, are now the ones who are the leaders in this interaction, encouraging Niamh to try new food, which she feels is stretching her to the very limit of her comfort zone. She also claims the identity of being 'an American' and through a

consideration of her non-verbal communication, it is implicit that she is embarrassed by the cultural stereotype of Americans not being willing to try unfamiliar dishes; and yet, by her embracing her role as a guest with an open mind, and even finding that she enjoyed many parts of the meal (despite some reservations), she enacts a kind of resistance to the cultural stereotype, which has a knock-on effect of her students speaking to their friends in Germany to share that they know 'an American' who is willing to try new food, again offering a counternarrative to this cultural stereotype.

Moreover, Isla's account of her intercultural interactions with refugees inviting her into their residences further demonstrates that NGO volunteers' willingness to perform the role of being a 'good guest' and accept refugees' assertions of being 'good hosts' can also lead to NGO volunteers (re)negotiating their individual identities and behaviours:

> *"(P): [...] most of the time it would be families and they would invite me in and err, and yes so I would be invited in. Yes so I would families would invite me in I would come in I would have cup of tea sometimes they would give me food or sweets it was always very nice and I learnt to be very not English about it and very comfortable.*
>
> *(R): What does that mean not English?*
>
> *(P): Not English. I just would relax a lot more because the difference is I knew that like if you go into an English person's home last minute and they offer you something they don't necessarily mean that they want you to have it. The homes in [Minoan camp] if they invite me in they really want me to be eating this food that they prepared only for me. Err like sometimes they would prepare me an entire meal and it's just for me and they would sit and watch me eat it. Like okay got to eat all of this now and I've got two other houses that might invite me in.* (Interview with Isla, L. 84-97)

Isla's multiple intercultural encounters within refugees' current residences, where she has had to (re)negotiate her individual identities, as well as social roles accompanying what it means to be a guest inviting her to their homes for tea have led her to question whether her identity as an 'English' person is at odds with the kind of behaviour that is expected of her as a guest in this situated context, which is different than her other previous experiences of being 'a guest' in England. She assesses that being a guest in these contexts means that she needs to accept that the host "truly" wants her to share the drink and the company with her, even though she would attach a different cultural meaning to the fact that this was a last-minute invitation. This external intercultural encounter of the self with other (Jenkins, 2008) leads to a reconstruction of her self-identity as someone who can be 'an English person' and who is also 'appropriately relaxed' without imposing her own cultural values onto what she believes the interaction signifies. Isla further recognises and performs the responsibilities that are accompanied with

being a guest, ensuring that she eats all the food that is sometimes made especially for her, regardless of how hungry she is, or how many other commitments she has elsewhere. From these accounts, it is evident that in Minoan and Dorian camps, the Busy Bee volunteers who work there are often willing to place themselves in a position of less power when performing the social identity of being 'a guest' in refugees' homes, which allows a subversion of the power dynamics that govern their interactions within the space of the camp and affirm refugees' homemaking practices within liminality.

Furthermore, Nora raises a temporal dimension to these homemaking practices around hospitality being particularly noteworthy and occurring more freely at the beginning of Minoan camp, which Nora attributes to the fact that there was less formal regulation at the time. She recounts the joy that both guest and host felt when refugees were able to share a slice of their cultural practices with her:

> "*There's suddenly there like a little kid who runs over to you and is like, 'Teacher, Teacher, Teacher…come, come, come Teacher come'. They drag you to the parents in and the moms there just cook this huge feast and they are like, 'Come eat. Please eat, you were teaching all day'. So you couldn't avoid food. It was being shoved down your throat…that was amazing, you know. It was really a way for people to be like, 'Look, if you were at our house, if you were in our country, if you were in our, you know, if you came to visit us, this is how we would, this is the way we would welcome you. And yeah, sure, here we're, you know, cooking outside on a fire between rocks but like we want you to eat'. You know and God, I ate well! And in those moments, you also get to like, you know, sometimes you don't even know when anyone speaks English or I don't speak… Sometimes it'll be there's no way to communicate. But…they want, they'll do their best to…have some kind of interaction that they're showing you photos from back home, the kids are bringing out all their toys or they want to, I don't know, play with you or they call a family member who speaks English that's living in Germany or living in Syria or living in Afghanistan and you have to talk with them, you know. Or they tried to teach you stuff, but it's always like the interactions are always so rich. It was never like they never wanted you to leave. It was never like, 'Okay, come have a tea and then like, when you gonna go?' It's always like, 'No, don't go, here have another tea,' oh but the dinner's just been pulled out and you're like, 'No, like it's ten. I have to go sleep', 'Oh but sleep here'. You know, like the hospitality was just… And I think this was something that, like, really made me this is where the love for all of this comes from.*" (Interview with Nora, L. 2040-2059)

The enumeration of increasing offerings of drink, then food and then overnight accommodation, as well as their resourcefulness in finding ways to cook, throughout Nora's visit to a refugee's personal living space highlights how receiving Nora as a guest in their container conjures a feeling of home for the refugees. Her anecdote attests to the processes of reterritorialisation occurring, but also introduces the idea of this being such an important

dimension for refugees' homemaking practices in the early stages of their arrival in Greece since interactions around hospitality can transcend linguistic barriers. Nora is acutely aware of her privilege in the camp, and is cautious not to impose herself as a guest. However, in this case, the refugees insist on her accepting the role of guest and remaining in their personal living space as this interaction with her is highly valued – perhaps because it enables them to feel a sense of normalcy, as they would in their own homes, or perhaps because they may sense an increase in their social capital from entertaining a 'high-status guest'. And Nora accepts this role as a guest, performing it well by eating everything she is given. These accounts of Busy Bee volunteers accepting the hospitality on offer and performing their role as guests appropriately, are in contrast with Rozakou's (2012) findings of NGO volunteers ultimately falling short of accepting the role of 'guests' to their refugee 'hosts' who were entertaining them in their informal homes on the streets of Greece. We see many occasions where Busy Bee volunteers ardently wish to perform the role of being a guest. And yet, while Nora's account firmly attests to the fact that these refugees seem to benefit from this ritual of hospitality, there remains a question of whether these homemaking practices always have this effect of making refugees feel at home, or if it is in fact a pre-established cultural norm of refugees demanding of them that they invite people into their personal living spaces which ultimately detracts from a feeling of home in the sense of being secure enough that they will have enough food throughout the month to invite guests and eat appropriately. For instance, Salma also declares: "*(I): And also because of situation, because the government give us not enough money to invite our friends to give a party*" (Interview with Salma, L. 346-350). Hence, we can question whether sometimes, as is seen in the case of Minoan camp, in the absence of a formal regulating authority about visitors and hospitality, refugees' agency may be contested, but not by authorities in the camp, but rather by their own cultural norms.

This tension of Busy Bee volunteers potentially imposing themselves as guests and undermining refugees' autonomy to set the parameters for these interactions, which is also linked to autonomy over determining who enters the private sphere of their home, is demonstrated by an occasion detailed in my field notes from the start of my fieldwork period, when I accompanied an experienced Busy Bee volunteer to Minoan camp to get a haircut, but that turned into a dinner event:

> *"We arrive at the container and Ben knocks on the door. Rahil's mom, Kadijah, answers the door and Ben takes the lead in this interaction. He immediately asks, "Can we come in?" before even waiting for the woman to invite him in. Before she has a chance to reply, Ben also asks if her husband is home. Kadijah answers to say that he*

is home and then she invites us in, "Come in, come in" and gestures to huddle us inside. Ben takes off his shoes outside the container before he enters. I follow suit. As we enter the container, I immediately smell the wafting aromas of dinner coming from the kitchen area. Rahil's dad, Hamal, now comes out from another room and greets us, and Rahil appears too and he is in YE so he recognises us. They make space for us to sit on the bed that they have repurposed to serve as a sofa in the living room, with a few cushions on it. Hamal is looking at Ben, almost waiting to find out what this visit is about. Ben says, "Can I get a haircut" but says it in a tone that implies he wants this to happen right now. Meanwhile, I feel so uncomfortable because we have just turned up at this container unannounced and Ben seems to have no understanding of the fact that he is coming across as forceful and imposing himself. Hamal does not exactly understand Ben's question at first, but then after Ben signals with his hands, miming out cutting his hair with his fingers, he understands that this means a haircut, and so Hamal asks, "When?". This to me seemed obvious that he meant, 'not now', since he was asking 'when?', but Ben seems to be oblivious to this subtlety. Ben replies, "Yeah, I was hoping now". Hamal looks down and puts his hand on his chest saying, "Tomorrow, now we eat"." (FN 28/10/2019, L. 36-56)

The ambiguity of whether this occasion is an intrusion on our part into family's private sphere begins with the interaction at the door; although Ben technically asked if we could enter, his tone of voice struck me as making his question sound rhetorical, and his action of quickly asking a follow-up question to Kadijah about whether her husband was home before waiting for her to actually reply, suggests that he had the expectation that he should be allowed in. Nevertheless, Kadijah does invite us in, expressing some agency in controlling the boundaries of the threshold into her home. When Hamal appears, it becomes clear that this was not a planned visit, and that it is likely that Ben just assumed that he could turn up at a refugee's container, their personal sphere of home, and be able to receive a service, a haircut, that in any other context, would be an activity that occurs in a public sphere, at a place of work. However, this is complicated in this context because telephone network companies in Artemopolis charge expensive rates that refugees often cannot afford on their limited state allowance, and therefore, it was unclear to me at the time whether Ben would even have had the option to communicate with Hamal prior to our showing up at his doorstep to ask for a haircut, or whether this is just the primary way for NGO volunteers to communicate with refugees in this context. Eventually, my experiences of being a Busy Bee Greek language teacher taught me that the way to speak to children's parents about their child in class was to just knock on their door, often with no prior warning. However, within Ben's actions, and mine as I went along with it, there is an implicit categorisation of refugees' identities as people with low mobility in this context, and thus who can usually be found in their containers, and perhaps attached to this a notion that if they are home, they ought to invite visitors in. Reflecting on my extended field notes, I wonder

whether I was assuming that Hamal felt intruded on, especially as we had arrived at dinner time, or whether this was my own cultural biases informing the way that I interpreted Ben's actions and Hamal and Kadijah's reactions to us appearing. My interpretation of Ben misreading Hamal and Kadijah's non-verbal cues that we were perhaps imposing into their private sphere at dinner time perhaps stems from my own expectations about how Ben, as a British person, would have never behaved in this way towards someone in the United Kingdom (as plans are usually contracted in advance, see Isla above). Perhaps I was also failing to understanding that there was a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) of 'Minoan camp culture' that was being enacted in this context, which originates from the inception of Minoan camp (see Nora above) where refugees invite NGO volunteers into their homes for food and drink if they wish to and not out of obligation, which is a genuine expression of agency in this context. Indeed, Hamal does firmly invite us to stay for dinner, signalling that he would like us to be his guests. And yet, the way that Hamal "puts his hands on his chest" when he denies Ben's request for a haircut at that precise moment, suggests that there is a degree of reticence on his part, or perhaps a fear of disappointing us. Once we sit down to eat, it soon became clear that there were not enough plates for everyone to eat simultaneously so we were going to eat first, with the men, and then the women and children would eat afterwards. When we finished our meal however, and before Kadijah could prepare the tea, it became apparent that we needed to abruptly end the visit:

> *"Ben realises that his phone keeps ringing. As soon as he looks at his phone, he becomes visibly anxious, biting his lip. I ask him what is wrong and he says that he forgot that Marco had told him he needs the car back to go collect a new volunteer from the airport. Ben swiftly realises that we are going to be late and Marco is going to be really mad at him, so now he starts moving to signal that we need to leave right away. Kadijah's face seems contorted now and she looks confused about why we are moving. This feels monumentally disrespectful now as Kadijah was preparing the tea and we would be leaving before drinking it, which feels like a denial of their hospitality; leaving half-way, after eating their food but not finishing the meal with tea, as they wish to offer it, feels even worse than having declined the invitation to stay for food altogether. Plus, what if this was using up their tea rations/supplies?! I feel awful but I have to take Ben's lead because he is my ride home. Ben gets up and I follow. He shakes Hamal's hand, and I hug Kadijah. We ask how to say, "Thank you" in Kurmanji. He replies, "Spass", and we repeat it back to them. They smile and wave us off. As we are leaving the camp, I am feeling mixed feelings; honoured that I have been invited to share a wonderful meal and get to know my student's family a bit more, but also embarrassed and ashamed that we have left early and cut their hospitality short – the rushed exit felt disrespectful. Meanwhile, Ben has not noticed this at all, and states,*

"Clearly it's a massive privilege for them to have us over there… We do so much for them and they just want to give back". I feel sick." (FN 28/10/2019, L. 101-122)

Given the fact that we were unexpected guests, in my mind, perhaps stemming from my own cultural biases as a Greek person with strong notions of what the appropriate ways to behave as a guest are, I found it inappropriate for us to leave so abruptly. The stages of the meal, including drinking tea at the end, and then remaining for further conversation beyond the meal felt like an important part of the ritual process of them entertaining us as hosts/us receiving their hospitality as guests, as something verging on sacred, which was corrupted into something profane by us leaving early, signalling disrespect. This anecdote implies that there are occasions when NGO volunteers prioritise their professional identities as Busy Bee volunteers over their responsibilities to the social identity of guests, that refugees invite them to occupy. With the abrupt rupture in the flow of time within this intercultural interaction, Ben, and I by virtue of not resisting, implicitly recategorised these refugees as immobile and back to a state of liminality, since our life was governed by external temporal markers of the world demanding us to be somewhere else, whereas our hosts constantly experience the lack of external time markers (see Domain Analysis 6, Appendix 20).

6.4 Concluding Discussion

Constructing 'homeness' for refugee participants dwelling in Minoan and Dorian camps is multi-dimensional, multi-scalar and temporally complex, intricately connected to process of identification and power relations. In relation to the physical, material and geographic dimensions of their current residences, most refugees experience this as 'not home', as an insecure, temporary, threatening structure in an isolated location away from the local Greek populations, to which they have a negative affective response, as it makes them feel primarily like prisoners (much like the space of the wider camp explored in Chapter 5). Living in these current residences have an overall negative effect on their identities, reinforcing their identities as refugees. However, there is a gendered dimension to the exception of some women who regard it as a shelter from the danger of their previous life before arriving in Greece, or as a shelter protecting their family from the wider threatening space of the camp.

Many refugees also raise the issue of not being able to feel at home because the boundaries between the private space of their homes and the wider space of the camp is often blurred – either because the outside of the public camp seeps into the inside of their homes, or

the activities that they would consider to belong to the private realm of their home burgeon out into the wider space of the camp – both of which they experience as beyond their agency to control or change. This is also reinforced by camp authorities hindering refugees from engaging in homemaking practices that could improve their material living conditions, which would help offer them a sense of home, which reasserts the fact that the camp authorities must usually be contended with when trying to 'make a home', and suggests a correlation between the capacity to make home and the willingness to call a container or a room 'a home'.

All of this serves as a reminder that their homes are not located in the camps, and that home is located either in the remembered past in their homelands or in the imagined future, with a return to their homeland, or a progression to another country, other than Greece. The notion of an ideal home, which would be safe, a permanent structure, private, mostly urban, and a place of pride within which to engage in important social practices, is constructed as somewhere other than in the 'here and now' of their current residences within the camps.

However, in terms of the social dimension, this is more complex and a site of potential for regarding their current residences as a kind of home, and as a way to 'make home' within liminality. Engaging in cosmetic homemaking practices, such as decorating, and interpersonal homemaking practices, such as engaging in hospitality rituals with friends and neighbours, enables refugees to 'make home'; to emplace themselves within their new locality and new social networks (Hammond, 2004), constructing a dynamic sense of home within displacement. Crucially though, these homemaking practices should only create a 'sense of home', not 'a home', as refugee participants engage in homemaking practices, or daily domestic activities that enable them to create a temporarily inhabitable place, but one which does not become too 'home-like' or permanent, as this would signal a permanent life of liminality, something which was even more strongly resisted at the inception of Minoan camp as any homemaking practices that might signal stability was considered a sign of cementing liminality by refugees. In fact, the refugee participants who engage in more permanent forms of territorialisation (Sack, 1986), such as building home extension structures or growing gardens, tend to be people who have been camp-dwellers for a significant period of time (between one to three years). Indeed, recognising the liminality of their current residences and not making it too 'home-like' operates as a force propelling them forward towards the hope of a better future home. Furthermore, issues of power and agency to alter their material living conditions and the lack of financial resources to engage in hospitality rituals as they would normally socialise 'at home' means refugees are also limited in the ways they are able to perform 'being at home' within liminality.

Homemaking practices of engaging in hospitality rituals with NGO volunteers means that refugees can construct a sense of home 'in the here and now', whilst also being strongly connected to the future, in a way that offers an acceptable form of constructing homeness in liminality. By occupying the powerful social role of being hosts, refugees welcome Busy Bee volunteers into their homes as guests, and when both parties accept and perform their duties and responsibilities of their roles, the power dynamics of the wider space of the camp are subverted (Vandevoordt, 2017). Although there are occasions where Busy Bee volunteers may not appropriately perform their responsibilities as guests, overall, these occasions of refugees entertaining Busy Bee volunteers, who are predominantly from other European countries, offers refugees an opportunity to connect to the time-spaces beyond the camp, and to reterritorialise (Brun, 2001) their current residences by occupying their current location and time-space through social networks and giving and receiving practices, in a way that allows them to reassert individual and collective cultural identities of the past in the shared presence of 'others', Busy Bee volunteers, who accept refugees as the powerful actors in these dynamics and affirm their previous identities in the present. This subversion of the typical power dynamics also offers an opportunity for intercultural learning where refugees and NGO volunteers can both learn about each other's cultural traditions, practices and values in a way that is different than in the space of the wider camp.

Therefore, 'home' for refugee participants is a process of creating 'homeness', not an object of 'a home'. This involves many tensions, between needing to regard their containers and rooms as a 'home' or refer to them as their 'homes' in ordinary language in conversation with others (pointing to the pragmatic use of the word?) as a way to withstand their daily lives in the camp, by making a liminal kind of home within the camp, but they do not fully accept it as their home in the symbolic meaning of the word. This points to a kind of home between belonging and not belonging. Considering constructing a sense of home as a process of creating 'place-belonging' (Antonsich, 2010), this is problematic in one regard for refugee participants, because they overall do not want to feel as though they 'belong' to the space of the camp, or to their current temporary residences, however, in another regard, they do create a homeness by engaging in processes of reterritorialisation (Brun, 2001) that does allow the reconfiguration of a sense of home within their current liminality. At the intersection of engaging in intercultural communication and (re)negotiating individual and collective identities around roles of hospitality (being a guest/host dynamics) we see a capacity to create pockets of home, to create a home interculturally.

Chapter 7: Constructing Belonging in Liminality

7.1 Introduction

Having explored the ways in which refugees construct a sense of belonging in terms of feeling 'at home' or 'place-belongingness', this chapter will now turn to an in-depth discussion of how refugee participants construct and negotiate a sense of belonging, within the liminality of displacement. Guided by the theoretical understanding of "belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion ∕ exclusion (politics of belonging)", which is intricately related to "[b]oundary discourses and practices that separate 'us' from 'them'" (Antonsich, 2010: 645; 649), this chapter will draw on Jenkins' (2008: 111) understanding of social identity as relational and co-constituted through an interplay between group membership and categorisation, to understand the processes of identification of 'refugee' as indicative of social inclusion or exclusion in various contexts. Understanding these as constructed through discourse, this chapter will pay particular attention to occasions of intercultural interactions throughout, using a mediated discourse approach to intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001) to understand who claims, ascribes or resists social identification at various moments, and how this has an impact on feeling a sense of belonging.

Section 7.2 will explore how the identity of being a 'refugee' is socially constructed, portraying it as produced as a largely negative stereotype in section 7.2.1, whilst resisted and counterbalanced by other identities, in section 7.2.2, within and through moments of intercultural interactions between refugees and other refugees, NGO volunteers, locals and camp authorities, occurring outside and inside Minoan and Dorian camps. Section 7.3 will then turn to a deeper focus of how language(s), both as languages that are spoken (e.g., Arabic, English, Greek etc.) or not spoken, as well as language as discourse(s) produced, serve as a symbol of socio-spatial exclusion in section 7.3.1, and a symbol of socio-spatial inclusion in section 7.3.2. This chapter will end with a concluding discussion in section 7.4.

7.2 The making and unmaking of 'refugee'

Recalling that identity construction involves a dialectical relationship between 'self' and 'other' (Ricoeur, 1993; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) and that social identity is constituted through a "dialectic of collective identification, in the interplay of group identification and categorisation" (Jenkins, 2008: 111) occurring within power struggles, this section will explore the processes of identification involved in being a 'refugee'. It will also draw on a mediated discourse approach to intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001) and on the 'grammar of culture' (Holliday, 2013) in order to interrogate processes of intercultural interactions to understand how the identity of being a 'refugee' is socially constructed as a largely negative identity by refugees, NGO volunteers, and camp authorities and locals in section 7.2.1, which has implications about refugees' capacity to feel a sense of belonging within Greece and amongst other cultural groups. Section 7.2.2 will explore how the negative stereotypes of being a 'refugee' can be resisted and the possibilities for cultivating a sense of local belonging for refugees within social spaces of Busy Bee activities which can offer the possibility of occupying other more rewarding social identities for refugees.

7.2.1 Collectivities of belonging, non-belonging and contested belonging

The identity of being a 'refugee' is both a source of belonging and non-belonging for refugee participants, as they share some common experiences with each other so as to form a sense of group membership, which offers a sense of belonging, but at the same time, this also excludes them from belonging to the group of 'locals' (amongst other groups of 'non-refugees'). The identity of being a 'refugee' as a collective identification is constructed by refugee participants, through a dialectical process between group identification and categorisation (Jenkins, 2008: 111), through which refugee participants attach multiple symbolic meanings to the identity of being a 'refugee' (see Domain Analysis 12, Appendix 27; and Taxonomy Chart 4, Appendix 28). These pertain to both common experiences shared by members – involving the absence of significant aspects of life and the presence of various shared difficulties caused by forced migration – as well as differences between refugee participants and locals. These all symbolise their collective identity of being 'refugees', which in a sense offers a degree of localised belonging with other group members, but also denies refugee participants localised belonging with the Greek host population.

To begin with, Ghalib (L. 520) states that, "*We, refugees, mean without country, without home, without future.*" His enumeration of the symbolic connotations of 'refugee' pertain to scales of 'politics of belonging' and 'place-belongingness' (Antonsich, 2010), referring both to scales of national belonging with an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991) implied through the use of the word 'country', and to scales of more intimate belonging through the word 'home', which he links the identity of being a 'refugee' to the absence of these. He further raises the question of temporality, symbolically constructing a 'refugee' as someone who does not have a future, which could either be regarded as living within liminality, or the belief that there is not much hope for a good future. Ghalib uses the pronoun "we" to identify himself as part of this group of people who can be characterised as not having these things. This is echoed by Rafik (L. 108) who says, "*Refugee means a foreigner, that doesn't belong here*". Rafik constructs the socio-spatial boundaries of group membership of political belonging (Crowley, 1999) around people who are 'locals' as opposed to 'foreigners', asserting that 'refugees' are not part of this group and therefore that he cannot lay claim to belonging in Greece. Furthermore, Yasna explains how being a 'refugee' for her is characterised by personal and collective degradation: *"(P): ((Speaks in Arabic)) a refugee word means disappointment in everything. A refugee means you had nothing you only can eat, drink and sleep and if you got sick we can treat you that's all. You have no role in the community. The refugee in Greece can't show his skills and has no right as a human being.*[18]" (Interview with Yasna, L. 1183-1186) For her, group membership to being a 'refugee' in Greece is reminiscent of Agamben's (1998) 'bare life', only existing for mere survival, rather than an active civic member of a community.

Moreover, being a 'refugee' entails common experiences of hardship which group members can share in, such as the common issue of vulnerability: "*Refugees are vulnerable peoples. They need help, they need care*" (Interview with Yusef, L. 459). Ali explains: *"(I): Yeah, because I feel belong. Because we have the same case, and the same problems*" (Interview with Ali, L. 438). This is particularly true of more vulnerable refugees. Refugee women tend to feel a deep sense of belonging amongst the group of refugee mothers who have all struggled with raising their children while facing displacement: "*(I): Yes I know they have the same situation, the same feelings what I have, especially the mothers here*" (Interview with Zinah, L. 514-525). Elderly refugees also bond together for protection: *"(I): We are refugee here. That's better that, we together. Maybe some time I be sick, maybe other be sick, we can help together*" (Interview with Zahiya and Badia, L. 196-197). These accounts also indicate

[18] Words are translated by a professional interpreter in the UK.

that even within group identification, there can be smaller scale group memberships formed within larger groups.

The process of collective identification of being a 'refugee' involves the categorisation of 'others' as 'non-refugees', and both refugee participants and NGO volunteers speak to this experience of refugees creating 'out-groups' of camp authorities, Europe, and the local population – all examples of collective internal identification occurring through an external collective categorisation (Jenkins, 2008: 111). Ibrar states that the common enemy for refugees in Dorian camp are the camp authorities, against whom 'refugee' group members fight for better living conditions, *"(I):...we don't fight with others, we always fight with [Dandelion Aid]"* (Interview with Ibrar, L. 60). Fay reflects that the 'other' is Europe with its bordering practices which make it difficult for refugees to seek asylum: "*yeah, I think from the refugees that I met there's definitely a sense of banding together as in we're in the situation against this immovable block against this bureaucracy, this Europe situation […] I think there would be a sense of 'we're all struggling against this this terrible immovable force of Europe not letting us in'"* (Interview with Fay, L. 2994-3004). But most refugees share that they experience being a 'refugee' most starkly in comparison with the Greek locals (see Domain Analysis 13, Appendix 29). Many refugee participants highlight that they feel different to the locals, "*refugee word you don't feel you are the same, in the same case with another people*" (Interview with Bilal, L. 438-443), as well as feeling inferior to the locals, due to lack of similar financial resources:*"(I): We like Greece too much but we don't we don't feel like we belong to the Greece because we feel we are less and less if you compare us to people Greek… Even our clothes we take them from garbage. We couldn't buy clothes"*. The act of some refugees needing to get their basic human need for clothing met by drawing on others' waste is the physical representation of the discursive difference that she draws between the identity of being a 'refugee' as opposed to a 'non-refugee'. For Sadia this is symbolically associated with 'garbage', constructed in opposition to the locals who produce the garbage, echoing some refugee participants' symbolic construction of their 'home' within the refugee camps (see Chapter 6), and thus rendering the identity of being a 'refugee' as someone who is inferior to local host populations, and who cannot belong to the group of host populations, regardless of how they might long to. Not only do they take their clothes from the garbage, but they also collect garbage for recycling to earn a small amount of extra money:

> *"(I): Here, we are with friends, we don't feel bad. But when you go into town, and you see everyone living very easily in the bars, or in other places, smiling, while we are*

picking up bottles in… miserable work. It can be disgusting for us. We have no choice and we are obligated to do it. Why? Because we don't have any work, and it can break our personality." (Interview with Sharif, L. 324-329)

Sharif highlights that group membership to being a 'refugee' means collecting garbage, indicating that for him, 'refugees' are lesser than the 'out-group' of locals who have access to other work. This group membership is also socio-spatially produced by Sharif, as he states that he feels comfortable within the space of Dorian refugee camp, where he can be amongst his co-members of the collectivity of 'refugees', whilst in Artemopolis, he feels like an outsider who is excluded, as if he is an 'illegitimate' occupant of space (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006) in the city. Furthermore, Sharif's statement about how not having access to work and having to carry out different social activities than locals to make ends meet can "break our personality", stresses the multi-scalar and mutually co-constitutive process of identity formation. Sharif creates a collectivity of 'refugees' who share common experiences, but within this, there also appears to be a sub-group of male refugees, which he is a part of, who find not having access to work particularly demeaning (see Domain Analysis 13, Appendix 29), and these social identifications have an effect on Sharif's sense of self.

Refugee participants also raise the fact that certain actors have more power in producing the collective identity of being a 'refugee' than others, which leads to a reification of the social identity of being a 'refugee'. Amir expresses how his experience of belonging to a group of 'homogenous refugees', with negative stereotypical symbolic connotations attributed to the identity of these 'homogenous refugees', in fact occurs through a reconstruction of his sense of self as a result of how others' perceive him. Consider the following exchange with Amir:

"(R): Yeah, I see. So you use the word 'community'... What does this word mean to you? Would you say you feel part of a community in camp?

(P): Yeah.

(R): Yeah, and who is part of this community? What does this mean for you?

(P): Because we are living at the same area, and we have the same situation. And also, the circumstances make us to be more close. So all these reasons, all these things, make us to feel like one of this community, part of this community.

(R): And who is in this community? Like Magnolia camp community? Arabic-speaking community? I don't know, 'B container' community? Do you see any kind of different communities around? What do you think you're part of?

(P): For me?

(R): Yeah.

(P): For me, in general, I see we are one community. Why I say this? Because the other people they look at us like 'refugee'. They don't see 'B community' or like that. They look at us like the same. So for us, it must to make us, to see like one community.

(R): What does the word 'refugee' mean to you?

(P): It's someone different... Someone different. Someone different… Also someone has bad things. And someone he doesn't respect the law, because he come here illegally also. And someone she just come here to destroy everything good. And someone he just come here to take the opportunity from someone for jobs, everything. This is the definition of 'refugee' for me.

(R): Yeah I understand… I'm sorry… And where does all this come from? Why do you have this perception of the word?

(P): I discover this from the other people, how they treat us, and how they thinking about us.

(R): Did you feel like this before coming to Europe? Before you came here, what did it mean?

(P): Before, 'refugee' for me, it's like some people they forced to go out from their country by war or by some earthquake or something like this. This was when I was in my country, my definition for 'refugee'. But when I become refugee, so I realised this.
(Interview with Amir, L. 311-353)

Being systematically categorised as 'other' in a derogatory and essentialist manner by other people, who ascribe the fixed identity of 'refugee'-as-'illegal', -'not abiding by laws', -'a threat to goodness' onto him, Amir is forced to renegotiate his perception of what it means to be a 'refugee' in light of these identifications. In a way, it could be argued that he contributes to bringing into existence group identification of being a 'refugee' as he recognises himself as a member of this kind of collectivity; indeed, "[o]nce relationships between members of a category involve mutual recognition of their categorisation, the first steps towards group identification have been taken" (Jenkins, 2008: 108).

Beyond the generic 'others' who engage in categorical identification of refugees, some refugee participants specify different kinds of 'others' who impact on how they conceive of their sense of self. Further stressing the crucial role that power dynamics play in processes of identification (Jenkins, 2008), Rahim and my interpreter highlight how refugees are labelled as a homogenous group of 'criminals' by the camp authorities, regardless of how many people are factually implicated in an incident within the camp:

"(I): Unfortunately, and here, I am also adding a few words, there are many of us here, of different ethnicities, different languages, different colours, but [Dandelion Aid], when there is a fist fight or something like that, they will come to us and blame us, even if we weren't there. If one person does something bad, we are all treated as if we have done something bad." (Interview with Rahim, L. 76-79)

Firstly, it is important to note that in Rahim's first statement, the interpreter is also getting involved as a participant in this discussion, suggesting that this topic is highly emotionally significant as it resonates with the interpreter too, further signalling how these collective identities, despite being negative, serve to solidify an in-group of belonging of people resisting the stereotypes. Rahim and the interpreter's statements recognise that there are individuals within the perceived homogenous group of 'refugees', as well as various other smaller-scale collectivities, which they classify as ethnic, linguistic and racial groups, but that the camp authorities seem to not distinguish between the individuals, or rather the various sub-groups that Rahim and the interpreter seem to suggest is relevant in differentiating between the landscape of 'refugees', but instead the authorities ascribe them all the identity of being 'criminals'. This account stresses how there is a strong social weight to the essentialist collective symbolic meaning, the stereotyping, of the identification 'refugee' which can make it difficult to resist, even if an individual feels differently about themselves; this is particularly the case if the 'others' imposing this reified symbolic meaning have direct power and control over someone's life as camp authorities do over refugees'.

Yet, this stereotype is also constructed, maintained and perpetuated by other refugees, who are, on the one hand, also members of the collectivity of 'refugees', but who on the other hand, distinguish themselves as different from the 'homogenous refugees' group, as Ali remarks:

"(I): They asking about the situation here, this make to be so awful, like the some people like not educated, so most of them, like nothing. So those group, every time, they create the problems, and to make, so this give the image for the refugee to the European people, so they think all the refugees like the same." (Interview with Ali, L. 48-51)

Being a highly educated lawyer, Ali constructs a boundary of demarcation between himself, whom he considers to be distinct from those he deems to be the 'uneducated mass of refugees', demonstrating how "identification is often most consequential as the categorisation of others, rather than as self-identification" (Jenkins, 2008: 15). Ali regards himself as superior to this mass, homogenous group, whose bad behaviour he classifies as contributing to local Greek and Europeans' construction of negative, essentialist stereotypes about 'refugees' as a criminal,

homogenous group, and partly the reason why refugees cannot feel a sense of belonging with local host populations. Emerging from these accounts, there appears to be a vicious cycle whereby negative stereotypes are sufficiently matched by some people within refugee populations as to give the impression that they are in fact accurate. In this context, there is a process of reification at play: a widely shared narrative is bolstered by limited but seemingly persuasive evidence, leading a fearful and distant local population to conclude that their preconceptions are indeed accurate. Refugees, in this context, it would seem, have only the choice to comply with the preconceptions, break with them with likely little recognition of their personal or cultural specificity, as they would themselves consider their cultural group memberships to be, or to renegotiate their identities in response to stereotypes. All of these options centre the experience and power of the dominant majority in establishing the very terms in which the question of refugee identity is raised.

Recalling Antonsich (2010: 650) who states that "[e]very politics of belonging involves two opposite sides: the side that claims belonging and the side that has the power of 'granting' belonging", within this context, there is a power dynamic at play between refugees who are 'claiming', or rather, 'asking' for belonging, and the locals who are 'granting' them belonging. The majority of refugee participants express that they do not feel as though the local population 'grants' them belonging (see Domain Analysis 13, Appendix 29) and there are multiple occasions of intercultural interactions between refugees and locals, where the locals are the ones who hold more power within the dynamic and raise the identity of being a 'refugee' to deny refugee participants local belonging. Many refugee participants feel 'othered' in multiple social contexts with implications for the ways that refugee participants conceive of their own identities (see Taxonomy Chart 4, Appendix 28).

Within the context of daily activities in Artemopolis, refugees report occasions where locals do not politely return their change to them when they are shopping: "*I want to go to city centre, I want to shop, shopping and I give them our money, but they don't want to give me the money, they throw away*" (Interview with Omar's Family, L. 546-547). This suggests that Omar feels as though he is identified by the locals as being 'dirty' because they do not want to place the change in his hand, but instead throw the change in his direction, perhaps to avoid any physical contact. This feeling is echoed by Titti and Arjin's (L. 156-157) experience of walking on the street: "[locals] *are not accept us, like refugees, no respect. They are think we are dirty. When they saw us, they no like us*" and Nabila, who reports being identified as 'other' by her appearance in Artemopolis, and being asked to leave certain shops by the locals, "*Because*

Greek people don't like refugees […] When we I when I go to the [Artemopolis], when Greek people see me, he she do like this ((gestures hand motion away)) I think they hate us" (Interview with Nabila and Masoud, L. 387-399).

Furthermore, refugee participants emphasise that they are not only 'othered' by locals, but the locals also behave differently towards them than they would towards other locals. For example, Rahim recounts how he is treated differently than the locals by authority figures in shops: *"(I): He is saying, if someone, a Greek citizen, enters into a store, for example… he buys the things he wants, and he exits very easily. We have gone there many times, and the security guards that are there, they follow us all around the shop, it's extremely disgusting for us"* (Interview with Rahim, L. 240-242). A parallel feeling of being treated differently than the locals by the locals is reported by Jameela in the context of using public transport, as she shares an anecdote of her using the bus and the driver forcing her to present her ticket at the door to be physically inspected as valid, as opposed to local Greek people who are permitted to use the automatic machines: *"(I): Because the people here in Greek they fear us we are thieves. Because for example when I went to hospital today the cards of the bus, for us they tear it, but for Greek people they are in the device […] I am so shame in the bus"* (Interview with Jameela, L. 67-83). Considering identity as a process of identification, which is enacted, and over which a power struggle occurs (Jenkins, 2008), these accounts suggest that refugee participants feel as though the locals have more power in the process of their social identification than they do. Within these reports of intercultural interactions, what is being struggled over is the symbolic cultural meaning of 'refugees', or the collective 'us' as the participants state, and it appears as though on these occasions the locals discursively attach the connotations of 'dirty' and 'thief' to the identity of being a 'refugee' and treat them in ways that are socially shaming, which makes refugee participants feel 'othered', degraded and inferior to locals.

Within the context of education, refugee participants express that their children feel discriminated against and segregated from local children at school. Some participants explain that this is because when they go to school, their children are not always in integrated classrooms with the local children, and according to some refugee parents, their children are not offered the same level of educational attention as other students receive. For instance, Jameela (L. 124) states, "*when he goes to school they don't have anything, they just give them colours to draw all day*"; Arjin says, "*You are in refugee [class], you are different*" (Interview with Titti and Arjin, L. 363-364); and Abyah and Daiya (L. 182-183) state, *"[t]hey are discrimination, because all the refugees are the same class and people Greek in other class.*

We don't make any contact". Employing Antonsich's (2010: 645) framework of belonging as involving forms of "socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion", these accounts suggest that refugees feel as though local Greek educators engage in forms of socio-spatial exclusion of their children from education contexts where local children have different opportunities and study in different physical places suggesting a lack of belonging for refugee children. The negative implication of 'refugees' being 'others' and therefore 'different in an inferior way' is discursively reproduced by Arjin herself, indicating a sort of acknowledgment of this difference on her part. In addition, Sabir and Deeba (L. 286) express how these acts of discrimination against their children at school makes them feel less than human, "*the Greeks see us like objects/materials*" thus further exemplifying how refugee participants feel as though Greek locals' categorisation of them as 'other' goes beyond 'other' persons to 'other' objects.

Moreover, Zinah's account of her child's experience at school signals that some refugees experience a direct link between their identity of being a 'refugee' and being discursively and socio-spatially produced as not belonging in Greece by local people:

> "*(I): And also schools, the students and the schools, they don't accept my children, and always they said, 'This is not for you. When you go to Germany, Germany for you, Greek not for you…' And for example yesterday one teacher told my err child and said to her, 'Don't don't stop in front of the heater. This is not for you'*" (Interview with Zinah, L. 345-350).

Zinah's account of her child's experience at school indicates that her child's identity as a refugee is reinforced and forcefully imposed onto them at school by the authority figures – the local teachers – who act as gatekeepers, denying refugee children belonging to Greece, casting her child as an outsider to Greece, but belonging rather to a different European country, Germany. Examining this intercultural interaction through a mediated discourse approach to intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001), beyond the misuse of power on behalf of the Greek teacher, the teacher also raises national cultural categories as relevant within this exchange, in order to both discursively produce the refugee child as an outsider, but also to physically deny them equal belonging than other students within the place of the classroom by not allowing them to warm up in front of the heater. Within this exchange, not only does the local Greek teacher behave as the gatekeeper to the boundaries of Greek cultural group membership, but they also entwine this denial of belonging with the symbolic construction of refugee identification as being one that means they belong in another place, in another country. In other words, the local teacher exerts symbolic power over the refugee child within the

classroom by denying them belonging in the here-and-now, as well as claiming symbolic control over where they do belong in the future.

What is more, according to some refugee participants, local school is also a place where intercultural interactions between refugees and locals reinforces ethnic and religious cultural group differences. Jameela shares that her son is forced to contend with Greek students' religious practices in formal group educational settings: "*And the big one, the big my son, when he goes to school, they ask him to pray but not* ((shocked laugh)), *he say, 'I am not Christian'*" (Interview with Jameela, L. 123-125). In the end, the child was not forced to participate in the prayer, but he had to wait quietly while the rest of the classroom prayed. Using Holliday's (2013: 2) grammar of culture to understand this intercultural interaction, on the one hand, since there is no way of being sure of what the teacher was thinking in this context, this intercultural interaction could potentially be viewed as a well-intentioned act of social inclusion on behalf of the teacher. The space of the classroom is a microcosm of the wider socio-cultural norms of Artemopolis, where Greek Orthodox religion plays a crucial role in Greek locals' lives, and the space of the classroom is no different, so performing religious acts during formal school hours is a standard occurrence. Therefore, the teacher asking the child to pray with the rest of the students, could be regarded as an act of foregoing any possible stereotypes about the child automatically being part of a different religious cultural group, just because of his 'refugee' identity. On the other hand, this could be regarded as an act of domination of the identification of the refugee child on behalf of the teacher, since the teacher's positional power in this context compared to the refugee child's is immense, and whilst they could have handled this differently, the child ultimately had to watch while everyone else prayed and he did not participate. Furthermore, the refugee child is forced to establish their own identity through a negation of the other (Jenkins, 2008) with the statement, "I am not Christian". The child's 'outward expression of self' which is a statement about his religious cultural group membership, could be seen as an act of resistance against the dominant social structure in this context. And yet, it is still an act of self-identification in virtue of a negation of the other ("I am not Christian"), rather than a positive affirmation of the self ('I am Muslim'), which further emphasises his 'otherness' in this context. Therefore, the child is both positioned as and positions himself as 'other' in this context.

Intercultural interactions between refugee participants and Greek locals within the university education context seems to further reify the identity of being a 'refugee' as a label of discrimination, segregation, and ultimately a form of socio-spatial exclusion (Antonsich,

2010). For example, Amir shares an anecdote about his experience at a local university whilst taking a Greek class:

> *"(P): Even at the university, this is for education... Because sometimes the teacher asked us about, 'Where are you from?' and 'How your house look like?', 'Do you have kitchen?', something like this, it happen for me in the class. Because most of the people, the students, they don't know because I'm refugee or not, so when the teacher start to ask me this question, so they start to describe their houses, where they live. But when it come to me, and he say, 'No, it doesn't matter', because he know me, because I am refugee, I live in the camp. And he say, 'No, you cannot describe'. And he change the education. So the people they are thinking why? So I told them, I am refugee, and I am live in the camp. So, this is the bad feeling. And this is happening to me, so the word 'refugee' it not let me go any place. And when they say because you are refugee, they thought like something they saw in the Lesvos. So when you say, 'I am living in the camp', they are feeling like it's the same situation as Lesvos. They are feeling like it's someone who just come from the sea, without anything."* (Amir, L. 361-372)

Examining this intercultural encounter from a mediated discourse approach to intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001), according to Amir, the local teacher uses his positional authority within the classroom to categorise Amir as a 'refugee'. Though he does not verbally say it in the classroom in that moment, the teacher is 'dominating' the symbolic construction of the meaning of a 'house' by attributing characteristics to a 'house' that he deems do not match Amir's circumstances, and therefore, by verbally preventing Amir from describing his 'house' during the class activity like the rest of the students, he is labelling Amir as 'other'. Therefore, Amir is socio-spatially excluded from belonging to the classroom group on this occasion. The teacher's positioning of Amir as a 'refugee-other' then forces Amir to have to assume this identification as he is consequently asked by the other students about why the teacher does not allow him to participate in the activity, at which point, Amir feels as though he needs to explain that he is a refugee who lives in a refugee camp. Amir explains that then this leads to his fellow classmates also categorising him as 'refugee-other' too, to which Amir believes that they attach the symbolic meaning of being 'destitute' and 'desperate', as if he has just arrived on a Greek island "from the sea, without anything". Amir remarks how he feels as though others have ultimate power over constructing the symbolic meaning of the identity 'refugee', and that this seems to regularly restrict his mobility, figuratively shackling him to the space of the refugee camp. Therefore, in this case, Amir is firstly denied belonging to a community outside the camp where he is socio-spatially excluded, which he finds particularly painful because he constructs the place of the university as one "for education", that he seems to consider an almost sacred space, where he did not believe that the prejudice that he may experience elsewhere would permeate that space, and yet it does; and secondly, socio-spatially

produced as included, or 'belonging' to the space of the camp, and therefore denied belonging to Greece.

Given the fact that throughout my fieldwork it became apparent that there was a big divide between encamped refugees and locals, I decided that it would be beyond the scope of this research project to seek Greek locals to speak to who were not actually present in Minoan and Dorian camps. However, there were a few occasions, recorded in my field notes, where I interacted with Greek locals where the topic of refugees in Greece arose and these could provide some more contextual information regarding a part of a broader context of racism that refugees contend with. At the local library, when I was taking out a book to support the Greek classes I was running, when the librarian realises that I was volunteering in the camps, she states, "*It's not in their religion to learn [...] They are multiplying like rabbits. Hellenism will be lost!*" (FN 04/11/2019, L. 51-57) and at a local souvenir shop, the shopkeeper states, *"These people are godless, they don't work"* (FN 07/11/2019, L. 155-159). On both occasions, these locals position me as part of their 'in-group' assuming I share linguistic and ethnic cultural group memberships, and therefore decide to make these prejudicial statements, constructing 'us' as Greek people with 'superior' religious group membership who are under threat from growing numbers of 'refugees', in opposition to 'them', 'refugees' the 'out-group', who are 'infidels' and 'lazy', clearly displaying ethnocentric orientalist tropes (Saïd, 1978). These locals' statements echo the findings of a study about Greek attitudes in relation to Syrian refugees, who are perceived as "socioeconomic concerns and symbolic threats" and whose values and belief systems are incompatible "with the dominant culture and with Greek Orthodoxy as the dominant religion in the country" (Kalogeraki, 2022: 105-106). As the only other Greek volunteer besides myself at Busy Bee, Kalia remarks that as well as prejudiced mindsets, one of the particularities of the 'refugee crisis' in Greece is that the locals are facing an acute economic crisis:

> "*I'm really ashamed about Greece, in general, but there's also stuff that is better, like, I don't know, it's so complicated and like with the refugee crisis. It's like, so many people so much weight to a small country that has so many other problems, this is why people are not so involved. Because people are trying to find jobs, truing to not lose their houses. Every time I'm hearing like people saying 'Oh, the Greeks don't help the refugees' I'm like, they can't help themselves at first, like if they can't help themselves, they can't help. Like, it's true that as a mindset there's a lot of racist people which I also hate*" (Interview with Kalia, L. 697-702)

Kalia's statement offers some more understanding of the local context, and perhaps can contribute to an understanding of why refugee participants struggle to be 'accepted' as

belonging to Greece. In terms of being socio-politically 'accepted' as belonging, Kalia acknowledges that there are many behaviours and attitudes of locals that she disagrees with and is mortified by, which 'other' 'refugees' and deny them cultural belonging; but she also posits that in the particular Greek context, the locals do not feel solid in their own living circumstances, and this therefore makes it difficult to 'extend belonging' to 'refugees'.

Conversely however, there are some refugee participants who express that they feel well-treated by Greek locals, especially in comparison to the experience of being a 'refugee' in other countries:

> *"(I): I cannot compare the Greek people and the Iran people. They [the Greeks] know that we are human, they know that we escaped from our country, we have many kind of problem that we leave our country and come to the Greece. In this case, when I walking in the road, no one change his way, they are walking with us. And I have to now, it's 2 years and a half we are living in Greece, I didn't see any Greek people to look at me like different than the others. So, it's the thing that I cannot compare the Greek people with the Iranian people, they are so good."* (Hazim, L. 95-100)

> *"So since I never had that belonging sense in Iran, so when I entered to the Greece, maybe the people are the same as Iran. I don't know the language to know what they are talking with each other, what they are saying about the refugees. But as I see their behaviour and their actions, when we are facing together, it seems so kind."* (Nadeem, L. 306-312)

Hazim and Nadeem speak about the difference of experiences of being a refugee in Greece as opposed to in Iran, where they felt 'othered' by the host populations there, but where they feel like Greek people recognise their humanity and need to seek asylum, and where as far as they can tell, Greek locals' non-verbal communication indicates that they are not openly rejecting refugee participants. Indeed, Karim declares that he would like to resettle in Greece thus 'asking' for belonging of the locals: *"Because I am live here in Greece and I am one of refugees who wanted to live in Greece, I think the government should make schools to us about for ours to know about the culture of Greece the habits, the life of Greece. But unfortunately, we didn't find this here"* (Karim, L. 291-293). He also identifies it as the role of the Greek state to facilitate formal opportunities for intercultural exchange which he is disheartened by the absence of, and as if this hinders his opportunities to belong with the locals.

7.2.2 Contesting stereotypes and building belonging

Despite the fact that many refugee participants express that they feel 'othered' by locals and that the identity of being a 'refugee' seems to overall carry negative connotations, there are occasions where this social categorisation can be resisted and challenged, and this occurs from both refugees and NGO volunteers. One refugee participant shares an anecdote about how she is able to contest the negative stereotypes imposed onto her by the locals through prolonged intercultural contact and by being able to exercise personal agency:

> "(I):[...] when grandmothers and the grandfathers came to hospital I would start to speak to them to help them... And the Greek people asked her, 'How are you in this good situation? We heard about you, you are thief, you are stole things, you are, you are bad people...But when we meet you when meet you, yes, you are not like this, you are good woman.' [...] One day a woman at the hospital brought a woman she was 93. And when she saw [Zinah] she started to shout, 'I don't want this room because maybe in the night she will kill me.' ... 'She is from Daesh'...In the beginning, I have a knife to cut the fruit, I was hiding it in my clothes to don't be scared of me. After that, she has one relative, she came from ten o'clock until ten. When she came back to her room to her house, I help her with going to bathroom and...make her pillows...After that she loves me!" (Interview with Zinah, L. 221-269)

The Greek locals begin by having more power in the dynamic of social identification, ascribing Zinah with the labels of being a 'thief' and a 'terrorist', conflating 'refugee' with ethnicity and religion in an ethnocentric and orientalist way (Saïd, 1978), as discussed above. She thus demonstrates, as Jenkins (2008: 105) affirms, "[o]ur ability to identify unfamiliar individuals as members of known categories allows us at least the illusion that we may know what to expect of them". In this case, despite it being a very negative expected behaviour, the local woman's categorisation of Zinah provides her with the illusion of knowing that she should expect Zinah to behave in a threatening way and that she should respond accordingly. However, when Zinah does not behave in the expected way – to the extent that she even hides her fruit-cutting knife from the woman – and when Zinah enacts her own agency to behave in a compassionate way by helping the woman go to the bathroom, as she has more power than the old Greek woman in regard to physical health and ability to help her in a moment of vulnerability, Zinah is able to dismantle the woman's prejudiced stereotype. Zinah positions herself as an individual, resisting the social construction of 'refugees' as a homogenous 'bad, out-group'. The change between the discursive construction of Zinah's identification by the local woman, from 'you bad people' to 'loves me', signals a shift in perspective, where she has been offered a counter-narrative to the one had previously held, and she shifts from ascribing Zinah a categorical

identity from the outside, to being in relationship with Zinah and recognising her as an individual within a small-scale interpersonal dialectic of self and other.

Building on the possibility of dismantling stereotypes based on personal agency and asserting individuality, Bilal remarks, "*But I want to say, if someone want to know about the refugee people, he need to give him the opportunity to see what he can do. All these refugees here can make something good with jobs or another thing in this country, yeah!*" (Interview with Bilal, L. 441-443). He raises the issue of the opportunity to work, which he thinks would enable him to regain personal agency and therefore also be able to contribute to the local community, as well as implying that the locals could get to know 'the refugee people' if they gave them the chance to work alongside them, again suggesting that prolonged intercultural contact and interrelationship could contribute to dismantling negative stereotypes and create some opportunities for refugees to begin to belong locally.

The Busy Bee NGO volunteer participants explicitly position themselves as allies to refugee participants, advocating for a deconstruction of the essentialist reified category of 'refugees' as a negative homogenous collectivity with limited agency[19]. Nora, as one of the founders of Busy Bees, explains how she fights against stereotyping of 'refugees' through her interactions with camp authorities and with refugees alike:

> "'we can't let refugees teach because refugees are in trauma' and are whatever, like you know they made excuses for people and reduced people's capabilities because of the refugee aspect, and immediately remove their agency and willingness to engage."* (Interview with Nora, L. 268-270).

> "*because you are called 'the refugee' like you call others 'refugees'. So, for example, what I noticed here was there was times where I would be like, people would come and stay, and we really we don't use the word a lot. Like now we have more because of like raising awareness. But when I talk to people, I don't call them 'refugees', I call them [name] or [name] or whatever, but they call themselves 'refugees' because everyone else calls them 'refugees'. So, there was a moment where I was saying to somebody, somebody wanted to do like classes. There is one of our students who's doing mother tongue classes for Arabic kids and then somebody came up to me and said, 'Oh, we want mother tongue classes for Farsi kids'. And I was like, 'Oh well, I mean, we don't do that. Why don't you find someone in the community to do it?' And then I was like, 'wait, what about [name] [...] and they're like, 'Oh, but he's a refugee'. And I was like ((laughing)), [...] I'm like 'You are saying the one thing, like the exact thing that you're complaining to me Greeks say about you or Europeans say about you? Well, so what if he's a refugee, is he not a teacher? Does he have no skills?*" (Nora, L. 568-581)

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[19] This is also the case with Darling Crafts (see Domain Analysis 10, Appendix 25). Due to word limit constraints, I am unable to explore this further here.

Nora's first statement pertains to how formal Minoan camp authorities refused to allow refugees to teach other refugees in the early stages of Minoan camp being formed, constructing them as a homogenous group of people whose 'victimhood' eclipsed all other aspects of their identity. Her second statement indicates how her experience of regularly working with refugees in Minoan and Dorian camps has demonstrated that refugees both internalise the collective categorisation of 'refugee', like in the case of Amir discussed in section 7.2.1, where "[i]ndividuals, in using stereotypical categories to define themselves thus, bring into being human collective life" (Jenkins, 2008: 113), and perpetuate this negative symbolic construction of 'refugee' by categorising others as 'refugees' in the essentialist, stereotypical manner. She approaches managing this through joking with her interlocutor, but also by verbally pointing out that that they are perpetuating negative stereotypes. Through her discursive act, she is still ascribing an identity onto the would-be-refugee-teacher, as being a capable teacher, but in doing so, at least affirms that person's agency. Nora also explains how although she refused to use this word at first, due to the stereotypical implications it carried, she eventually changes tack as she realises that she needs to use the same discourse that others use in the process of social categorisation in order to have a chance at deconstructing its negative social symbolic meaning.

As a matter of policy, the Busy Bee leadership socially constructs a stance of approaching intercultural interactions with refugees whom they work with through a non-essentialist approach, and this in turn is collectively reproduced by other Busy Bee volunteers (see Domain Analysis 10, Appendix 25):

> *"the main, main focus which is like interacting with people as they, refugees as if they are people, like we don't consider refugees, or we try we do everyone does but we try to do it in the least possible. Being a refugee is only one minute aspect of someone's identity personality and when, when you have any approach, bad intention like 'all refugees are invaders' or with good intention 'all refugees are all great' or 'they are all heroes' by lumping together you are really enforcing you are removing agency. […] I don't treat the refugee like someone that is like a bomb that is about to explode like something that has to be deactivated"* (Interview with Marco, L. 239-255).

> *"Refugees are people"* (Interview with Kathy, L. 567).

> *"the idea of treating the treating refugees the same as you are treating everyone else, kind of the idea of them just well yes they are just humans"* (Interview with Cassie, L.38-39).

Marco, the president of Busy Bee, explains that Busy Bee volunteers are asked to consciously try to regard the people they work with as individuals, without assuming that they are a large homogenous group of 'helpless', 'threats' or 'heroes'. This discursive construction of the cultural values of Busy Bee, of treating 'refugees as people' is then reproduced by Kathy and Cassie (among others). Implicitly embedded in this is an attempt to interact interculturally with people as individuals, as "people" or "humans", who may be 'different' in some ways, but to allow that 'difference' to emerge through social interaction by each interlocutor raising their relevant respective 'differences' in each situated context of intercultural interactions, rather than others assuming 'differences' with prejudice (Woodin, 2018). Marco shares an anecdote of this occurring in practice:

> *"So what is my policy, you know clearly I am myself. So the first time I go so I offer a handshake and some people accepted some people turn it down um but the then like for sure what I don't do is that the next time I try again, I know that that woman doesn't. I mean of course I will make mistakes I will forgot it but at the same time on the other side as we talked about I don't tell volunteers I didn't tell you [xxx], when you go for tea, don't don't shake that hand don't shake. And you know like you know we were leaving now [Dorian camp] and you hugged [xxx]. You know how, how did you decide that? Well it's really complicated how you and and and I think we have to leave space for a degree of of of of mess and mistakes. And you know I remember have you met, probably yes [xxx] [...] yeah and you know [xxx], his wife is quite a progressive, you know it's still a Muslim woman, she wears the headscarf sometimes, at home little less, but you know she's and when [Emma's parents], came to visit you know [Emma's] parents don't know anything about these things, [Emma's] parents are good hearted [...] the average person that have has good intentions, and at the end the farther hugged her which I never did and she was clearly uncomfortable but was also a beautiful moment like everyone started laughing of course I can see how that same interaction could go really wrong with that with an Afghan woman that is super conservative but you know"* (Interview with Marco, L. 1496-1513)

Marco's account highlights two dimensions. Firstly, how when he meets someone new in the camps, he does not assume categorical group membership of the person he interacts with (i.e., he adopts a non-essentialist approach to intercultural communication). In this case, he does not categorise the refugee woman that he interacts with as a 'Muslim woman' – with the symbolic connotations of the behaviour that he assumes might typically accompany such cultural group membership (i.e., her not wanting to shake his hand) – but rather he offers his hand to her as a greeting, just as he would behave with anyone else he was meeting for the first time. In response, if his interlocutor makes certain interactional preferences known, Marco allows this to inform his own future behaviour in interaction with the specific individual, but he does not make other Busy Bee volunteers aware of the interactional preferences of each person he works with in the camps, so as not reify cultural stereotypes. Arguably, one could question the degree

to which this could be considered a non-essentialist approach to intercultural communication since the power relations favour Marco in this interaction (as the president of an organisation that offers important social activities for refugees in the camps) and therefore, by him extending his hand in the first place, it is in a way an enactment, and somewhat imposition, of his own cultural group membership, one that finds it suitable to greet through handshakes across gender. However, coupled with the second part of his anecdote, a picture begins to emerge that the discursive articulation of 'treating refugees as people' involves a degree of allowing for the "mess" which accompanies such an approach in practice.

Marco recounts an intercultural interaction between Emma's (another Busy Bee volunteer) parents and a Muslim refugee family, where Emma's father hugs the Muslim woman, without realising that she would find this inappropriate. The ensuing non-verbal communication of laughter indicates that even though some cultural gender-norm boundaries were transgressed by the parents, the woman was not so offended so as to cause a big disagreement. Elsewhere, Marco elaborates to explain how this is unique to Busy Bee in the situated context, as opposed to big organisations who "don't do that" (L. 440) because they are risk averse to potential intercultural conflicts. Linking to the metaphor he uses in the previous statement above, about not treating refugees as if they were '*a bomb that is about to explode like something that has to be deactivated*', this encapsulates how a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) of Busy Bee is cultivated where volunteers try as much as possible not to stereotype people they work with, but to allow individual identity negotiation to occur at the small-scale interpersonal level and this contributes to constructing the NGO's own identity and self-image.

This discursive, open, interactional space does provide some opportunities for a degree of intercultural learning (Bennett, 2009) for both NGO volunteers and refugee participants:

> *"I do have a couple of close friends from the community, from the refugee community, with some of them I wish that the communication was better because they still not in the level of speaking English as much but I also guess that they give me a different view of the world because they come from different… I don't feel like they give me something different just because they are refugees. I feel them exactly the same as other volunteers. Every time I meet other volunteers get the same feeling of this person is from another country and they, even if they are from Europe they have a different mindset from Greece."* (Interview with Kalia, L. 415-419)

> *"(P): Yeah, because they want to become with us, and to understand*" (Interview with Amir, L. 665).

"(I): He say because, we are like refugee, even from the different country. But we have the same case and the same stress, so we not feeling like we can do like to live together. Because each person he like, is busy with his problems. But about people come from Europe, like volunteer or other people, so when I was to discuss with them, I feel myself how to integrate with them, so I feel, it is like the different." (Interview with Murad, L. 440-444)

Busy Bee volunteer Kalia expresses how she regards interactions with refugees as an opportunity to teach her something about another way of viewing the world, and she suggests that this enables her to reflect on her own perspectives as a result of the exchange, consciously articulating that this is irrespective of their refugee identities. Refugee participants Amir and Murad also imply that they enjoy interacting with Busy Bee volunteers because these volunteers actively adopt a stance of empathy, and of seeking to learn about their lives, as well as to offer refugees an insight about their own worlds, which Murad states helps him learn how to adjust to his new life in Europe. They suggest that these intercultural interactions are meaningful for them as they provide a social space which offers an escape from their identities of being 'refugees', and of the space of the camps, where their interactions with other refugees reinforce their identities as 'refugees', but rather, these interactional spaces with NGO volunteers offer a connection to alternative time-spaces (Massey, 2005) beyond the camps. Arguably, what emerges from these accounts are opportunities for intercultural learning, which can be situated somewhere between Bennett (2009) and Harvey's (2016) accounts. Kalia, Amir, and Murad all speak to the capacity for "[a]cquiring increased awareness of subjective cultural context (world view), including one's own, and developing greater ability to interact sensitively and competently across cultural contexts as both an immediate and long-term effect of exchange" (Bennett, 2009: S2) – especially Murad who refers to the intercultural interactions helping him integrate in Europe. However, it is less clear to determine whether this may constitute "a relational perspective on the self and the other in which intercultural learning is a process of ideological becoming with the other, enacted in, with and through language" (Harvey, 2016: 368), since the possibilities for communication between people across different linguistic capabilities make for a complex and layered interaction which does not always explicitly reveal whether these deeply subjective, internal processes of transformation are fully occurring. However, a certain degree of intercultural learning appears to take place within the spaces created by both Busy Bee volunteers and refugees, who create a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) of interactional space where people adopt an open stance towards intercultural communication with others. This extends to the social spaces of the Busy Bee activities in the camp, both Adult English classes and Young Explorer activities.

Within the spaces of Busy Bee activities in the camp, for both children and adults, there seem to be opportunities to create a sense of localised belonging with opportunities for refugees to enact their own agency and where the identity of being a 'refugee' can temporarily be less relevant in the space than the identity of being a 'student' and a 'Young Explorer'. These identities provide refugee participants with a space of respite from their daily experience of being a 'refugee', and from feeling 'different' to the locals, and allow them to belong to a space of co-created belonging, which occurs in multiple ways. For example, Zinah (a Young Explorer's parent) remarks that she has noticed that Busy Bee volunteers do not discriminate against children or other children who belong to different national and ethnic cultural groups, unlike her child's experience of being 'othered' in local Greek school (see section 7.2.1): "(*I*): *You are all of them I know you are from different countries but anyone came to the [Young Explorers] they make our children fun, and they increase their experience and also no difference between Iraq people, Kurdish, Farsi, this is most thing is very important here*" (Interview with Zinah, L. 712-716). Furthermore, a refugee child from Young Explorers states, "*(I): The people here are from Spain, from England they are different than Greek people. When I go to [Young Explorers] I feel comfort, comfortable*" (Interview with Nabila and Masoud, L. 493-507). Masoud's statement could either be interpreted as the Busy Bee volunteers behave differently than the locals do, or that he feels comfortable in an environment where the majority of people are not from Greece. Either way, both interpretations suggest that him feeling "comfortable" in this environment is an indication of a sense of localised belonging within the space of the classroom.

In addition, there are occasions within the Busy Bee Adult English classes where Fay asks a student to come to the front of the class and temporarily enact the role of being the 'teacher':

> "*Fay asks who wants to come to the front to do the date. Many students put their hands up and Fay calls on one, "Teacher … " – she uses his name and calls him 'teacher' […] He comes to the front, smiling, and takes the laminated words from the wall and moves the appropriate ones to the middle of the whiteboard*" (FN 13/11/2019, L. 118-123)

By temporarily ascribing the student with the identity of 'Teacher' and giving away some of her hyper-local authority, Fay provides him with an alternative identity to 'refugee', and he is able to occupy the more powerful relational identity within the space of the classroom. Moreover, another occasion in my Field Notes demonstrates how some Busy Bee volunteers enact a group activity during Young Explorers, which is chosen by the children:

"When the Young Explorers are done eating, they get up and we still have some time to kill, so we ask the YE what game they want to play, and they propose this game that involves stepping on people's feet. This must be a game that they play amongst each other, but it's not a standard YE game that the volunteers know. So, one YE tries to explain it to us, but the English is too broken and we don't really understand, and the non-verbal communication is not enough to really understand. We try a couple of rounds, but all the volunteers seem to have behaved wrongly so Isabella says, "let's play another game". At this point, the YE's face drops, the one who suggested this game, but Isabella doesn't see this reaction, but Julia does. She takes Isabella aside and says, "I think it's really important for us to play the game that they suggested", and Isabella agrees that this is important too, so they come back and ask the kids to try to explain again, encouraging acting movements to show us how to do it" (FN 20/10/2019, L. 68-79).

This anecdote indicates how the Busy Bee Young Explorers classes are also spaces where refugees can play an active role in determining the class activities, and where Busy Bee volunteers actively engage in intercultural communication using non-verbal communication where necessary, in order to create an inclusive environment, where refugee children are also able to enact their agency and communicate. Both of these learning environments, where Busy Bee volunteers consciously try to subvert the dominant power dynamics that refugees feel in the wider space of the camp, suggests that these are spaces where refugees can feel a sense of localised belonging. This is particularly highlighted by Rahim and Madeha, who explain that Busy Bee Adult English class offers them something valuable beyond learning English language skills:

"(I): Even though it's hard to register and learn the words, during that hour and a half that we are there, it's incredible. Because we are able to forget all the problems that surround us. We laugh, we see, even though we might only learn 2 or 3 words." (Interview with Rahim, L. 357-359)

"(I): The important thing is I learn a little English. And also, I can found a lot of friends and also we had laugh together, we spoke together." (Interview with Madeha, L. 172-173)

They produce the social space of the classroom as one which is in start contrast to their experience of the rest of the social space of the camps, and one where they can safely make new friends.

However, there seems to be a more complicated picture emerging in terms of the power dynamics of who is able construct the socio-spatial dimensions of the Busy Bee Adult English classroom in relation to gender dynamics and ethno-religious cultural group membership norms. Consider the following account from Nora:

*"And then the women and the men separated and they would sit like a separate sides of the class. And this is how like English went when did I didn't intervene because they can sit wherever they want as long as they do everything that's asked of them. And then one day, like loads of African refugees arrived and they signed up and they've changed the class. And I completely forgot that they had separated by gender. Like I, I didn't pay attention to where they were sitting. And suddenly the Africans came just stop wherever. So, you had these, like, big African guys sitting next to the little tiny Syrian ladies reaching over, grabbing a pencil, like acting like students in the class and everyone just kind of froze. They just kind of looked at me. By this point. We knew each other really well, like, and I just started laughing cause and they were like, 'What are you gonna do now?' Again, 'this is this is our class, and we're all students here. And these are new students and they can sit where ever they want. And if you don't like [xxx] to sit next to you because he's a guy you have to tell him. Like this is not my fault.' And then every time it really developed into no one gave a ****. And so, you had like, yeah, everyone in that class was a student. And the ethnicity or the gender was something that was, that was left at the door and something that actually also helped them become friends because then they would go outside like they would hang out. Maybe the men and women didn't hang out, but the women hang out and the men hang out so it was still a step towards meeting other cultures and being in ways that are against their tradition or, or, or not what they were used to, not the social norms they're used to. And so, it was. Our class has really became for us like that's what it was. It was like this is a place where we can like inform others of social norms"* (Interview with Nora, L. 1695- 1718)

Nora's response to these events can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, in a way it can be argued that her laissez-faire attitude of not using her positional power in the classroom to ask the male students to move away from the women permits a 'small culture formation' (Holliday, 2013) to occur, where both the Syrian, Muslim woman and the African man renegotiate their identities through intercultural interactions with each other, in order to come to an arrangement where eventually, despite initial shock, they are able to interact much more freely with each other within the space of the classroom, and as far as Nora suggests, they eventually stopped caring about gender segregation within the classroom. On the other hand, these intercultural interactions could be interpreted as Nora greatly abusing her positional power within the class, since by not intervening, she implicitly asserts that the identity of being a 'student', with her own symbolic cultural meanings attached to this identity, namely a Western approach, is what is ultimately acceptable, and indeed prevails in this context, above any other cultural group memberships. Other symbolic acts of cultural group memberships are only permitted to occur in the classroom as long as they do not interfere with her perception of the 'appropriate student' identity within this space. Therefore, in a way, this could be regarded as a curtailment of the women's power in the space of the classroom to sit where they feel most comfortable, and that in terms of belonging, the students who are 'asking' for belonging in the space, will only be

'granted' the opportunity to belong to the classroom, and claim the identity of being a student, if they comply with Nora's expectations of this identity.

Furthermore, Nora also suggests that the classroom provides refugees with a space to meet people from different cultural backgrounds, which could maybe develop into friendships beyond the classroom (evident with Madeha's statement above) which she frames in a way where she considers it her mission with Busy Bee to "inform" refugees about Western cultural norms, again, with quite a strong implication that this is a social space where the terms of belonging are largely controlled by Busy Bee, and that refugees need to be willing to be exposed to this if they wish to partake in the activities. Nevertheless, consider the following account from Karim:

> *"(I): When we go to English class we see different cultures, from Bangladesh, from Iraq, from Syria from Afghanistan so we make discussions and we know about every culture and I will be so happy when I know. So, for example I don't know, in the past, anything about Bangladesh but in English class I know more when I ask them and answer me so I have, say, new knowledge [...] When I read from Facebook from social media, we they talked about Afghanistan people and the African people always made problems. But now when I saw them and speak of them. I changed my mind about them and I see them they are the best. [...] But here we just studying, that's good and not so we speak just to learn. But when we go out from the class. I don't know her and she didn't know me"* (Interview with Karim, L. 145-148; L. 172-174; 211-212).

Karim expresses that the space of the Adult English classroom provides him with a space to engage in intercultural interactions with other students. This prompts to him challenge his prejudiced assumptions about people from other national cultural groups, and yet, he also states that speaking to women he does not know is only something he is willing to do inside the classroom, but not beyond it. Considering the way that Karim discusses his change of perspective regarding people belonging to different national cultural groups, as a result of his discussions with people who are members of these cultural groups, it could be argued that this is an example of a form of intercultural dialogue. There is a degree of "open and respectful exchange" (Council of Europe, 2008: 17) since the space of the classroom offers a meeting point for himself and other refugees to meet as equals within their 'student' identities. This enables him to engage in dialogue where he learns about his interlocutors, and this leads to a dismantling of his negative stereotypes. Furthermore, his statement about not interacting with the women he speaks to within the classroom beyond the space of the classroom is indicative of a sense of localised belonging within the space of the classroom, as he is willing to renegotiate certain aspects of gender norms relating to his cultural group memberships so as to

accommodate a 'small culture formation' (Holliday, 2013) regarding how to behave in the Busy Bee classroom, which does not extend to the space beyond the classroom.

7.3 Language(s) of belonging

Recalling that language(s) expresses, embodies and symbolises cultural reality (Kramsch, 1998: 3), this section will explore how languages are used in the camp as a symbol of exclusion. 7.3.1 will focus on how refugees' lack of access to learning Greek language and their general lack of ability and familiarity with the Greek language results in a concomitant lack of belonging in Greece. Section 7.3.2 will focus on how multiple languages which refugees and NGO volunteers speak with one another serve as a symbol for inclusion, and how language (qua discourse) is socially constructed as a symbol for inclusion, where refugees and NGO volunteers craft together, within the camps, patterns of communication that indicate a kind of hyper-local belonging.

7.3.1 Language(s) as a symbol of exclusion

In many ways, not speaking the local language, Greek, is a source of social exclusion for refugee participants and a marker that they do not belong in Greece. For example, many refugee participants report experiencing difficulties during intercultural interactions with local Greek people, across multiple social contexts, such as at the market or at the hospital:

> *"(I): There we want something, I put my hand…((motions hand)) I want this… Like dumb people*" (Interview with Layla, L. 214-218).

> *"(P): ((Speak in Arabic...husband now gets involved...)) ((emphatic movements and gesticulating of hands)) so here even in the hospital, if you need to go you need to put the mask. When we arrive, the first hurdle you will encounter is asking if your organisation has booked you an appointment and they inform you that your organisation has to book an interpreter on your behalf and they give you the feeling that you are nothing. You should be always dependent on a Greek person, who they considered one of them. They treat you like you are below them[20]*" (Interview with Yasna, L. 246-251).

Understanding these interactions through a mediated discourse approach towards intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001) reveals that these accounts suggest that the local Greek people – who have significantly more positional power, especially in the cases of being

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[20] Words are translated by a professional interpreter in the UK.

the gatekeepers of access to vital services – categorise refugee participants as 'others' and 'inferior' because they do not speak Greek. Layla's use of the word "dumb", meaning 'mute' in this context, signals that she feels as though when she is at the market, and is forced to use non-verbal communication to communicate with locals, she feels like her power of speech and the ability to express herself verbally is robbed from her, rendering her 'mute', even though she can speak other languages, but not Greek. Yasna's account emphasises how the fact that she regularly needs a translator for significant intimate and personal aspects of her life, such as visiting the doctor, where the receptionist overlooks her as an active agent in charge of her own doctor's visit, and immediately asks her if she has brought a translator, denies her personal authority. In this context, Yasna feels as though the receptionist produces the 'Greek translator' as the person with agency, and as belonging to the 'in-group' of 'Greek people', whilst producing Yasna as an 'outsider' who is inferior because she does not speak Greek, which makes her feel like "nothing", and like she needs to, figuratively, 'put on a mask' to hide how degrading this feels for her in order to deal with the interaction.

Madina and Tarik's accounts of visits to the doctor echo this but also raise the dimension of how Greek seems to be perceived by some locals as the preferred language of communication, as opposed to English. *"(I): They don't accept their language. They say, ask him, 'Why do you speak English? Why you don't speak Greek?*" (Interview with Madina and Tarik, L. 231-232). Madina and Tarik speak Farsi as their first language and English as a second language (likely because English is the global lingua franca). However, in this context, neither are deemed acceptable languages by the local doctors, who insist on an interpreter who can speak Greek and Farsi. In the situated context of Artemopolis, this is particularly problematic because there are not many local interpreters who speak Greek and the languages that the majority of refugees speak (i.e., Arabic, Farsi, Kurmanji); it is much more common to find interpreters who speak English and one or more of these languages. On a pragmatic level, this could be regarded as the doctor needing the interpreter to speak Greek because this is the language that they speak, and therefore, Greek translation is a necessity. However, informal discussions with my interpreters after this interview suggested that they have experienced many occasions where the hospitals seem to discriminate against refugees for not having a Greek interpreter even when the doctors are fluent speakers of English, therefore implying that locals often simply prefer to use Greek and that people who do not speak Greek are considered outsiders. The notion that Greek is the preferred language of communication over English by Greek actors is also reinforced by the camp authorities:

"*Also, the organisation [Magnolia Aid] didn't give a place to Busy Bee. Because we ask them, we need to learn English here, they say, 'We can't open English school here. Here we speak Greek. Only Greek school.' Yeah. But if you notice now, many people in the camp speak English. They don't speak Greek. Why? That mean, many people don't care about the Greek school. For the English school they care, or something support them to go to the English school*" (Interview with Bilal, L. 290-295)

Bilal's report suggests that he feels as though the Minoan camp authorities discursively construct refugees who do not wish to learn Greek as 'outsiders' to Greece. The reported speech of, "Here we speak Greek" has socio-spatial implications of territoriality, suggesting that there is a perception that camp authorities produce people who speak Greek as legitimate occupants of space, whereas people who do not as illegitimate (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The symbolic meaning of the word 'here' could either be pertaining to Greece, in which case, is excluding Bilal from belonging in Greece, or it could pertain to the space of the camp more specifically, in which case, it has further implications for being excluded from a space that refugees have a formal right to occupy whilst waiting for a response to their asylum request. However, regarding belonging as a process of someone 'asking' for belonging and someone 'granting' belonging (Antonsich, 2010: 650), in this case, Bilal seems to suggest that in fact many refugees, including himself, do not actually wish to remain in Greece, but rather hope to move on to other countries, where English would be a more useful language (see also Domain Analysis 13, Appendix 29). In this sense, Bilal seems to be saying that many refugees opt out of the sphere of Greek belonging altogether, since they have no interest in learning the language.

Interestingly, Bilal claims that the camp authorities seem to impede Busy Bee from gaining access to a physical space to conduct their English-speaking activities in the camp because they are in English and not in Greek. This suggests that there is a strong preference on the part of the camp authority for Greek integration and an aversion to facilitating non-Greek language learning in the camps. Minimally, what this shows is that language learning is a site of contestation between camp authorities – who want to assert 'Greek' linguistic cultural group membership – and some refugees in combination with allied NGO volunteers – who produce 'English' as a symbol of resistance and a means of integration into a wider 'European' linguistic cultural community.

Nonetheless, this insistence on learning Greek stands in stark contrast to the wider context in which refugee participants find themselves. Indeed, some refugees express that they feel as though their opportunities to learn Greek are significantly hindered by the Greek state

and local authorities, who force them to live in refugee camps that are physically and socially separated from local Greek populations (see Chapter 5), making it difficult for refugees to engage in regular interactions with locals and thus impedes their ability to learn Greek.

> *"Because the problem is the government. He want to put the border between us and the local people. And she say the conditions they put for us, you have to learn the Greek language. And if they want us to learn the language, have to put us in the middle of the local people. And after that we can talk with their neighbour. But they put us in separate. How can we learn this language?"* (Interview with Yasna, L. 583-587)

Yasna's statement suggests that she regularly feels social pressure to speak Greek, which is perpetuated by the Greek authorities, and yet, the authorities practically impede refugees from learning Greek by keeping apart from the local community. In fact, she reflects that it is the state's socio-spatial bordering practices, enacted through forcing refugees to live in camps which are segregated form the local population, that make it extremely difficult for refugees to learn the local language. Yasna lives in Minoan camp, which is geographically far removed from local Greek houses, but the feeling of being socially isolated from the locals is so powerful that even in the case of Sanam and Amany, who live in Dorian camp, which is physically surrounded by local Greek houses and apartments, there is so little interaction with the locals that Sanam and Amany believe the locals must live far away: *"(I): Yes because people Greek is far from here we didn't contact with them"* (Interview with Sanam and Amany, L. 481). Here we see the realm of the social exclusion being so profound that refugees feel as though the physical and geographical exclusion is bigger than it is, ultimately denying them a feeling of belonging in Greece and the opportunity to learn Greek.

However, it is not just the challenges involved in learning Greek that limit refugees' sense of belonging. Indeed, some refugee participants express that not being able to speak the languages that their neighbours within the camp speak makes it difficult to form networks of local belonging:

> *"(P): Yeah, the place we are in, also it's a problem, because we want from the [Magnolia Aid], and we asking from them, to put the nationalities, every nationality separate from each other… Like in the right side, next to our cabin, they are living Africans, and on the left side there are living Arab guys, and in the middle, we are Afghan… So we cannot have communication with the neighbours. When they make noises, when we have someone sick at home, we cannot tell him, we cannot make him know, 'Don't make sounds', something like this. So we have problem, and they are mixed together they cannot communicate. For example, they are also Arab, if I have sick or I tell them to call an ambulance, it's also a problem, how to make him know? Sometimes body language works, sometimes not working. Sometimes when I say, 'Help,*

help!' someone know, but sometimes they don't know." (Interview with Yusef, L. 308-319)

Yusef suggests that speaking each other's languages is so important for coping with daily life within the camps, and that not being able to communicate with neighbours in moments of crisis or to resolve daily tensions makes it difficult for them to feel a sense of community in the camp. He explains that he has asked the camp authorities to consider this when allocating containers and to place people who share a common language near one another. This shows that even within the camp, linguistic barriers can impede a sense of belonging and that linguistic commonality can seem, at least to some refugees, to be an attractive marker of community belonging. The next section will now turn to a fuller discussion of the importance of language as a tool for connection and building community.

7.3.2 Language(s) as a symbol of inclusion

Many refugee participants emphasise the crucial role that they believe speaking the same language plays in feeling a sense of belonging, both amongst other refugees within the camps, and in Greece. For instance, Yusef identifies feeling a sense of belonging with people who share his first language in the camp, discursively constructing these people as his 'community': "(P): *... So, the community for me is my countrymates, and the people who speak Dari or Farsi, and that I can communicate with them in my language*" (Interview with Yusef L. 64-65). Hamida raises the fact that recognising Dari spoken by other refugees within the camp offered her a feeling of safety when she first arrived at Minoan camp:

> "(I): *She says, the first time, when we entered to the camp and we went to the cabins, I didn't come out with the children for 3 days, from the cabin, because I was afraid of the place. So after the 3 days, when we came out for the walking, and we were under the tree, when I see her that she start to speaking like Farsi, and also the special accent, because we were speaking Farsi, Dari, so I became happy and it was so interesting for me to find a good person to communicate with.*" (Interview with Hamida and Mohseena, L. 316-320)

In addition, Malik states that "*when I see any Syrian people, I feel he is me. There is no different about the religion or the language or anything else. Everything the same, like me*" (Dilara and Malik, L. 464-479). These accounts stress how being able to speak to other refugees in the camp in Dari or Arabic – i.e., performing language as a symbol of cultural group membership (Kramsch, 1998) – creates a collective identification amongst people who share a similarity (Jenkins, 2008: 102), in this case, speaking the same language. Similar sentiments of language

being symbolic of cultural group membership is also expressed by Rabia, an older teenager, about the Greek language, who says that she feels like she belongs in Greek school with the local children when she is able to communicate with them in Greek: "*Yes, especially when I go to school and I speak to them, I feel like I belongs to them*" (Interview with Rabia, L. 268-271). Amir recognises the instrumental value that learning Greek as the local language can offer:

> "*(P): I am learning Greek because I choose to, because I want to live in this country. And also, I need something to help me integrate with those people, local people. The language is key for everything. Even you want to buy something, or to discuss with something, not all the time you need someone to translate for you. So this is the reason I'm interested in the Greek language. And also maybe it help you for the work also. If you are looking for a job, you need the language. This is the country, this is the language for this country, so it's important.*" (Interview with Amir, L. 120-125)

Especially for refugees who would like to remain in Greece, Amir stresses that learning Greek is the key to autonomy and to have an opportunity to 'integrate' locally, suggesting learning the local language is a crucial first step towards creating a sense of belonging in Greece. Salma further suggests that learning Greek is important for being able to learn about local cultural communities, "*(I): Because still I don't speak with people, I don't know about their culture. I don't know them*" (Interview with Salma, L. 760-761).

As the global lingua franca, English is the predominant language of communication and connection in the camp, for people across multiple linguistic cultural group memberships. Many refugee participants express that their knowledge of English, whether it be great or small, enables intercultural communication:

> "*(I): Because English is international language and they also speak a little English, can speak a little English, and me also a little can speak English, we use*" (Interview with Salma, L. 274-275).

> "*(I): In the past we saw that people who spoke English we be shocked how they speak. So we have intention and we want to learn but we couldn't. But when we came here the chance allow us to learn more. And I like English because it's a beautiful language and a national language. All countries all people speak English.*" (Karim, L. 127-130).

> "*(I): I think because all the nationalities, like Kurdish guys, Arab, Afghan, Iran, all different nationalities, live in the camp. I think because we are all together and we are all close with each other, I think differences that I can feel, I can communicate with them. Because we are close together, we are living in the same place. And also, I was familiar with the English in Afghanistan, and here, when the volunteers come and speak English, and the people in the camp, most of them communicate with each other they use English*" (Hazim, L. 285-290).

This suggests that, in the highly multilingual spaces of the camps, many refugees use English to communicate with refugees who do not share their first language, NGO volunteers, and

sometimes camp authorities as well as locals. Karim and Hazim identify English as being a useful tool to connect across different national cultural groups, and Karim states that learning English is something that he wished to do in the past, and now he has found a positive opportunity to do so in the present. This could suggest that he constructs 'English' is a symbol of resistance for him against the liminality of the space of the camp and as a symbol of personal development, despite the difficulties of forced migration, giving him the opportunity to belong to an international community of people from "all countries" who speak English. Hazim further identifies that English is useful because it enables him to communicate with NGO volunteers, who often come from other countries. Therefore, 'English' is produced by many refugee participants as a symbol of connection to others, both inside the camp and to communities in time-spaces beyond the camp, as they mention it being an 'international' language. Some refugees mention this in direct relation to the fact that they hope to continue on their journey, beyond Greece, to other European countries, where they believe that English will be more useful to them than Greek:

> *"(I): He said because we thinking we move to another country, we don't want to learn Greek. Nothing interested in Greek. (P(D)): English very important for life. [...] Because it's the language of the world, all the people communicate with English language"* (Interview with Dilara and Malik, L. 226-232).

'English' is thus also constructed as a symbol of resistance to their current encampment and to their 'refugee' identities, since they believe that knowing and speaking English will enable them to belong to imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) they hope to join in the future. The socio-spatial significance of this symbolic meaning of 'English' is even more accentuated when Dilara chooses to speak in English to me during the interview to make her statement about English being an important tool for inclusion, despite the fact that she had been communicating via the interpreter until this point in the interview.

Furthermore, Murad constructs 'English' as a symbol which represents the key to social integration in Europe, which he deems 'more developed' than his country of origin:

> *"(I): He say because when he was in Syria, we don't know how to meet people like you. But here, Europe has so more development than in my country, so I met many people from the new country, so I know how to treat them and speak to them. And English especial, because I want to learn English because I want to integrate with those people, and those society, like Europe in general."* (Interview with Murad, L. 427-431)

Murad contends that learning English has permitted him to gain in intercultural competence (Byram, 1997) since his arrival in Greece. He thus constructs 'English' as the medium through which he is able to engage in intercultural communication with 'European people' and to have

the opportunity to belong to what he considers the 'European cultural community'. He implies that when he was in Syria, he was less interculturally competent, because he could not interact with people from European cultural communities. Despite the difficulties involved in being a refugee, Murad affirms that his experience of forced migration has exposed him to new cultural communities that he is interested in learning more about and in belonging to.

In a more immediate manner, it appears as though speaking English in the camps provides refugees with the opportunity to be more involved in Busy Bee activities compared with other refugees who do not speak English. These activities offer various benefits for refugees. For some adults, Busy Bee activities offer a reprieve from the boredom of daily life in the camp; for example, there is an occasion in my Field Notes where a refugee with whom we had not worked with before as an interpreter noticed us walking around the camp to sign children up to Busy Bee activities, and he spontaneously joined in. I wrote: "*At some point, there is a young man sitting with a group of friends and he asks us what we are doing, so we explain, and he says, "I speak English, I help. No busy, no problem"*" (Field Notes, 24/10/2019, L. 88-90). The capacity to speak both English and Arabic on this occasion offers this young man the opportunity to partake in a communal activity with NGO volunteers in the camp, which he engages in for its own sake. This shows that speaking English can be a powerful tool to challenge the experience of liminality and boredom within the camps. As for refugee children, some of them are selected by Busy Bee volunteers to be 'Young Explorers Leaders', which means that they help with being a role model in classes for younger children and they help facilitate excursions and other activities. A key requirement for being a Young Explorer Leader is to speak English. Indeed, on one occasion during a 'Young Explorers Leaders' training session, when asked 'what makes them a leader?', "*They all say that they 'like helping' and because they 'speak English'*" (FN 20/01/2020). Although this training was planned to give the children leadership training, it is apparent that they had noticed that English was a requirement for the role, and that being a Young Explorers Leader offers the added benefit of being able to attend extra workshops and excursions outside the camp. Therefore, speaking English provides refugee children with greater opportunities for engaging in interesting activities beyond the space of the camp, for general learning, and for developing deeper connections with NGO volunteers.

For adult refugees, when linguistic capacity in English reaches a certain level, an individual can become known as a 'translator' in the camps. For adult refugees, this applies to both English and Greek. This is to say that, when an individual refugee speaks English or Greek

to a sufficiently high standard they are ascribed the relational identity (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) of 'translators' by the camp authorities, NGO volunteers, and other refugees. This identity has come to have the symbolic meaning of being a 'community leader'. However, some refugee 'translators' claim this identity whilst others reject it, for various reasons (see Domain Analysis 14, Appendix 30). For instance, Bilal refers to his multilingual repertoire of English, a certain level of Greek, and first language Arabic as being a "*superpower*" (Interview with Bilal, L. 80). For Yusef, speaking English allows him to feel a heightened sense of belonging as a community leader within his own national and ethnic cultural communities, as well as to connect to other national and ethnic cultural communities who speak a common language with him. Yusef elaborates:

> *"(P): For example, because I can speak English, initially, the people come to me to translate, for [Magnolia Aid], for the lawyers, or the doctors, or maybe they need to buy something from the city, and because they cannot speak Greek or English, they come to me and they ask, 'If possible to come with us to help buy something or to talk with the lawyers?'. And for this reason, I have lots of friends because they are coming to me for help, and also for me it is pleasure to help them.*
>
> *(R): So, it sounds like speaking a lot of languages is very important, and being a translator is good?*
>
> *(P): Yes, very important, very good! You are not feeling alone, because every day, 2 or 3 people come and they need help translating for the lawyers, for the doctor, for the bazaar, for shopping, something like this, they are coming always here."* (Interview with Kala and Yusef, L. 119-129)

Yusef claims the identity of 'translator', as for him it is a high-status identity, which allows him to feel connected to others in the camp, to know about their lives, rarely feeling alone, and speaking on their behalf to authorities and locals. Therefore, this identity bestows the power of being a leader onto him, and this is important to his sense of self-worth. It also provides him with a reason to connect with people inside and outside the camp. He speaks about himself as the epicentre of social action, "they are coming always here", as the person who symbolises a path between 'problems' and 'solutions' for other refugees who do not speak English, and as a person with strong personal agency and a strong moral purpose to be of service to others. This stands in stark contrast with the way some refugee participants experience their sense of self as 'less than human' (as discussed in section 7.2.1, and 7.3.1). This implies that his status as a 'translator' enables him to contest the labels of refugees as 'helpless' as well as the frozen liminality involved in living in protracted displacement.

Similarly, Amir also reports that the identity of 'translator' is a high-status identity for him and a symbol of personal agency in a space that is regularly disempowering for refugees.

His account also demonstrates that his multilingual repertoire, which allows him to be identified as a 'translator' in the camp also enables him to connect with other refugees who would not have necessarily considered him to be a member of their linguistic, ethnic or national cultural groups at first glance. Amir recounts:

> *"(P): This happened because, sometimes I speak the Arabic speakers, I speak their language, and sometimes, they want me to help them with language, with translation. And also I like to be social with people. And sometimes they surprise, when they see somebody from Africa speaking Arabic. So for those people, come from Iraq or Syria, they doesn't know about the culture in Africa, what happen in Africa, so when I start to speak Arabic, they say, 'Oh wow, you speak Arabic!'. So in the first time, this is make them to be surprised, and the second time they recognise me.*
>
> *(R): Would you say that you feel like a community leader?*
>
> *(P): Yeah.*
>
> *(R): What does this mean for you?*
>
> *(P): For me, to help. To be there to help, and at the same time you can guide and you can, to declare something, like to say, 'Do this', because I realise this is good. And also because, not just because we come here to eat and sleep. We have responsibility like the other people. And by this way we can help our community by ourself. Because we can support each other. Not just to wait for the other people to come and help you, no. At the same time you can help by your way. Because this is the world, without helping you cannot. So we need each other."* (Interview with Amir, L. 290-309)

Amir's anecdote about his intercultural interactions with other Arabic speakers in contexts of him translating from English to Arabic demonstrates how the identity of being a 'translator' provides an opportunity for other refugees to renegotiate what they consider to be the membership boundaries of their linguistic cultural groups. From Amir's report, it appears as though refugees who are members of 'Syrian' or 'Iraqi' national cultural groups renegotiate their perception of group members, expanding them to include 'someone from Africa' whom they would have not necessarily identified as an 'Arabic-speaker', thereby 'granting' Amir belonging to more cultural groups. What is more, for Amir, claiming the identity of a 'translator' enables him to contest the notion of being disempowered as a refugee since it enables him to be a community leader, an individual of significance who has personal power to give other refugees guidance about how to improve their circumstances, to be the one who is in a position to offer help to others. Recalling that Amir considers all refugees to be part of his 'community' (see section 7.2.1), his identity as a translator then serves to strengthen his sense of belonging amongst the 'in-group' of refugees, whom he as a group member can help, rather than relying on 'out-group' members (i.e., camp authorities).

However, some refugees reject the categorisation of 'translator-group-leader'. Consider the case of Ali:

> *"(I):[…] They come here and discuss to make some activity for the refugee. And they choose for every community, one person to be like representative. So, they choose him, and the other lawyer, choose him to be representative for Arabic speaker. And he say, for those Arabic people, it's difficult to make them one group and to lead them. So, for this reason, I decide, or I prefer not to lead this group."* (Ali, L. 269-273)

Even though the camp authorities identify Ali as a group-leader to liaise between Arabic-speaking refugees and an international NGO which was visiting the camp, Ali explains that he chooses not to, because "it's difficult to make them one group and to lead them", implying a recognition of the complexities involved in forming cultural groups within the camp. He suggests that even though the authorities categorise refugees who speak the same language as belonging to a collectivity (thus ascribing the language spoken as the marker of community belonging), refugees may not consider themselves to be 'one group' based solely on a shared language.

Beyond the use of English, a communal sense of belonging amongst refugees within the camp is also cultivated through the following practices: the use of specific greetings (see Domain Analysis 15, Appendix 31), the use of specific discourse(s), or folk terms (see Domain Analysis 3, Appendix 17), and through socially constructing a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) around communication practices in a highly multilingual space. Recall Saville-Troike (2003: 10-11), different "ways of speaking, as well as […] how these patterns interrelate in a systematic way with and derive meaning from other aspects of culture" reveals that "pattern *is* culture". Within Minoan and Dorian camps, refugees use some specific discourse(s) which build a commonality of practices and expectations regarding appropriate ways to greet people in the camps. For example, refugees tend to use the word 'Salam' as a greeting regardless of linguistic, national, ethnic or religious cultural group memberships. As Madeha says, *"(I): With Arabic and Somalian people, just they say 'Salam' for them, and I say 'Salam' for them"* (Interview with Madeha, L. 132). This term is a shortened version of what is originally a Muslim religious greeting in Arabic – السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ [As-salamu alaykum] – that literally means 'Peace be upon you'. In the context of the camp, since 'salam' is the word for 'peace' in both Arabic and Farsi, it serves as a cultural symbol of the interculturality of the camps, and spans across both religious and non-religious communities of refugees using the term to greet people: *"(I): Everyone that they are not Muslim they, they knew that, we say 'Salam', they also say 'Salam' for them"* (Interview with Zahiya and Badia, L. 364-365), thus signalling localised

belonging. Additionally, the English 'Hello' may be used. Indeed, Hada states that she uses the English phrase *"(I): Hello. Hello my friend"* (Hada, L. 152) to greet strangers within the camp, indicating that she presumes a stance of friendliness as an initial point of departure for all her interactions with other camp-dwellers. These terms suggest that there are common elements of linguistic use pointing to a pattern of communication in the camps, indicating that communicative competence (Saville-Troike, 2003: 18) within these contexts entails people engaging in a 'friendly' and 'peaceful' exchange with their greetings, which signals localised belonging.

Furthermore, Sharif explains that some people, perhaps those who have been around in the camp longer, express communicative competence not by using a universal greeting within the camp, but rather by being able to recognise what language certain refugees speak from their physical appearance, and that they adjust their linguistic greeting accordingly to the appropriate language:

> *"(I): He says that we have been here for a long time. When we pass people in the camp, we immediately know what race they are, we know which buildings they live in and the different buildings between the Kurds, the Persians and if it's someone Kurdish, we will say 'Choli boshi', if it's someone Greek, we will say, 'Kalimera', and if we see an English teacher, we say, 'Hello'. So we look at their faces, and we instantly know what race they are, and we use their language."* (Sharif, L. 165-171)

On the one hand, Sharif's testimony could be regarded as an example of essentialist identity ascription within the refugee camp community. On the other hand, however, it could also be understood as an example of the refugee camp community being closely-knit enough to allow the members to be attuned to which languages other members speak as their mother-tongue and that they adopt the appropriate language to greet members accordingly. This can be seen as an expression of cultural welcome, an effort to adapt to difference, and an openness to and curiosity to learn from others' ways of doing things, perhaps a rather tentative form of languaging (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004: 2). This practice of cultural sharing is, in fact, rather widespread within the camp, and considering language(s) as Discourse(s) (Gee, 1996), expressive of cultural identities, these expressions in the camp, which are often welcomed by others as an opportunity for intercultural exchange, can be a further marker of localised belonging, where a culture of openness and welcome is cultivated.

One example relates to sharing of recipes, exchanging culinary habits by being exposed to new foods, and incorporating them into customary practices. In fact, Inaya explains that sharing of recipes is something she treasures, *"(I): the best thing here, we learn from other*

culture the cooking" (Interview with Inaya, L. 677). This spirit of sharing is also reflected in fashion, as Ibrar talks about the cultural fashion show they held at Dorian camp: *"(I): Yes we learn but some things, not because in the past we make a celebration for sewing and everyone, what he likes to wear, we sew for him. And we make presentation for all clothes."* (Interview with Ibrar, L. 271-272).

Moreover, many refugee participants and NGO volunteers use repeated folk terms (see Domain Analysis 3, Appendix 17) within their daily speech patterns, which are also indicative of repeated patterns of communication, suggesting a 'small culture formation' (Holliday, 2013) within the camp. Phrases such as "same same", "same same, but different", "no problem", "very problem" and "Ali Baba" are all used by refugees and are also absorbed into NGO volunteers' speech. For instance, in a Busy Bee Adult English class, a refugee student uses the folk term 'same same' and even though it is incorrect English, and the teacher, Fay, responds, in the context of wanting to teach 'How are you doing?', using the same term, signalling belonging to the same speech community: "*And then one student asks, "Same same for 'what's up'?" and Fay answers, "No, not same same, this is action""* (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 134-135). By using the shared symbol, she generates a sense of belonging (Jenkins, 2008) between them. Busy Bee volunteer, Kalia, elaborates on this:

> "*So Ali Baba, we all know the story, 'ο Αλη Μπαμπα και οι σαραντα κλεφτες' 'Ali Baba and the 40 thieves' like especially as Greeks, we already know what Ali Baba means, about the other, I think they have been said so much, as phrases, like 'we spoke', 'he speak me bad' and stuff, sometimes we also say them, I'm like, what is English anyway? English is a language that however you speak it like it makes sense. So it really doesn't matter. Like, also in Greek if someone tells me something that syntactically is completely wrong, I understand so I'm not going to say anything. Like the importance of this moment is to communicate with each other*" (Interview with Kalia, L. 634-640).

Kalia explains how the signifier 'Ali Baba', which refers to the signified 'steal' or 'thief', draws on shared cultural knowledge in this context, and serves to create a shared sense of belonging amongst refugees and NGO volunteers who also understand its meaning. Additionally, on an occasion when Busy Bee was running an end of module party for the Young Explorers, one child came up to me and shouted that someone had "*alibabaed [their] pencil case!*" (FN 17/10/2019, L. 140). By using the signifier 'ali baba', but by adding the suffix 'ed' to make it an English past participle, and then by me understanding this meaning and acting appropriately to try to find their pencil case, there was a form of localised belonging created through this interaction. In fact, one refugee participant refers to these terms as being part of a "refugee language":

> *"Like I told you, it's a refugee language, because we are all in the same situation, we know what they are asking and we understand each other, compared to a situation that is different."* (Interview with Arezo and Ayan L. 69-70)

Arezo seems to suggest that these kind of terms, especially 'problem', are all ways of symbolising community belonging amongst refugees who are contending with the same difficulties of forced migration. NGO workers also participate in these linguistic practices. Consider Hanna from Darling Crafts, who uses the Arabic word 'halas' (literally, 'enough', or 'finished'), that she has absorbed into her linguistic repertoire through interactions with Arabic-speaking refugees, and she uses this word to speak to an instructor in a room full of international NGO volunteers on a legal training day, who do not speak Arabic:

> *"Then Hanna shared the anecdote of when Darling Crafts were supporting refugees to call this line, by finding out the correct time slots, offering internet at Darling Crafts, and having some successful cases by getting "translators from the community for many of these languages, to be able to call during more slots…In one or two cases, it did [work]. And then I don't know why it didn't anymore, whether they generally decided, 'halas', this is not what we're gonna do, or that we were just lucky in some cases…"*
> (FN, 06/11/2019, L. 25-31)

In fact, there are many occasions where refugees and NGO volunteers exhibit forms of translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014), the very presence of which suggests a hyper-local sense of belonging, a kind of 'small culture formation' in the sense that many refugees and NGO volunteers recognise the camp as a highly multilingual space, where the goal is to communicate and be understood rather than communicate in grammatically correct ways. These acts of translanguaging symbolise an experience of incorporating multiple Discourses (Gee, 1996) within a single speech act to reflect the 'routes' (Woodward, 2002; Hall, 1990) of their journey to Greece. Nesrin (non-recorded interview) refers to languages in the camp as being "*like soup*" and Maddy explains that she regularly notices the children in Young Explorers engaging in what amounts to translanguaging:

> *"I've heard that they kind of have their own language that they create as a mixture of Greek, Turkish, English, what was it Greek, Turkish and English, yeah Greek Turkish and English. And they create, 'cus they all been some point in Turkey, some point in Greece, so that's their common ground and that's how they all speak to each other."*
> (Interview with Maddy, L. 134-137)

What Maddy notices here is the fluid dimension of language and identity, neither are static, but rather they are processes of becoming (Hall, 1990), since refugee children expand their linguistic repertoires as they intermingle and reshape words from languages across the countries they have inhabited on their journey in order to serve as their local linguistic speech

community in interaction with other refugees and NGO volunteers in the camp. This practice is reminiscent of Woodward's (2002) claim that we ought to understand the identities of migrant populations through 'routes not roots', where their identities are dynamic cultural artefacts constituted out of all the cultural identities of the places and people they have interacted with on their journey. The blending of English, Greek and Turkish in this context suggest a hyper-local belonging amongst refugees who have also crossed through Turkey to arrive in Greece, as is the case for most refugee participants.

Another common occurrence is the reproduction of phrases or expressions in English that do not conform to English grammar. For example, a version of the phrase "he speak me bad" (FN 15/10/2019, L. 116) which children often use in the camp, appears in my interview with Maddy who incorporates the expression into her speech: "*Like I don't care what they say, like if they are going to speak bad to me, I couldn't care less*" (Interview with Maddy, L. 229). When the use of the expression is pointed out to her, Maddy explains her own relationship to this speech pattern:

> "*[I]n the camp you say 'oh he speaks bad' or 'it's very problem' and you know this person is going to understand it. And I guess I've started using it because 4 days a week now in my classes this is how I communicate; I communicate in broken English to the kids so they can understand what I say. And it just sticks like this 'big problem', even in my own life I'll sometimes go, 'oh I really like that' now I go: 'I like I like'. Because it's the way I speak to the kids. ((laughs)) So bad!*" (Interview with Maddy, L. 241-246)

Maddy's reflection points to the relationship between her and her students as the basis for adapting her speech patterns, for the sake of building a sense of community and mutual understanding together with them. Her embrace of new forms of speaking, however, goes beyond its merely contextual functional use, since she admits to using these grammatically incorrect speech patterns beyond the context of the camp. If we consider translanguaging to be "speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices" (García & Wei, 2014: 22), then Maddy's weaving together of "refugee language" terms and English indicates belonging to a linguistic community. The fact that Maddy does not immediately notice her own evolving use of language in this context and that she laughs at her recognition of the ungrammatical nature of some of the sentences she constructs strongly suggests that this practice is experienced as positive and as a marker of belonging to the community of the Busy Bee classroom.

Lastly, considering non-verbal communication as a form of language (Argyle, 1975) in and of itself, non-verbal communication between refugees offers an opportunity for creating

new communities of belonging within the refugee camp community. As Amir states, "*I don't think I met someone he doesn't understand body language*" (Interview with Amir, L. 567). Non-verbal communication can transcend linguistic barriers, as Elodie claims, and children are especially adept at forging these non-verbal connections with others: *"(P): Yes, just with signs, we can talk, Lingala, French, my children will understand. Signs are the hands*" (Interview with Elodie, L. 41-44). Non-verbal communication is particularly used by elderly people who are less likely to learn new languages, and thus use body language to create bonds with other refugees that simulate familial bonds:

> *"(I): [...] when I want to go out when I see other people, I even I don't know them, I give a hug or I kiss them. Because I don't have anyone more my relative, his sons and daughter, [she] said, 'they're like my mother, they are like my sisters, they are like my daughters'...The other people like, when she doesn't know their language she say that people in here are very nice people, I do like this, I hold hands...All of the people is very nice in here... And also all the African people, the Somalian people they say 'Mother' for me."* (Interview with Zahiya and Badia, L. 623-639)

Zahiya and Badia are two elderly Afghan women, who use their non-verbal communication to create communities of localised belonging, particularly amongst younger refugee women, who despite their varying linguistic cultural group memberships, all refer to them as 'Mother'. What is more, non-verbal communication during sports activities transcends linguistic and national cultural group barriers and enables the formation of a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) within a group of refugees who are all interested in football (in both Minoan and Dorian camps) and volleyball (in Minoan camp). As Rahim eloquently puts it, "*football is an international language*" (Interview with Rahim, L. 281). Bilal further remarks about the role of sport in Minoan camp:

> *"(P): [...] But we ask before, 'We need something. If you want to stop the fighting in the camp, you need to make like football field, basketball field, some playground for the children'. They only make the playground for the children.*
>
> *(R): Why if you have playground fields, why would that stop the fighting?*
>
> *(P): Because I think when you play with, when you make activity with the other people, you will know each other, you will respect each other. I think the sport make the people love each other. You see in the TV now, there is many matches between the countries, for this reason."* (Interview with Bilal, L. 319-325)

Sports unites people as it makes them feel part of a team who can put aside any pre-existing differences during the time of the game so as to unite in a common goal of winning or a common enjoyment of the game. Bilal clearly believes that this is the key to fostering social cohesion within Minoan camp. What is more, further signs of a strong cultural community

formed around passion for sports can be found in the fact that, as Yusef recounts, refugees from multiple national and linguistic cultural groups were willing to contribute some of their personal, limited financial resources for the collective good of buying sports equipment when Magnolia Aid would not do so for them:

> *"(P): Yeah. First the [Magnolia Aid] got, but then during the time it was broken, because the people wants to play and they asked [Magnolia Aid] to make but they said they cannot, they don't have budget to make volleyball ground. So then the people, they come together, and everybody in the community put some money, and we buy some balls and nets."* (Interview with Yusef, L. 163-167)

This act on behalf of many refugees with varying cultural group memberships, who all come together to buy a new volleyball gear, indicates a sense of localised belonging amongst refugees and a commitment to fostering the conditions for communication and relationships to be formed across linguistic cultural groups.

7.4 Concluding Discussion

This chapter has explored the various ways in which 'belonging' is claimed, denied, and negotiated by refugee and NGO participants in the context of Minoan and Dorian camps. Considering 'belonging' as involving a "politics of belonging", which produces forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (Antonsich, 2010: 645), and as something which is entwined with processes of identity formation, (re)negotiated within and through intercultural interactions, the processes of socially constructing a sense of belonging for refugee participants facing the liminality of forced displacement is fraught with tension. Section 7.2 has examined the ways in which the social identity of being a 'refugee' is constructed by refugees, NGO volunteers, Greek locals and camp authorities.

What emerges from section 7.2.1 is an understanding that within the processes of identification, which occur through a relationship between 'self' and 'other', and where collective identification is a dialectical process of negotiating group membership and collective categorisation within complex power relations (Jenkins, 2008), the social identity of being a 'refugee' appears to be overall constructed as a negative stereotype by locals, camp authorities, and sometimes even refugees themselves, as a rigid label which refugees struggle to contest. Within and through intercultural interactions between refugees and locals, the social identity of being a 'refugee', as a label carrying negative connotations of being 'dirty', 'thieves' or a

'threat', is ascribed onto refugee participants by locals during daily activities in Artemopolis and in local educational contexts. In these interactions, refugee participants largely experience their interlocutors as having more power than them in their identification and these have negative implications for their internal sense of self, to the point where at least some refugees reproduce this negative discourse. These discursive constructions serve as a symbol of refugees being socio-spatially excluded from belonging in Greece, as the local Greeks (who are the gatekeepers to local belonging) 'deny' the refugees' requests for belonging.

However, there are many refugees who do not wish to belong in Greece and therefore do not 'ask' for belonging in the first place. There are also a number of refugee participants who express that they feel like they are treated well by Greek locals. And yet, most refugee participants express that these negative symbolic constructions of being a 'refugee' are also socio-spatially present through the bordering practices carried out by the state, who place them in camps segregated from local host populations and thus deny them the opportunity to learn Greek more easily through regular interaction with locals, as demonstrated in section 7.3.1. This section also suggests that there is a power struggle over linguistic cultural assertion between, on the one hand, refugees who seem to value speaking and learning English along with the Busy Bee volunteers who provide these activities, and on the other hand, the camp authorities and locals who seem to reinforce the cultural preference for interacting in or through Greek. Therefore, there are some occasions in which the identity of being a 'refugee', as someone who does not belong to the wider socio-political space of Greece, is also produced as being socio-spatially excluded, or an 'illegitimate occupant of space' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 240) even within the space of the camp.

However, section 7.2.2 demonstrates that there are occasions where refugees can resist negative stereotypes associated with being a 'refugee' over periods of prolonged intercultural contact with locals, through which they exercise personal agency to renegotiate the symbolic meaning of their status as 'refugee'. This endeavour is largely supported by NGO volunteers, who in the case of Busy Bee, discursively construct their 'policy' of intercultural interactions as being one where volunteers should engage in a non-essentialist approach to intercultural communication – minimally, by not automatically assuming different cultural group memberships prior to intercultural interactions (Woodin, 2018) – thereby positioning themselves as allies in the processes of refugees reclaiming agency over their self-identification. Busy Bee volunteers also socially construct a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) value of openness in Busy Bee activities, which allows refugees to occupy the positive identity

of being a 'student' and to resist the seemingly overpowering identity of 'refugee' which tends to dominate other aspects of their daily lives. Evidence suggests that this approach is well-intentioned and many refugee participants speak to the benefits they derive from being able to participate in activities such as Busy Bee Adult English class, which offers them an interactional space to meet other refugees as equals within their identities as 'students' and engage in tentative forms of intercultural dialogue (Council of Europe, 2008: 17) or intercultural learning (Bennett, 2009).

Yet it appears as though these opportunities are shaped by the wider existing power structure within which NGO volunteers have more positional power than refugees. NGO volunteers also, to some extent, act as gatekeepers to the revered identity of being a 'student', because they only permit refugees to claim that identity if refugees perform being a 'student' in culturally appropriate ways, which in this context, carries the symbolic connotations as constructed by broadly Western liberal values towards education and learning spaces. Within the constraints of accepting the categorisation 'student' as largely defined by Busy Bee, refugees are able to socio-spatially belong to the Busy Bee classroom and claim the identity of being a 'student' which allows them to resist the identity of being a 'refugee'. Going further still, section 7.3.2 reveals that linguistic practices of creating a shared speech community amongst refugees and NGO volunteers and cultivating a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) of communicating through translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014) as well as through the use of folk terms, refugees and NGO volunteers both reproduce these linguistic practices (within and through intercultural interactions with each other and beyond the context of the camp) and signal a sense of hyper-local community and belonging. This, in turn, provides – through humour as well as a commitment to mutual understanding and communicating heuristically – a way to resist the socio-spatial exclusion refugee participants typically experience in the wider context of Greece by forming socio-spatial communities of inclusion within the camp. Finally, by doing this largely through the language of English as the baseline language of communication, refugees are able to transcend the space of the camp and to connect to time-spaces beyond, experiencing a sense of community belonging to their hoped-for future within imagined communities in their would-be countries of resettlement, which they symbolically construct as being intertwined with English.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has sought to understand refugees' experiences in mainland Greece in the aftermath of the so called 'European refugee crisis', when there were a significant number of people seeking asylum in Greece, largely as a result of the war in Syria (UNHCR, 2018b). Once the situation became unmanageable on the Greek islands, the Greek state transferred thousands of refugees onto the mainland (Pazianou, 2018), where they awaited the outcome of their asylum claim for anywhere between one and three years in refugee camps. It is within two of these mainland refugee camps, Minoan and Dorian camp, that this ethnographic, anthropological study has sought *to explore how encamped refugees in mainland Greece engage in intercultural interactions to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities, and how these intersect with processes of constructing a sense of home and belonging within the space(s) of refugee camps.* In such a context where many refugees find themselves waiting for the outcome of their asylum claim for extended periods of time, it is important to centre the voices of those with such lived experience in policymaking processes. Therefore, it becomes crucially important to understand how encamped refugees make sense of themselves and others, of their surrounding environments, and of their sense home (or as this thesis comes to articulate it, of their sense of hoped-for time-spaces of more permanent resettlement).

In order to address its overarching research aim, this thesis has adopted a social constructionist and non-essentialist approach to understanding processes of intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001) and identity formation, recognising that within and through these kinds of social interactions, people engage in a dynamic process of meaning-making, through a dialectic relationship between self and other and group identification/collective categorisation (Jenkins, 2008). Amongst the many dimensions of 'cultures' which are (re)negotiated within and through language(s) (Kramsch, 1998) and within complex power structures in these social interactions, we find a central, entirely legitimate concern, among refugees with articulating notions of 'home' and 'belonging'. In the space(s) of refugee camps, this (re)negotiation largely operates within intercultural interactions. These occur within a situated context and a relational and mutually co-constitutive understanding of space(s) and place(s) (Lefevre, 1991; Massey, 2005). This enables an in-depth understanding

of the dynamic complexities involved in how encamped refugees (re)negotiate the symbolic, cultural and intertwined meanings of 'identities', 'home' and 'belonging' within the refugee camps, which importantly connects to time-spaces beyond the camps. Therefore, in this thesis 'home' is understood as 'constellations of home' (Brun & Fábos, 2015: 12), and 'belonging' as pertaining both to 'place-belongingness' as well as to the 'politics of belonging' (Antonsich, 2010). These are cultural meanings which carry deep significance and are fraught with tensions for refugees within the protracted experience of displacement.

Aiming to understand the processive and iterative dimension of meaning making in this context, I undertook an ethnographic study which sought to privilege the voices of refugee participants within the situated context of Minoan and Dorian refugee camps in Artemopolis, whilst being a participant observer within a local NGO, Busy Bee. I, therefore, came to occupy the positionality of an insider within the community of NGO volunteers who work alongside refugees within these camps. Through an in-depth exploration of refugees' as well as NGO volunteers' experiences in the camps (which occasionally touch upon interactions with Greek locals and camp authorities) and their actions, behaviours, and speech within situated contexts, a complex picture has emerged in this thesis detailing the ways in which refugees engage in intercultural interactions to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities, and how these are co-constituted by the processes which construct the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps, as well as home and belonging in the space(s) and place(s) of the camps. Building on a robust methodological outlook and conceptual framework, the thesis has explored in three empirical chapters how refugees and NGO volunteers construct the space(s) and place(s) of Minoan and Dorian camps (Chapter 5), a sense of 'home' (Chapter 6), and a sense of 'belonging' (Chapter 7), and how these are shaped by and contribute to processes of intercultural communication and identity formation.

Having summarised the key features of the thesis, this concluding chapter will now discuss the key findings which have emerged in section 8.2 (including how they address the specific research questions guiding this study in section 8.2.1, and how overarching themes which emerge from the thesis help address the overarching research in section 8.2.2). Section 8.3 will consider the theoretical and methodological contributions of this study. Lastly, in section 8.4, I will offer some concluding personal reflections, and will discuss the strengths and limitations of this study and opportunities for further research.

8.2 Discussion of Key Findings

This thesis' overall research aim recognises the interlinked and co-constitutive nature of identities, spaces, places, home and belonging. In order to address it, it was necessary to break down its component parts into a series of research questions. Working within the constraints of a linear, written thesis, the different concepts were separated out analytically and resulted in investigating the following research questions:

1. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?

2. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of home within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?

3. How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of belonging within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?

4. How do encamped refugees engage in intercultural interactions with other refugees, NGO volunteers, Greek locals and authorities, to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities?

Whilst the response to each of these questions can be understood to contribute elements of response to the other questions, addressing them separately allowed this thesis to bring to the fore some of the crucial dimensions of refugees' and NGO volunteers' experiences within the camps. Research Questions 1, 2, and 3 are respectively predominantly addressed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Research Question 4 cuts through all of the other questions, as it invites focusing on the processes of social interactions and identity renegotiation that are raised by Research Questions 1, 2 and 3. I will now detail the key findings of the thesis as they respond to Research Questions 1, 2 and 3 threading relevant responses to Research Question 4 as they emerge along the way. Whilst these are distinct, they are also interrelated, and therefore, I will discuss logical links as and when they arise.

8.2.1 Space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps

<u>Research Question 1:</u>

> How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?

Chapter 5 explored how the space(s) and place(s) of Minoan and Dorian refugee camps, involving physical, mental, social and temporal dimensions (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005) are constructed by refugee and NGO volunteer participants, including through intercultural interactions between refugees and other refugees, NGO volunteers, and Greek locals and authorities, as well as the dialectical relationship these have with processes of identification (Research Question 4). Understanding space as both a process and an outcome, a "flow and place – it is simultaneously a process and a thing" (Merrifield, 1993: 521), at the scale of the camp, the physical borders of the spaces of the camps are discursively constructed by a large number of refugee participants, as well as a founding member of Busy Bee, as both a material and social border which locks them into a place that is geographically segregated from the host population, thus impacting on their identities by making them feel like prisoners who are confined to living in these places, and are hence in some way 'inferior' to locals (who are not bound to the camp). In fact, many refugee participants express that the geography and materiality of the space of the camp, controlled by the Greek state, reinforces a social space in which refugees feel like they experience conditions that amount to Agamben's (1998) notion of 'bare life', or '*zoe*' understood as mere survival, rather than conditions that allow for the crafting of '*bios*', that is a flourishing life. The camp, for these people, is therefore constructed as a space in which they do not wish to belong. Through intercultural interactions with locals, refugees are produced by locals as being legitimate occupants of these spaces (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006), especially at the liminal spaces of the entrances to the camps, where refugees are positioned as 'belonging' on opposite sides of the border from locals. This, however, contrasts with the way that NGO volunteers experience the borders of the camps and the spaces of the camps, as something to cross to enter a place where they work, but that they ultimately are able to leave easily and a place where they are able to perform their social identities of being 'volunteers' which has a validating effect on their sense of self.

> There are some exceptions to this overall trend though, with some refugees experiencing the space of the camp as a place of safety and as a symbol of success at having

survived persecution or fleeing from war. Further, despite constructing the spaces of the camps as being prison-like, the camp is also constructed as a place over which a power struggle for space occupancy occurs, as is the case when refugees protest against the local authorities bringing in new refugees into the place of the camp, therefore revealing how refugees are occasionally able to claim some ownership over the construction of the camp, as a place that is not solely produced by others, but rather one in which they can express some degree of campzenship (Sigona, 2015).

Within this general experience of the space of the camp at a camp-scale, which is greatly shaped by interactions with locals and camp authorities, refugees are able to construct the social spaces of Minoan and Dorian camps within more discrete places in the camps (such as the kitchen or the library) as places over which they experience a stronger sense of control. These are places where refugees engage in intercultural interactions with other refugees in order to renegotiate a 'small culture' (Holliday, 2013) of gendered space occupancy, which is sufficiently in keeping with preferred cultural norms of space occupancy, reconfigured within the constraints of the space of the camp which remains officially controlled by others. Within and through refugees' intercultural interactions with NGO volunteers in the Busy Bee Adult English classroom, refugees are also able to claim the identity of being a 'student'. This shows that refugees are, in some cases, able to construct discrete places within the spaces of the camp as being positive and where they wish to belong, offering them a hyper-local sense of belonging. In the case of the classroom, this is demonstrated by refugee students each having 'their seat', which allows them to resist the overbearing space of the camp where many other aspects of their lives are 'communal property'.

Nevertheless, even within the classroom, it appears that NGO volunteers still ultimately have more control over who is able to cross the threshold into the classroom, and thus over who can even begin to socially construct it as a spatial symbol of hyper-localised resistance to the more general identity of being a 'refugee' within the wider spaces of the camp, because the positional power of NGO volunteers means that they ultimately are able to decide if different refugees are permitted to gain access to their classes. The agency of refugees in constructing places within the camp are, however, most overtly limited in their intercultural interactions with local authorities, where practices of cultural identity assertion through the creation of new places (such as a restaurant that serves Syrian food) are in fact denied and repressed by local authorities, reinforcing refugees' identities as social 'prisoners'.

8.2.2 Home within the refugee camps

<u>Research Question 2:</u>

> How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of home within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?

Chapter 6 explored how refugee participants construct a sense of 'homeness', as opposed to 'home', within Minoan and Dorian camps, which involves multi-dimensional, multi-scalar and temporally complex processes of identification and reterritorialisation (Brun, 2001), occurring within power relations, and which partially occurs through and within intercultural interactions with other refugees and NGO volunteers (Research Question 4). The experiential and discursive construction of the physical, material and geographic dimensions of their residences in the camps in many ways parallel refugees' experiences of the spaces of the camp at camp-scale. Refugee participants largely construct their containers and rooms as the opposite of a home: as 'prisons', as a 'threat', as a living space likened to 'animals' living spaces', and as a public as opposed to private place. All of these are a symbol of social shame, isolation and segregation from local populations, reinforced by camp authorities, as well as a symbol of the lack of opportunities to engage in homemaking practices and social rituals which they deem to be the ideal of home, but which they overwhelmingly do not experience in the spaces of the refugee camps.

However, some refugee participants express that their current residences within the camp are a kind of 'home' for them because at least it is a place of safety for them and their families. In this regard, there is a gendered dimension to understanding how refugee participants construct a sense of home within the space(s) and place(s) of the camps, as women refugee participants seem more willing to concede that their current residences are a kind of 'home', as opposed to the more 'threatening' wider space(s) and place(s) of the camps. What is more, refugee participants discursively construct a sense of an ideal 'home', which is either in relation to their remembered homes in the past or in relation to their imagined homes of the future, serving as a symbol of hope in the present place(s) of the camp, allowing refugee participants to connect to a time-space beyond their current temporalities, either a return 'home', or a journey to 'home'.

Nevertheless, despite these largely negative discursive constructions of the physical dimensions of home, in terms of the social dimensions of home, refugee participants at times

refer to their current residences as 'homes' in relation to the daily homemaking practices and hospitality rituals that they engage in with their neighbours, which enable them to construct their current residences as a kind of 'home'. This is particularly heightened within and through intercultural interactions with NGO volunteers, when they are engaging in hospitality rituals in the 'here and now', performing individual and collective identifications of cultural group memberships of the past, (re)negotiating them in the present through interactions with Busy Bee volunteers, and connecting to a future time-space where these hospitality rituals will be able to take uninhibited forms. Through these practices, refugees are able to subvert the more usual power dynamics (Vandevoordt, 2017) with NGO volunteers which occur within the wider space(s) and place(s) of the camps. This happens as a result of a subtle renegotiation of identities, where NGO volunteers accept the social identity of 'guests' within refugees' containers and rooms, and where refugees willingly assert their social identity as 'hosts'. These intercultural interactions therefore enable the construction of 'homeness' in liminality and this shows that the scales of space(s) and place(s) of the camps are a highly relevant dimension of constructing a sense of home within displacement, since refugees participants never refer to the camps as 'their home', but they do occasionally refer to the specific current residences (containers and rooms) as their 'homes'.

8.2.3 Belonging within the refugee camps

Research Question 3:

> How do encamped refugees and NGO volunteers construct a sense of belonging within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps?

Belonging is understood as both "belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion ∕ exclusion (politics of belonging)" (Antonsich, 2010: 545). In this regard, Chapter 6 addresses belonging as pertaining to feeling at 'home', which has already been discussed above, and belonging as pertaining to socio-spatial forms of inclusion and exclusion, involving both micro and macro scales, is explored in Chapter 7. These forms of 'politics of belonging' can be revealed within and through intercultural interactions with other refugees, NGO volunteers, locals and camp authorities

(Research Question 4), which are intricately connected to individual and collective identification, and demonstrate the ways in which refugee participants claim belonging, are denied belonging, and negotiate belonging in various contexts. Understanding space(s) and place(s) as mutually co-constitutive (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005) means that discursive spaces of belonging within the camp are also intricately connected with space(s) and place(s) of belonging outside the camp.

The majority of refugee participants' accounts of their experience of their sense of 'self', as conceived of within and through intercultural interactions with 'others' (Jenkins, 2008) – the Greek host population, involving locals and camp authorities – are demonstrative of a feeling of being categorised and labelled as a homogenous collectivity of 'others', as 'inferior' to locals, as 'thieves' or 'threats'. These negative identifications occur in multiple social contexts (e.g. in local shops, in education contexts), as well as are felt by some refugee participants as a deliberate act by the Greek state to excluded them from learning Greek by 'confining' them to camp-spaces, which are physically and socially segregated from local populations. These acts from Greek locals of social identity ascriptions of refugee participants, leads many participants to express that they feel labelled with the negative stereotypical identity of being a 'refugee' which has negative symbolic meanings, and serves as a discursive tool for Greek locals to socio-spatially exclude refugees from belonging in Greece. However, there are some exceptions to this trend, from refugee participants who express that they do feel welcomed by the locals, which they experience to be the case in virtue of the way that Greek locals saved them at the point of first arrival.

Within and through intercultural interactions with other refugees, a shared sense of belonging within the space(s) and place(s) of the camps is cultivated through translanguaging practices (García & Wei, 2014) as the baseline form of communication, through the use of shared greetings, and linguistic and cultural memberships. Within and through intercultural interactions with NGO volunteers, refugees are able to co-construct a sense of shared belonging. On the one hand, existing macro-level power structures means that NGO volunteers have more power in this process of co-construction of spaces of belonging (as demonstrated through them being gatekeepers to their activities), however, on the other hand, considering the Greek population as the ones 'granting' the wider 'political belonging' (Antonsich, 2010) to Greece, in a way, both refugee participants and NGO participants are (mostly) 'outsiders'

and therefore can co-construct a different kind of belonging within the space(s) and place(s) of the refugee camps.

Parallel to refugees' experiences of creating a sense of belonging within the Busy Bee classroom through the cultivation of a small culture of community of members who know where 'everyone's seat' is, there is a discursive space of belonging crafted within the environment of the Busy Bee activities, where refugees can feel a sense of belonging amongst a group of 'students' as opposed to 'refugees' in other space(s) and place(s) of the camps. This is the case for both adults and children, where Busy Bee discursively constructs a policy of a commitment to a non-essentialist approach to intercultural communication (Scollon & Scollon, 2001), and where several refugee participants indicate that they feel comfortable enough in English classes so as to engage in conversations with other refugees and allow for intercultural learning (Bennett, 2009); where refugees and NGO volunteers symbolise belonging through the use of shared patterns of communication and speech communities (Saville-Troike, 2003); and where communicating through the medium of the English language symbolises forms of hyper-local belonging, but also points to hoped-for future time-spaces of belonging elsewhere, where English is likely to be a helpful language for belonging in their preferred countries of resettlement.

8.2.4 Living within Liminality: Between existing and the -inter-

Drawing together the key findings discussed in the three preceding sections, I will now respond to the overall research aim:

> *To explore how encamped refugees in mainland Greece engage in intercultural interactions to (re)negotiate their individual and collective identities, and how these intersect with processes of constructing a sense of home and belonging within the space(s) of refugee camps.*

Intercultural interactions, understood as a practical term for engaging in the process of what is theoretically termed 'intercultural communication', involves processes of socially constructing meaning together (Gergen, 1999: 49), through "interaction between or among individuals or groups who consider themselves different, could be considered different in some way, or make difference relevant in some way during their interactions" (Woodin, 2018: 31). These meanings

are negotiated through the medium of language, which produces 'cultures' and 'identities' as a result of the exchange. Within this situated research context, intercultural interactions between refugees and locals, camp authorities, NGO volunteers, or even other refugees reveal heightened inequalities, and are occasions where many refugee participants report that they experience their interlocutors as having more power than them to highlight their 'differences' or ascribe to them the identity of being 'different' within the exchange. This points to a need for critical intercultural communication to make sense of the power dynamics at play during the exchanges within and outside Minoan and Dorian camps, to understand to what extent, and in what ways, encamped refugees are able to play an active role in determining the symbolic meaning of 'cultures' and 'identities' produced within and through the exchange, which pertain to the symbolic meaning of 'refugee camps', 'home' and 'belonging'. Indeed, as Halualani and Nakayama (2010: 17) contend, the space of the 'inter' in intercultural communication represents "temporarily useful spatial metaphors for re-thinking how culture involves contested sites of identification as opposed to others and the resulting political consequences."

Synthesising the stories shared by refugee participants and NGO volunteers through this study, the overall notion of 'liminality' emerges as the crux of the research findings. In many ways, intercultural interactions between refugees and various other actors in Minoan and Dorian camp, as well as with Greek locals outside the camp, reinforces the fact that to some degree, refugees face liminality as a daily feature of their lives, as the state within which they exist, and one in which and through which refugees are systematically dehumanised by others. However, liminality as a characteristic of the -*inter*-relational discursive space which some refugees do enter within and through intercultural interactions with others, also presents opportunities for resistance to the first experience of liminality, and for the possibility of building small cultures which resist the ascriptions of being a 'refugee'.

Indeed, one central experience of life within Minoan and Dorian camps is that, for camp dwellers, it is characterised by thorough-going liminality. This widespread experience of uncertainty regarding the medium-term future is not entirely surprising: given that encampment is connected to awaiting a formal outcome of asylum applications, the outcome of that process looms large for most refugee participants. However, liminality, in this context, goes further still. The sites of the camps themselves suggest to camp dwellers that they are removed from Greek society, socially and geographically isolated. Indeed, participants invoke many metaphors to convey the physical and social isolation they feel in the camps, likening the camps

to a 'desert', an asylum, a place for animals, or the most repeated metaphor: a prison. Rather evocatively, recall Sharif's remarks that Dorian camp "*(I): [...] presents itself like a prison, with all the different cells, all the rooms are the same. It's like a prison as you see in the films*" (Interview with Sharif, L. 85-86). In ordinary parlance, a prison is a space defined by three key features: it is a space where one waits for time to pass; it is a space used to punish; and it is a space where a subset of humans is removed from a wider social group. This sense of living in a land but not being integrated into the wider community of that land stresses the sense that the camps are an in-between space, not 'not Greece', but not really 'Greece' either. This is reflected in the fact that many refugee participants hope to leave Greece if and when they are granted the legal status of refugee and the fact that those who wish to stay hope to live in Greece in a markedly different manner than their present encampment permits, minimally, by engaging in work.

This profound ambivalence is also found in most refugee participants' relationship to the identity of being a 'refugee'. On the one hand, the formal status of being legally recognised as a 'refugee' is wished for by most refugees, for the obvious reason that it signifies gaining access to rights and is a path to a more settled future away from the conflict or persecution they originally fled. On the other hand, the social identity of being a 'refugee' carries a hefty burden of social stigma, to the point of being dehumanising. Through intercultural communication with locals and camp authorities, negative symbolic meanings are attached to the identity of being a 'refugee', rendering it a dehumanising label that refugees wish to repel and yet cannot seem to escape; as Amir (L. 369) emphatically has put it: "*the word 'refugee' it not let me go any place*". Within intercultural interactions, what is being struggled over is the symbolic cultural meaning of 'refugees', or the collective 'us' as the participants state, and they experience the locals as successfully discursively attaching the connotations of 'dirty', 'thief', and somehow a 'criminal' who is 'deserving of living in such a place' to the identity of being a 'refugee'. Refugee participants experience a kind of social death which is further affirmed by instances of overt shaming from locals. Recall how Rahim experiences mistreatment at the hands of authority figures in shops who follow him around like a threat, or how Jameela is regarded as a thief in the bus. These intercultural interactions are dehumanising. They affirm that those with the relevant social power – in these cases, Greek people with hyper-localised authority – construct the identity of 'refugees' as threats, as outsiders, as less deserving of social esteem, trust and respect than others. As a result, refugee participants overwhelmingly share that they feel dehumanised within and through intercultural interactions with locals. They

also share that they feel that way when interacting with camp authorities, who are quick to constrain the use of certain places within the camp and forceful in the exercise of their managerial power over even rather intimate aspects of the life of camp-dwellers (including, for example, deciding who will live in the same container as other refugees and policing the right of entry of refugees at the gates of the camps).

The power relations over the construction of the identity of 'refugee' is, on the whole, not favourable to refugees; locals and camp authorities hold most of the power. And yet, refugees are able to contest and resist some of the most egregious forms of domination. Consider the case described by Yusef of when local authorities decided to bring more refugees to Minoan camp, which was already overcrowded. He explains how this became an occasion when refugees living within Minoan camp came together to resist the authorities, affirming that *"[e]verybody volunteered, all coming, all different nationalities, all together"* (Interview with Yusef, L. 558). By working together to close the camp entrance and not allowing the local authorities to allocate new refugees to live in Minoan camp, the camp-dwellers constructed the borders of the camp as being the boundaries that mark the camp as their own territory, protecting the refugees *within* the camp. This shows that refugees can exercise agency even in the face of formal authorities within the camp. Though still constrained, this agency is even more evident when constructing places within the camp. The kitchen, the library, and the Busy Bee classroom stand out as places where refugees are able to construct them as places of joint activity, where desirable activities are carried out, and where intercultural interactions occur. These are not without tension, as different cultural, religious, linguistic, and gender norms are continually renegotiated by different refugees. In particular, in the context of the Busy Bee classroom NGO volunteers benefit from a greater level of positional power in shaping and reshaping the norms which govern that space. The place in the camp where the greatest amount of agency seems to be exercised by refugees is, rather predictably, their own living spaces, though even that control has limits. A powerful example of these limits is articulated by Samiya who expresses how home for her is a private place where she is able to feel comfortable in her gender and religious identities, and that this is not her experience of Dorian camp: *"when you go out this room you see your neighbours, you see other people, you are don't have private, because I wear hijab, and all I... this is my problem in this place. Because I can't wear anything private. You understand?"* (Interview with Samiya, L. 49-52). Samiya's remarks point to the fundamentally alienating feature of even the most private part of the camps, namely: they do not permit the strong personal authority over space that is usually associated with living in

one's own home. External forces must continually be contended with. This, therefore, leads camp-dwellers to holding a profoundly ambivalent relationship towards the camp and with what it means to be at 'home' in the camp. On the one hand, they recognise their own living spaces within the camp as functional homes, but this 'bare' home stands in stark contrast to the remembered homes of the past and to the hoped for homes of the future.

Refugees' comfort in considering their current residences as a kind of home is intricately linked to their agency to shape them and they seem to have more agency to do so in the social realm than in the physical realm. As a result, some intercultural interactions, however, within the space(s) and place(s) of the camps enable exercising a perceived greater sense of agency for camp-dwellers. The most obvious of these are intercultural interactions that are constructed as socially valuable activities. Practices of hosting play an important part in asserting agency and authority over the living space and in building community with other refugees and NGO volunteers. Recall how Arezo uses the word "home" to refer to her room in Dorian camp when she invited her neighbours over to her room for food and drink at important life events. Arezo's feelings exemplify those of many refugee participants' who share their sense of pride at being able to host others. Hosting is a homemaking practice that not only has a valuable social function of building relationships in a new social context, but also serves as a ritual act of remembrance of the ways of old, of the way of the world left behind, of the ways which refugees intend to keep wherever they ultimately end up settling.

This past-orientated cultural sense of home is combined with a future orientated-sense of home. Futurity is most clearly affirmed in relation to education. Accordingly, the space of the Busy Bee classroom and the English language are constructed as a bridge to a hoped-for future home, where a new full life, a life beyond the camps, will be genuinely possible. This at least partially explains why NGO volunteers and consciously-created intercultural interactions are the object of value and esteem within the camp, because they represent a mental escape from the immediate conditions of camp life and a potential path towards what is all at once the 'new' and a return to the 'old'. As making a home in the eventual place of settlement both constitutes the making of a new home and a return to the experience of having a genuine home, it represents both the start of a new diasporic journey and the end of their own personal odyssey. In so much, this hoped-for future home represents the promise of an end to the suffered identity of 'refugee' and the beginning of a new identity as a member of a new community in a new land and a member of the older community that has been forced to leave their homeland. My

interviews with refugees and NGO workers suggest an awareness of this promise. In particular, I think that Busy Bee sees itself as the custodian of this promise and that is why its leadership and its volunteers aim to socially construct a stance of approaching intercultural interactions with refugees through a humanity-affirming stance. Recall that Kathy states that "*[r]efugees are people*" (Interview with Kathy, L. 567) and Cassie adds that "*the idea of treating the treating refugees the same as you are treating everyone else, kind of the idea of them just well yes they are just humans*" (Interview with Cassie, L.38-39).

But even outside of the obviously visible sites of humanity-affirming intercultural interactions within the camps, I contend that there is evidence of a refugee camp culture where practices of interculturality serve a social-bonding and resilience-building function. In developing new ways of speaking and of interacting among refugees and with NGO volunteers, camp dwellers are able to assert a crucially important social identity within the camps, namely, that of being a participant in and a crafter of local cultural practices. Through shared greeting practices, learning about one another's languages and cultures, and the widespread use of folk terms, camp-dwellers are able to engage in small culture formation, and as such, they are able to continually reshape their identities and to assert their agency over the cultural fabric of important social interactions that occur within the camps.

8.3 Research Contributions

This ethnographic, anthropological study of the processes of intercultural communication and meaning-making around issues of identification, space(s) and place(s), home, and belonging, in contexts of liminality and displacement offers several theoretical contributions to scholarship in the fields of Intercultural Studies and Refugee Studies. There are also some possible implications which could help inform policymakers planning responses to forced migration, and for NGOs who work with encamped refugees. This thesis also offers methodological contributions to understanding the complexities of carrying out ethnographic studies in contexts of complex insider/outsider positionalities. As demonstrated extensively by my literature review, this research project can also offer insight into researching multilingually and interculturally in sensitive contexts (Holmes et al., 2013).

This study contributes to the growing body of literature around critical intercultural communication (Piller, 2017; Halualani and Nakayama, 2010) and the call for a commitment to social justice in intercultural research (Ladegaard & Phipps, 2020: 70). The intercultural processes of meaning-making explored in this ethnographic research, around issues of identity, home and belonging, demonstrate that a cultivating a critical self-awareness when working alongside refugees with an explicitly articulated intention of adopting of a non-essentialist approach to intercultural communication is highly valued by refugees. This is crucially important in refugee camp contexts as people are brought together in these by virtue of the need to move from their 'home', where they are confronted with daily intercultural contact in their intimate spheres of 'home'. Finding ways to make sense of their new circumstances, whilst often coping with trauma and grief, but also pregnant with the qualities of resilience and hope to rebuild a sense of home in a new time-space, is aided by evolving alongside NGO workers and volunteers with a high level of intercultural competence and an explicit commitment to equalising power relations with refugees. This is because renegotiating meaning-making through social interactions is an important way for refugees to find their bearings and develop valuable relationships and it can be disrupted or hindered by domineering or callous social interactions with those who occupy positionalities that carry relatively greater social power. This research that contributes to understanding how refugees renegotiate their sense of self and the symbolic meanings attached to notions of 'home' and 'belonging' in a context of heightened inequalities, where these issues are fraught with tensions, can help inform practitioners and ultimately empower encamped refugees.

By adopting intercultural communication as the prism through which to study space(s) and place(s), home and belonging within the camp gives us subtle and diverse perspectives simultaneously, as it invites us to consider the detailed processes of formation and renegotiation of identities in a context that is marked by change, contingency and uncertainty. Studying the refugee camp context is also of benefit to Intercultural Studies insofar as it helps further expand the field to include contexts in which intercultural interactions are the product of fortune rather than choice. Studying intercultural interactions in these contexts is an important step towards reckoning with power, inequality and social justice in Intercultural Studies. In-depth ethnographic studies like this one will also help provide crucial evidence for policy, as policymakers need to hear the multiple voices, encounter the complexity of the lived experiences of encamped refugees, and take into account their stories which are often highly personal and yet speak to common experiences among displaced people. Although thick

descriptions do not of themselves speak directly to policy recommendations, they can help spur reflections and conversation among policymakers that a more quantitative approach would be unable to evoke. Intercultural communication requires a multiplicity of perspectives (achieved through iterative interactions sustained over time) and the individuality of research participants to come to the fore. This layering of the multiple and the individual provides a unique insight into the lived experiences of people's complex lived experiences undergoing a challenging live event. Indeed, it demands that policymakers address people's fundamental basic needs as well as civic needs in contexts of forced migration and displacement.

In terms of its contribution to Refugee Studies, this study of intercultural communication in refugee camps helps offer a more nuanced understanding of refugees, not just about their lives, but about how they manage to claim some agency (even though it remains limited) in the manner in which they construct their sense of home in liminality. This minimally shows that Agamben's work is ultimately too extreme, denying the possibility of practices of cultural resistance within the camps. Even though the conditions of the refugee camps are, by all accounts deplorable and dispiriting, encamped refugees are able to assert their agency and sustain a sense of their lives as being capable of flourishing by affirming their identities relating to the past and future, by making use of their living spaces and other places within the limits of the camp, and by engaging in complex process of intercultural communication. Furthermore, this ethnographic research is able to speak to the particularities of the Greek context about refugee and NGO volunteer experiences. As this is a study that relates to refugee camps in a transit country (that is to say, a country in which most refugees who come through do not intend to permanently settle), there are reasons to believe that its implications would be of relevance to refugee camp situations in other transit countries. Given that the 'temporariness' involved in transit migration is challenging to define, issues related to how encamped refugees make sense of home and belonging within 'transit' become particularly salient. This study also provides some insight into the particularities relating to challenges faced when the majority of refugees do not share much linguistic ability with the group membership of host communities.

Ultimately, the findings of this study suggest that there are certain aspects of their lives which refugees, on the whole, identify as being crucial to their feeling respected as human beings, to their capacity to make sense of their circumstances, and to begin to reassemble a sense of home and belonging within displacement. Throughout this work, I have sought to illustrate these ways of 'being' and amplify marginalised voices. The anthropological

dimension of this thesis is, in fact, revealed precisely by the complex interplay between the general human aspirations to constructing a 'home' and a sense of belonging with the concrete limitations imposed by the space of the camp. Social anthropology should help us wrestle with the multiplicity and the fullness of the human experience. As Ingold writes:

> "To do anthropology, I venture, is to dream like an Ojibwa. As in a dream, it is continually to open up the world, rather than to seek closure. The endeavour is essentially comparative, but what it compares are not bounded objects or entities but ways of being. It is the constant awareness of alternative ways of being, and of the ever-present possibility of 'flipping' from one to another, that defines the anthropological attitude. It lies in what I would call the 'sideways glance'. Wherever we are, and whatever we may be doing, we are always aware that things might be done differently. It is as though there were a stranger at our heels, who turns out to be none other than ourselves. This sensibility to the strange in the close-at-hand is, I believe, one that anthropology shares with art." (Ingold, 2011: 239)

This thesis is not just a series of descriptive observations but rather the product of an intense period of 'being with' and 'being in' a community, with all the vicissitudes and challenges that that entails. My experiences were therefore not those of a dispassionate onlooker, but rather those of a well-intended but ultimately imperfect community member, friend, teacher, volunteer, occasionally ally in the face of external institutions, and co-inquirer. Ingold captures this fragile yet profound dialogic orientation well when he writes:

> "[A]nthropology – as an inquisitive mode of inhabiting the world, of being with, characterised by the 'sideways glance' of the comparative attitude – is itself a practice of observation grounded in participatory dialogue. It could perhaps be characterised as a correspondence. In this sense, the anthropologist's observations answer to his experience of habitation. The correspondence may be mediated by such descriptive activities as painting and drawing, which can be coupled to observation. It can also, of course, be mediated by writing. But unlike painting and drawing, anthropological writing is not an art of description. We do not call it 'anthropography', and for good reason. The anthropologist writes – as indeed he thinks and speaks – to himself, to others and to the world. This verbal correspondence lies at the heart of the anthropological dialogue. It can be carried out anywhere, regardless of whether we might imagine ourselves to the 'in the field' or out of it. Anthropologists, as I have insisted, do their thinking, talking and writing in and with the world." (Ingold, 2011: 241)

As a final stage of this thesis, I seek to extend this participatory dialogue to enter into conversation with policymakers who shape the structures of refugee camps and NGO workers who work with encamped refugees, to bring the 'painting' of this thesis to the service of advocating for social justice for camp-dwellers in Artemopolis. The first and most important piece of information which policymakers should attend to in light of this thesis is, simply put,

that refugees would much prefer to not live in a refugee camp. Whilst acknowledging the complexities that states face when managing and planning for forced migration, I would be remiss and a poor ally to my refugee participants if I did not share that they made it adamantly clear throughout our interactions that the encamped life that they face in Artemopolis is not the one that they expected to find when they began their journeys to Greece. Beyond this obvious point, refugees also identify the capacity to work, or to set up informal economies within the refugee camps, as being an extremely important way to regain a sense of agency in displacement. This was strongly communicated by male refugee participants in this study as being an important feature of their gender identity. But Yasna, a female refugee participant, also stressed the importance of engaging in an informal business with her story about her informal Syrian restaurant in Minoan camp being closed by the police, since she explained that it had a devastating effect on her dreams for forging a new life in the present. Thirdly, from refugees' experiences in Minoan camp, and from my participant observation, the lack of even one easily accessible, large, indoor communal space where refugees could socially meet made it a constant challenge for refugees to form new relationships and networks. Therefore, in the planning stages of refugee camps, policymakers ought to consider incorporating well designed public places and spaces for informal socialising into refugee camp planning. In conversation with the findings from Dalal and colleagues (2018) who discuss the changes in planning policy between the two camps in Jordan, to move away from the Zaatari model, where refugees began to alter the socio-spatial arrangements of the camp to mimic life in Syria, to the Azraq model, where they planned to remove spaces for these kinds of informal networks to arise, my findings also suggest that strong social networks are extremely important for encamped refugees and that these spaces should be cultivated by planners. Indeed, refugee participants feel as though more of these kinds of spaces within the camps would be an improvement on their current circumstances. However, a fine balance needs to be struck since there is an accompanying concern with this that policymakers might begin to normalise protracted encampment. Lastly, refugee participants make it overwhelmingly clear that they find the educational and cultural activities that Busy Bee offers as being crucially valuable to their sense of wellbeing and personal development. Educational and cultural activities are experienced as valuable constructive opportunities to engage in whilst living in liminality. Moreover, the linguistic skills provided by language classes are seen by many encamped refugees as a critical key for building their new lives in Europe. Some refugee participants' also stressed that these kinds of interactions offer opportunities for intercultural learning (Bennett, 1993) and intercultural dialogue (Council of Europe, 2008), and are therefore valuable for creating spaces of

connections within displacement for refugees, but also for NGO volunteers who also benefit from these exchanges. One lesson that other NGOs operating in refugee camps might want to draw on from Busy Bee is that articulating a clear policy of a non-essentialist approach to intercultural interactions with refugees, however complex and difficult to implement in practice, does seem to create crucially valuable relationships through which the full impact of cultural and educational activities can be derived.

8.4 Looking Backwards, Looking Forwards

This study has several limitations but some of these are entwined with the particularities of what this research project offers and some potential avenues for future research. For instance, one key limitation of this study is my linguistic capacities, which did not extend to the languages that many refugees whom I encountered spoke. This inevitably restricted the degree to which I was able to become an 'insider' in the lives of refugee participants and led to some missed opportunities to ask deeper follow-up questions during the research interviews which were conducted via an interpreter. And yet, these moments also became opportunities for gaining deeper insights into the symbolic meanings that participants attached to words as asking for clarification of these at times allowed participants to share more about their 'shared cultural knowledge' (Geertz, 1973) with me as an outsider.

Avenues for further research are manifold. This research project has offered an in-depth perspective of the experiences of encamped refugees in Greece, and some about NGO volunteers' experiences, who all report about their experiences with local Greek people and Greek camp authorities, however, I did not have the opportunity to speak with many locals themselves. A further study conducted on understanding locals' and perhaps even camp authorities' perspectives on their intercultural interactions with refugees, would offer an extra layer of understanding to the situated context of this research project – particularly because Greece is largely regarded as a transit country for many refugees, and thus gaining locals' perspectives about their experiences with people coming to 'their home' and how they feel about welcoming newcomers into it would shed further light on the findings of this research project. Furthermore, since many refugee participants raised the issue of living in camps as being a fundamental barrier to feeling a sense of home and belonging in Greece, an in-depth study with refugees living in Artemopolis could offer some comparison about whether the

issues refugee participants raised about not feeling a sense of home and belonging were pertaining to the fact that they live in a camp, rather than specifically pointing to particularities of the Greek context. More widely, similar ethnographic projects carried out in a context where refugees share more of the linguistic, ethnic, and religious cultural group memberships with host populations (e.g. Jordan), or where refugees are in a European country which they would consider their 'final home' in their journey to Europe (e.g. Germany), would shed further light about how refugees understand their sense of self, home and belonging in places where they feel more of a permanent connection to.

On a personal level, undertaking this ethnographic research has been an emotionally demanding and highly-rewarding endeavour. As Shah reflects about doing an ethnographic study:

> "It requires us to dive deep into the sea of other people's lives and find a way to swim with them. It requires commitment, endurance, constant improvisation, humility, sociality, and the ability to give oneself up to and for others. It also entails the ability to retrieve oneself and be prepared to rethink, from this position, everything one thinks one knows. And then it needs one to swim back to the shore and be prepared that this shore is almost always going to be different from the shore where one began" (Shah, 2017: 53).

Becoming a participant observer within a context where people were struggling with challenging life circumstances and feeling largely powerless to offer much help beyond a listening ear and some Greek language support where possible, often made me feel as if my research participants were offering me more than I could offer them. As I became more and more embedded in the lives of some of my refugee participants, and especially my interpreters, seeing the world through their eyes and witnessing their experiences with Greek locals, demanded of me to question and re-evaluate aspects of my own assumptions about my own cultural group memberships which I had held onto before entering the fieldwork context. For example, I came to doubt my implicit sense of pride in the Greek self-ascribed 'culture of welcome' (philotymo) that I always associated with Greek people, which is tied together with notions of hospitality and religious undertones of the Greek Orthodox religion. Though it is believed to be pervasive and fundamental in Greek culture, I witnessed its dire absence in the refugees' experiences when interacting with local Greek people. In this regard, 'the shore' of who I am in relation to Greekness has shifted for me as a result of undertaking this research. The relationships that I formed with people during my fieldwork, for whom life in Greece continues to be a struggle, and yet who approach each day with a new hope that it is one day

closer to their final step in the journey for 'home', continue to inspire me to work alongside people seeking asylum.

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Appendices

Appendix 2

Scratch Note version of map of Dorian camp

→ some people came to stroke my hand, some waved goodbye

→ women are waiting for men to leave to stand up, won't approach the teacher.

[diagram: AO mid → women | teacher | men]

next class: women sit on one side, men on the other.

Same thing again.

same thing again, she needs to kick someone out, she asks them to go outside → lots of French speakers in this class.

→ he had to come back in & take his seat & leave, if they have too many absences they have to go. "very difficult for me." if you have more than 3 absences, but they have to leave. "I know many people say hospital, passport, sick babies, I know, but computer says, 'out' body language"

→ difficult. Greek class, say 17th class same time I can't change

2 women came late, I was sitting in the corner desk, so there was only 1 space left next to a man and then one spare seat & then men, she made the man take his bag off chair & move down so the women can sit together, all class does this instinctively also do you know this? whose custom is this? Do they do it
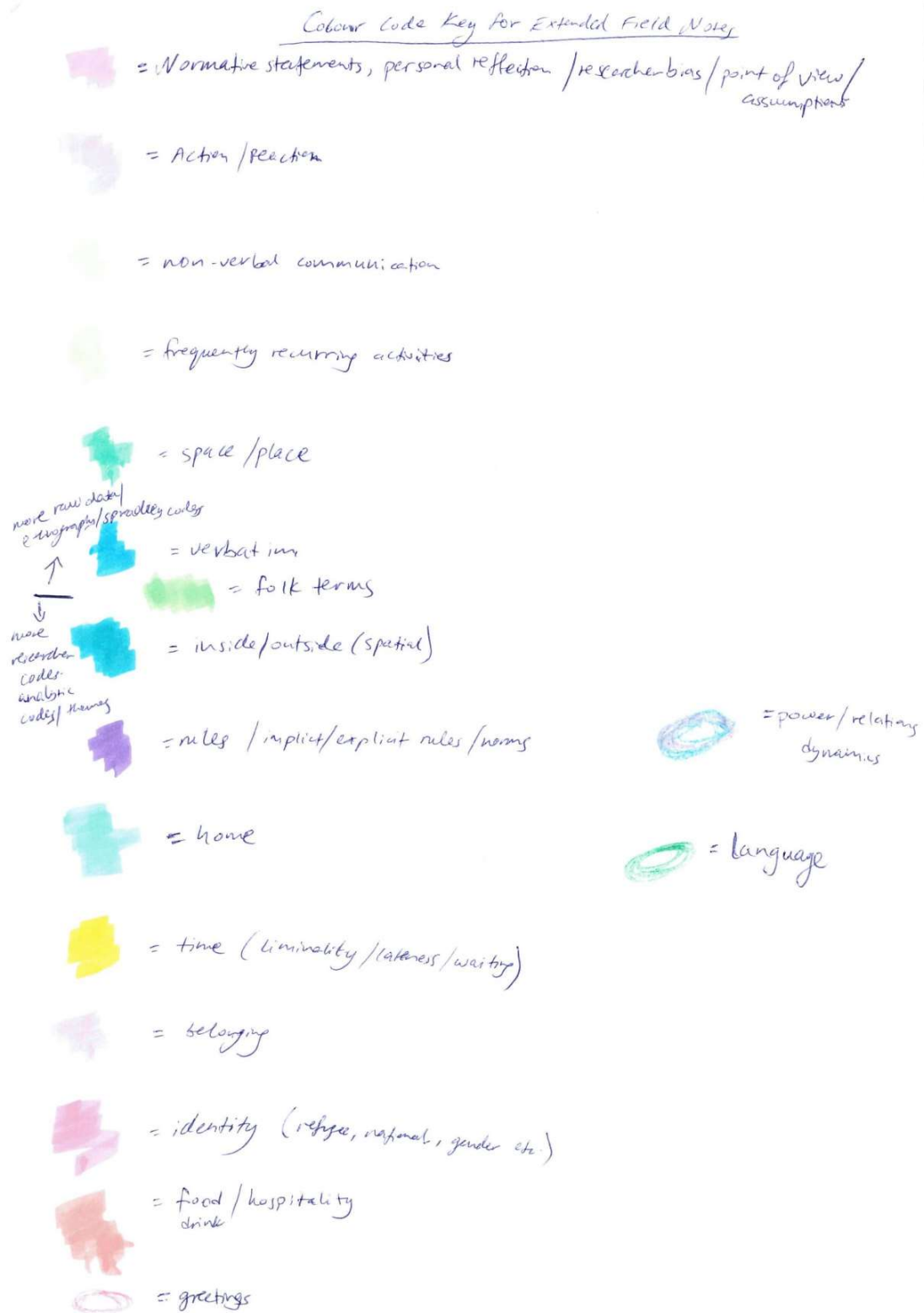
Colour Code Key for Extended Field Notes

= Normative statements, personal reflection / researcher bias / point of view / assumptions

= Action / reaction

= non-verbal communication

= frequently recurring activities

= space / place

more raw data /
ethnographic/ spradley codes

↑
↓

more
researcher
codes.
analytic
codes / themes

= verbatim

= folk terms

= inside / outside (spatial)

= rules / implicit / explicit rules / norms

= home

= power / relations
dynamics

= language

= time (liminality / lateness / waiting)

= belonging

= identity (refugee, national, gender etc.)

= food / hospitality
drink

= greetings

13/11/2019 – Watching Adult English classes at Minoan camp with Fay

- Today I spent the day with Fay watching her teach English to the adults in Minoan camp. This is the first time I see her in action and she is clearly very loved by her students and a very good English language teacher.

- I meet Fay at the headquarters of the Magnolia Aid in the city centre at 7:45am. It's a cold, misty, foggy morning but the sun is starting to come out. I walk in through the underpass and find her sitting on a little wall smoking a cigarette. There are a few other staff bustling around the main doorway, also smoking and speaking in Greek. Fay is not speaking to anyone at the moment, and she sees me when she looks up and smiles really brightly.

- I walk up to her, take a seat next to her and we start talking about the weather. Then she tells me about her week so far. It's now almost 8:00am and the other staff are moving towards the min-bus so we also get up and start moving in that direction. Fay then spots the director and walks up to him to explain that I will also be catching the bus with them to camp today and just double-checks that this is ok. He nods and all is well so we move towards the mini-bus.

- We enter the bus and find a couple of seats in the middle. There are already some other staff on the bus. They are talking loudly, some in Greek, some in English, I hear laughter from the back of the bus, and lots of them are drinking hot coffee. As usual, most people are dressed in jeans and coats, quite casual clothing – appropriately sensitive to context or just dressing down because they are not in a more formal Greek govt job? Some are talking about their interactions with refugees at camp the day before and I understand that they are the nurses, the lawyers and the interpreters.

- Fay and I talk about our experience at BB so far. This is the first time that I have been able to have a full conversation with Fay so far, and we realise we both have quite similar views about the way refugee NGOs should be run and the way teaching should be delivered in this context. She also tells me about her background of teaching English as a Foreign Language in other contexts and how she first came to BB. I feel like by the end of the 30-minute bus ride to camp, we have bonded a lot more and I feel very pleased to be spending the day with her and watching her teach.

- As we arrive at camp, the mini-bus drives us a bit further along the dirt path than we usually drive when we come with BB. We pass the main gate entrance, where we usually enter with BB and there are lots of refugees there congregating by the wire gate. I wonder if they are waiting for a morning bus? We arrive at a second entrance to camp, by the NGO containers, that I hadn't noticed existed before. The staff start getting off the bus and go immediately to their office containers. I notice how remarkable this is as a difference to when BB staff arrive at camp. BB volunteers usually welcome interaction at the gate, by children and adults alike, whereas the NGO staff seem to be in a hurry to get into their containers and avoid contact with refugees. They walk swiftly to their office containers, with keys already at hand, and rush to open the door. One woman is trying to ignore the refugee that is trying to get her attention. She keeps her head looking straight ahead at the keys and is not lifting it to make eye contact.

- We walk past these containers and head to the Warehouse. We are immediately greeted by a few adult English class students. I recognise their faces from other interactions in the camp. Evidently, Fay knows them really well as they are her students and she sees them 4 times a week. They talk about their morning so far and how their evening last

[Handwritten margin notes: "assumption but I understand this from Nvc." (near lines 2-3); "Assumption" (near line 20); "not much interaction w/ official camp authorities & refugees casually separate groups" (near lines 31-35)]

47 night went. As we approach the Warehouse gate, more students flock to greet us. Fay
48 doesn't introduce me yet. Fay unlocks the Warehouse gate, and then we fiddle around
49 with the lock and keys for the actual door to the Warehouse. The large metal sliding
50 door is stuck as usual and both of us try to push it open. Eventually we succeed and
51 enter.

-this space is kept locked - access morning/ positioned police is/not permits access to open this space

52 ❖ The Warehouse is freezing. We make our way down the corridor and enter the English
53 classroom. The first thing Fay does is turn on the heaters. Then she starts preparing her
54 materials and her desk. I ask her where I should sit and she says that I should probably
55 take the corner, but sit on the side of the room that the women typically sit on, and she
56 points me to the right direction. She says, "they are quite particular about where they
57 sit". She also tells me the order of her classes today: A0 High, A0 Mid, A0 Low, A1,
58 A2.

- territoriality according to Fay.

59 ❖ I settle in my seat in the corner, take out my notebook and wait. The classroom quite
60 small, approximately 4m x 6m, orange walls, teacher's desk on the left, at the front of
61 the room, as soon as you enter, and the whiteboard is attached to the front wall. The
62 individual desk/chairs with folding desks are set up in the shape of a horseshoe along
63 the back and side 3 walls of the class, facing the front. The walls are vibrant and
64 colourful, covered with laminated pictures and words typed in bold English, and they
65 are blue tacked to the wall- clearly to be used in the classes and moved around. Even
66 though it's small, it feels like an inviting classroom. *normative statement*

67 ❖ Some students start to arrive – 2 women, they enter the room, and greet Fay, "Hello
68 teacher!" and "Good morning!", they are both smiling and seem very happy to be in
69 class. One woman is wearing a hijab, the other is not. Both are wearing heavy coats.
70 They are speaking to each other in what I recognise to be Arabic. They see me and
71 smile as they greet me too. "Hello teacher". I reply, "Good morning!". Interesting –
72 they have never met me before, I am sitting in the back of the class in the corner, and
73 they immediately assume that I am a teacher too. Anyone already in the class with Fay
74 must be a teacher too? Strangely, they go to sit in the front 2 seats on the opposite side
75 of the classroom to the one I am on. Now I am wondering whether Fay made a mistake
76 about the side the women sit on? Or maybe it's just this class but the other classes later
77 are mostly women on the side I am on. Anyway, they don't seem to mind.

- assumption/ questioning

78 ❖ The men start filing into class now. They see me and smile, "Good morning, how are
79 you?", I answer, "Very well, thank you, and you?" – no reply, just a smile. many of
80 them greet Fay. They sit on the back side of the class, with quite a few desks of
81 separation between them and the 2 women near the front. I hear many languages being
82 spoken as they enter the room. I recognise some Arabic, and I assume people are also
83 speaking Farsi. They all walk with purpose to one specific chair and sit there. There
84 doesn't seem to be a question about where they will sit. Do they have assigned seats or
85 have they just chosen seats that they usually sit at? One man walks up to his chair, looks
86 down at it, notices that it's dirty, takes out a tissue from his pocket and wipes it down,
87 and then sits on the chair.

implicit rules that all students go to their chairs in Adult English class

88 ❖ Then there is an uncomfortable incident with one student asking to be let into the class
89 and Fay having to tell him that he can't join any more because he has had too many
90 absences. This is a BB policy in terms of the rules of attending Adult English classes.
91 The student enters the classroom and BB notices him and says, "… sorry, we need to
92 speak". This happens next to the teacher's desk, right next to the door, and other

explicit rules forbidding entry/access

2

93 students are still filing in, but as they speak louder and louder, the rest of the room
94 quiets down. All eyes turn towards the door and this student being told that he can no
95 longer attend these classes because he has too many absences. I wonder why Fay hasn't
96 asked him to step outside?! I imagine this is very uncomfortable for both of them,
97 especially with an audience now. Fay keeps saying, "too many absences... 8 absences
98 already..." but the student does not seem to be understanding what she is saying. Due
99 to English language skill or just not liking what she is saying and is continuing the
100 conversation in the hope that he will be eventually allowed in – not sure?

101 ❖ Eventually Fay is visibly getting frustrated, furrowed brow, sad face, says, "I'm so
102   sorry, I don't speak Kurmanji". At this point, one of the women says, "Teacher, I speak
103   Arabic and Kurmanji. I help." Fay motions her hand up and down to signal come here
104   and the woman walks up to her. Fay gives her a piece of paper with the rules of *moment of*
105   classroom participation written in Arabic. Fay asks her if she can read this in Arabic *contentious IC*
106   and then verbally translate this for the student in Kurmanji. She says yes and holds the *- 3 way*
107   paper and points to it and talks the student through why he can't come to class anymore. *translation*
108   All 3 of them look quite sad and Fay is getting visibly more and more uncomfortable
109   with every passing second. Clearly she doesn't like this part of her job of enforcing the
110   rules. Finally, the student understands that he can't come to class and walks out and the
111   woman takes her seat again. 10 minutes have passed and now the class is starting late.

112 ❖ Fay addresses the class and says, "It's sooooo difficult"- stressing the 'so' and *- analysis*
113   expressing how she empathises with them about how they feel it's unfair to not be *Fay showng*
114   allowed back into class if you have too many absences. While saying this, she has her *solidarity with refugees, seeing*
115   hands out to the sides, quite a resigned gesture, and then she places them on her hair *to also struggle*
116   and pulls down on her face. *with BB policy. But ironically that she enforces*
117 ❖ Now the class begins and they start with discussing the date. This seems like a familiar *the rules*
118   routine, as if they do this every class. Fay asks who wants to come to the front to do the
119   date. Many students put their hands up and Fay calls on one, "Teacher ... " – she uses
120   his name and calls him teacher – sharing the power out, equating herself with the *analysing*
121   students by giving them the same title. He comes to the front, smiling, and takes the *creating a*
122   laminated words from the wall and moves the appropriate ones to the middle of the *unified speech*
123   whiteboard, saying, "Yesterday was Tuesday, today is Wednesday, tomorrow will be *community.*
124   Thursday". The class then repeats after him in unison. *temporarily redistributing*
125 ❖ Next activity is about asking questions about what happened yesterday. Fay asks the *power,*
126   group who would like to come to the front and ask questions. Only men raise their *redressing*
127   hands, and she calls on one, calling him "Teacher... has a question" and his name, again *power —*
128   making them equal. He comes to the front and asks a question, and only 3 men raise *students seem*
129   their hands. He calls on one to answer. *to appreciate it*
130 ❖ Then Fay goes over yesterday's homework, asks, "Any questions?" One man says,
131   "Teacher, this was difficult" and another answers, "Yes, Teacher I made". One of the
132   questions they needed to practice using was, "What is the problem?" Fay says, this is
133   also like, "What happened?" and then she says, "This is a good camp question!" And
134   then one student asks, "Same same for 'what's up'?" and Fay answers, "No, not same
135   same, this is action". – Good camp question because the norm is bad things happening?
136 ❖ They continue with Fay saying, "Where do you live?" and one student answers, "I live
137   in Minoan camp".

3

315

138 ❖ Then Fay is trying to explain the word 'leave' – she uses body language and NVC to

139 wave goodbye and explain this – "Why do you leave Greece? ... Bye bye, adios" and

140 then she answers, "Because, I am finished… Because, there is no work."

141 ❖ Meanwhile I notice that the students, both men and women, whisper to each other

142 throughout the class, and I hear mother-tongues being spoken. Fay notices this but does

143 not pick anyone up on this. Lets them speak own languages – I guess for comfort? Or

144 if they are asking their neighbours to translate something that they didn't understand?

145 ❖ Fay then moves on to an activity about teaching the difference between 'there is' and

146 'there are' and she uses the example of describing Minoan camp. Fay: "I close my eyes,

147 I see in Minoan camp… there are many containers, there are many dogs, there is one

148 English teacher…". She then asks the students to practice in pairs. One student says

149 something wrong at some point and the other 3 men around him laugh and say things

150 in Farsi that sound condescending and mocking from the tone. The student who made

151 the blunder looks a bit embarrassed, but it seems like this is solidifying his friendship

152 with the other men rather than really being mocked.

153 ❖ Then Fay asks them to work in different pairs for a new activity. One of the women

154 starts to get up out of her chair and approach the men but one male student puts his

155 hand up and palm up, to signal for her to stop and says something in his mother tongue-

156 Farsi, Arabic? She immediately recoils and sits back down in her chair. Fay notices this

157 interaction and says again addressing the whole class that they should switch partners.

158 After this second prompt, the male student goes to sit next to the woman. – Very

159 interesting action/reaction here. Cultural norms still governing in this space of the

160 classroom, until teacher insists upon the educational activity and needing to switch

161 pairs, at which point, it is now acceptable for men and women to work together. As

162 soon as the activity is over, the man immediately gets up and goes back to his original

163 chair.

164 ❖ Then Fay is asking them to practice saying what they find important in their daily lives.

165 One male student says smiling – but it seems like a defeated/resigned smile, "Number

166 1; smoke, number 2: eat, number 3: sleep". As soon as he says this, the majority of the

167 class nod their heads in agreement. I guess this highlights the slump refugees feel in

168 their daily lives, mental health issues, issue of boredom, issue of no meaningful work –

169 liminality.

170 ❖ Fay is then teaching pronouns, telling choice of sentence example – "Magnolia Aid

171 don't look becomes, they don't look" – everyone nods in response to this, some shake

172 their heads, others smiling. I guess this reflects how the majority feel like the NGO

173 running the camp largely neglects them.

174 ❖ At the end of the class, one male student goes up to Fay and says, "I no come tomorrow

175 Teacher, I go to Greek party in Artemopolis". He looks very excited and happy when

176 he says this. Even though he is missing class, really happy to be invited somewhere in

177 the city?

178 ❖ As they are walking out, some men come to shake my hand, others wave good bye at

179 me. I notice that the women stay seated until all the men have left the room, and then

180 they get up and leave. This seems intentional as they have their eye on them and wait

181 for them to leave and as soon as they have all left the room, they get up. Why?

182 ❖ In between the class change-over, Fay comes up to me and says that she forgot to

183 remind people who I was but that we could do it next session and I say yes.

4

316

184 ❖ Next class starts coming in. Again, a very lively bustle of changeover. A lot more
185   women in this class, but again, they take their seats on different sides of the room to the
186   men. I hear a lot of French speakers in this class amongst the men.
187 ❖ The same thing happens as the previous class, where she has to kick someone out
188   because they have too many absences. The student had already come in and taken his
189   seat (walked right up to it and took the seat with purpose). Fay walks up to him with a
190   sad look on her face and asks him if he could step outside with her. At least this time,
191   the student agrees to speak outside the classroom. When they come back in he looks
192   very angry, he walks to his place, picks up his notebook and bag, and then leaves the
193   classroom. Fay looks visibly shaken/distressed by this interaction. Her face is quite red
194   now and she has a frown. She feels the need to address the class as they are looking at
195   her, "…very difficult for me…if you have more than 3 absences you have to leave. I
196   know that many people say hospital, passport, sick babies, I knooow, but computer says
197   out… difficult Greek class, English class, same time". Her body is contorted as she says
198   all this, she looks as if she is pleading with them, and with 'out' she uses her hands to
199   show the door. The way she says 'computer' and personifies it is almost to deflect
200   responsibility for BB policy. She hates having to kick people out of class, especially
201   when she knows they have legitimate reasons for missing class, like a hospital
202   appointment, or an asylum process appointment, and yet BB rules say that they are only
203   allowed a certain number of absences before they lose their place in the class and are
204   put at the bottom of the waiting list again.
205 ❖ 2 women arrive late. By this point, all the seats/desks to my left are filled by women,
206   and then to my right, there is one empty seat, then a man sitting in the next one, then an
207   empty seat next to him where he places his bag, and then the rest of the chairs are filled
208   with men. The two women who arrive late walk up to the man, and one of them looks
209   at him smugly, motions with her finger that he should move along, and without further
210   ado, he moves over to the male side, lifts his bag, and makes space for the 2 women to
211   sit together. – Interesting – is it not rude to make him move? Would this have happened
212   in another adult classroom context? Even with no words politely asking him if he
213   wouldn't mind moving? Is this an unspoken rule? Whose custom is this? Cultural rule
214   that the women and men have to sit separately, and so the man moves almost
215   instinctively, without having to be told? Are they all Muslim? Man speaks French so is
216   likely not Muslim – does he move because he accepts the majority code of the class/
217   camp/ respects the women (both in hijab)? What are the women thinking? It's ok for
218   you to sit next to a man if there is no other space or if you are on the side, but if it was
219   your choice, that is unacceptable, you can't just choose a free seat?
220 ❖ Fay turns to me and then tells the class that we have a "visitor today". At this point I
221   introduce myself, explain that I work in the YE programme as the Greek teacher, and
222   that I am a student, like them, in university, so I am here to learn more about their lives.
223   I explain my research project. No one asks me questions, people nod in agreement for
224   me to stay. One student says to me, "Welcome!" and smiles. This is heart-warming for
225   me!
226 ❖ Activities in this class involve 'food Bingo' and the winner is given a sticker in their
227   notebooks.
228 ❖ Then they move on to numbers, and one student says they struggle with '90' because
229   in Arabic, this is the number for 95 (symbol for zero means five in Arabic). Fay seems

[Marginal handwritten notes:]
explicit rules forbidding entry

- 2nd time she's had to kick someone out - solidarity with refugees -ambiguous feelings towards BB policy/ rules

I am making cultural assumptions here based on my own stereotypes of gender norms?

5

230　fascinated by this and asks the student to come to the board and draw this for her to
231　show her. Other men in the class smile.

232　❖ Then Fay gives out some worksheet printout to the first person in the desks and asks
233　them to take one and pass the rest along. The students seems to struggle with this
234　concept of passing it along. She asks, "this for me?" 'for me' = 'mine'.

235　❖ Fay comes up to me and tells me that the next class has poor English level.

236　❖ 2 women enter the class, they go up to Fay, they hug her and they give her 2 kisses on
237　the cheek – very warm and familiar greeting, Fay responds in turn. This class, the
238　women sit on opposite sides of the room with the men in the middle – no obvious
239　separation of 2 sides, but still not intermingling. Then one comes and sits right next to
240　me. Fay goes to sit next to them in one of the spare desks – different to previous sessions
241　where she stayed mostly at the front of the classroom.

242　❖ I explain my research project in very simple English, mostly using NVC and pictures
243　on my phone. I say "no names", "no video". People nod.

244　❖ Fay says we will start by introducing ourselves and where we are from, "My name is
245　[xxx] I am from the United Kingdom" etc… One man starts, "My name is [xxx] I am
246　from Afghanistan"

247　❖ Students mostly use their mother tongues in this class, Fay doesn't comment on it, and
248　she allows it.

249　❖ We then move on to the alphabet. Fay is trying to teach them the song. They get to "L,
250　M, N, O, P" and no one can say this part correctly – the cadence and pace is too quick
251　for them, "M, N, L, O, P" someone says and the whole room bursts out laughing – not
252　in spite, they all know they can't do it. Feels like a fun and supportive environment.

253　❖ Now it's time to break for lunch. Fay says she brought her lunch and asks me if I
254　brought mine, and I say yes. Then she asks if I don't mind staying in the classroom for
255　a while so she can pop to the bathroom and so we don't have to lock the door and take
256　everything with us. I say yes of course. I then ask her where she is going to the
257　bathroom- I haven't had to use it before in Minoan camp but that it would be a good
258　thing to know. She says if it's during Magnolia Aid's working hours, "they give you
259　the key to their bathroom" and that's good. Otherwise, you have to use the public ones
260　and they are quite dirty. I make a mental note to try to not have to use the bathroom.

261　❖ When she returns, we take our lunches and sit outside to eat them in the sunshine. We
262　go to the back of the Warehouse, where we are less visible to the majority of camp,
263　because she says she doesn't really want her students to see her smoking. Some of them
264　would find this culturally offensive and she just would rather avoid the interaction.

265　❖ Next class is one of the higher English language levels. As they enter, immediate gender
266　separation of men and women again in the space of the room. Really mixed group again,
267　a lot of Somali women wearing hijabs, and lots of men from the Congo (I hear them
268　saying this in English as they come in). I notice tension forming between one of these
269　men and women. He is standing quite near her desk/chair and seems to be trying to start
270　a conversation with her, he is trying to joke with her, he is smiling. She smiles back but
271　answers in a kind of feisty way, that seems half joking but with serious undertones, as
272　he moves to his seat, "I afraid of you". He seems really hurt by this statement, and is
273　visibly upset by her not being willing to speak to him and treating him as if he is
274　dangerous. I wonder, have they had an incident outside the classroom that I don't know
275　about? Or cultural norms too strong to forgo even in the safety of the classroom?

is this a one-off event or normal?
look out for this at next session

6

318

276　❖ Most people are wearing track suit clothes, but one man is dressed in a formal suit and
277　　fancy shoes – I wonder if he has an important interview today? I am shocked at myself
278　　for thinking that it's strange for him to be dressed nicely. By this point, I have adapted
279　　my clothing to be very casual too. Norms of casualness in the camp internalised? Like
280　　dressing up is inappropriate?
281　❖ I introduced myself and my research project and my role in BB. No one asked questions.
282　　People nodded for me to stay.
283　❖ At one point someone says, "Do you want to do this in your container?" – I notice how
284　　they used the word 'container' to refer to their living space. Why not home? House?
285　❖ Last class of the day is the highest English language level. Men and women sitting
286　　separately again. Most classes this has happened now.
287　❖ Today they are practicing idioms. Each person takes turns to come to the front of the
288　　class and read the idiom they wrote down for homework and then explain it to the class.
289　　One of them does a really good job, most are fine, and one really doesn't make sense,
290　　but Fay is encouraging regardless, nods and smiles, and then asks what could have been
291　　improved.
292　❖ At some point in between when there is a group exercise, I hear one student ask another,
293　　"Why you learn Greek?!" and then he continues, "I learn English, it's necessary,
294　　everybody speak English… Greek teacher say to me, English or Greek? I choose
295　　English because it's more important for my life!" – I am shocked by this. I find out later
296　　that the Greek classes run simultaneously to the English ones, and that they are forcing
297　– them to choose which one to attend. In an environment where there are hardly any
298　　activities, you'd think that the 2 organisations could coordinate their schedules so that
299　　students can attend both? Shocking that neither BB nor Magnolia Aid have not decided
300　　to sort this out?! What shocked me further was that the student said this comment very
301　　nonchalantly, as if he was used to things never really working out conveniently.
302　❖ The class continues with what to do in an emergency situation, and how to call the
303　　doctor, the police, or the fire department for example. Notably, the class focuses around
304　　what is needed in their daily lives to communicate, not like 'where did you go on
305　　holiday?' like most topics for EFL– sad that it's about emergency situations but makes
306　　sense that it is tailored to their experiences.
307　❖ When we finish class, we walk out, lock the classroom door, and the Warehouse door
308　　and the Warehouse gate. Today we finished early so we are going home with the NGO
309　　mini-bus, not the public bus. Students are still hanging about Fay, talking to her, she is
310　　interacting with a smile. You can tell she is tired after a long day of teaching but she
311　　enjoys speaking with the students. We walk towards the NGO containers and as we get
312　　nearer and nearer, the students notably start walking away, saying goodbye and walking
313　　back to their own containers. I wonder if it's because they don't want to be near NGO
314　　containers because it's a place where bad things happen? Where you only go if you
315　　have official problems?
316　❖ The Greek staff are visibly less energetic and smiley than they were in the morning.
317　　The ride home is a lot more quiet but Fay and I are chatting about the day and make
318　　plans to see each other socially soon.

7

Appendix 5

Sample of Initial Domain Analysis – Places in Minoan Camp

Semantic Relationship: Spatial

Form: X is a place in Y

Cover Term (Y)   Minoan Camp

Semantic Relationship   is a place in

Included Terms (X)
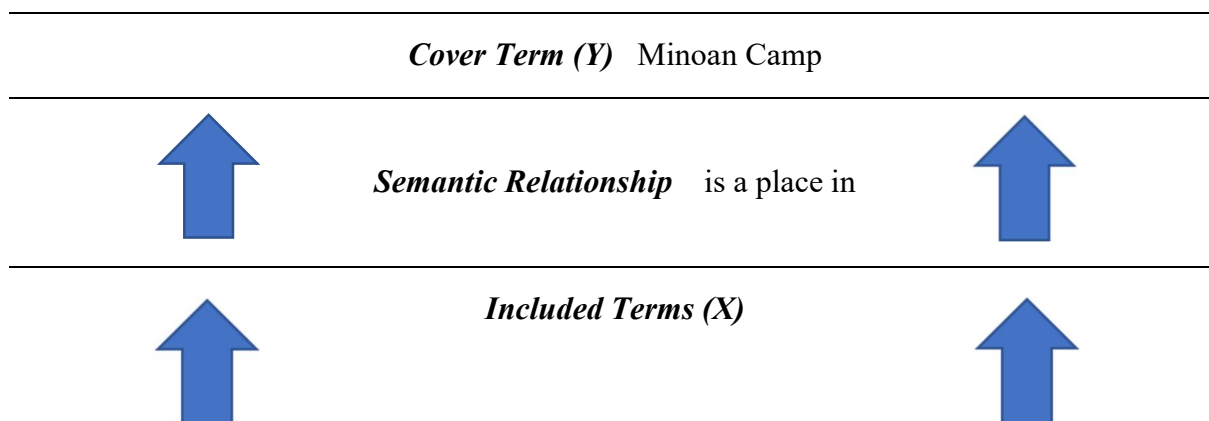
- 'big metal hangars' (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 19); 'big military base hangar that looks like a greenhouse' (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 28); 'shopping…as a nickname for the hangar'; (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 76); 'The hangar is enclosed in another fence, with a metal/ wire fence' (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 73); 'Warehouse' (FN, 24/10/2019, L. 35; FN, 08/11/2019, L. 20; FN, 13/11/2019, L. 43); 'hangar' (FN, 31/10/2019, L. 9; FN, 12/11/2019, L. 12); "Hangar/Warehouse" (FN, 05/11/2019, L. 8); 'Warehouse gate' (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 47)
- 'The hangar a metal tin cage, with concrete floor, plywood cork doors, very large and long, maybe 100m x 20m. As soon as you enter from the door, there is a hallway space, with a little canteen-type room on the right, with a door and a window- you can see purpose built to serve food, and then there is an open space that becomes a long and narrow hallway, that is very bright and has been painted by children in the past? And this leads onto 4 rooms, approximately 10m x 10m, that are used for various classrooms- the team tells me we will be using this space now for adult English classes and our Young Explorers classes. At the end of the classrooms and hallway, there is a larger space that looks like storage, with a lot of clothes and other random items leftover' (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 80-89)
- 'dirt parking lot in front of the camp' (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 22)
- 'sea of white containers' (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 22); 'all the containers' (FN, 24/10/2019, L. 60)
- 'outer perimeter of the camp…a lot of containers on the left that seem to be where the people who run the camp work, lots of signs like UNHCR and doctor signs' (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 59)
- 'another few containers, enclosed by a metal fence, and they have a really nice playground in between some of these rows of containers…classroom container' (FN 15/10/2019, L. 67)
- 'a field behind the camp' (FN 15/10/2019, L. 205)

- 'big metal gate' (FN 16/10/2019, L. 4); 'main gate entrance' (FN 13/11/2019, L. 32)
- 'the classroom' (FN 16/10/2019, L. 17; FN, 13/11/2019, L. 59); 'English classroom' (FN, 05/11/2019, L. 13)
- 'some extensions built on some containers' (FN, 22/10/2019)
- 'Kindergarten room' (FN, 24/10/2019, L. 70)
- 'Nesrin's container' (FN, 24/10/2019, L. 60); 'Rahil's container' (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 1); "You want come my container for tea?" (FN, 05/11/2019, L. 77)
- "Christian prayer room" (FN, 08/11/2019, L. 22)
- 'second entrance to camp' (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 34)
- 'staff […] their office containers' (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 35-36)

Appendix 6

Sample interview with refugee participant who is also an interpreter

Colour Code Key for Interviews

= identity

= belonging

= space/place

= home

= time / liminality / temporality

= inside/outside

= food/drink / hospitality

= rules / implicit & explicit rules/norms

= folk terms

= reflections on interview techniques/ my role / influence on interview

= non-verbal communication described by participants

= greetings

= language(s)

= power relations / dynamics

= interactions with Greek people / Greece / perceptions of Greece

= creating groups

Interview with Amir- Arabic Interpreter for Minoan camp

2   Researcher: Okay so will start really simply. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself? Where
3   are you from? What languages do you speak? A little bit about your background?
4

5   Participant: My name is [Amir] and I am from Chad. I lived in the capital. I am a nurse, and I
6   finished my university since 2015. So I left my country from issues, I don't want to talk about
7   it. So, I arrived in Greece in 2018, and after four months I come to [Artemopolis, Minoan
8   camp]. So now I have been here for one year and two months.
9

10 Researcher: And did you come straight to [Artemopolis] first or did you go somewhere else?
11

12 Participant: Yes I came straight here.
13

14 Researcher: And what languages do you speak?
15

16 Participant: My mother language is Arabic. And I also speak French, and English also. Now I
17 am study Greek, even though it's very difficult but I try.
18

19 Researcher: And I know, it's a very difficult language but your accent is very good! ((Both
20 laughing.)) And do you live with anybody else here?
21

22 Participant: I live with my friends, but some of them from many different countries. Some from
23 Senegal, some of them from the Britannia, some of them from Gambia. But they are so nice
24 guys.
25

26 Researcher: And did you meet here?
27

28 Participant: Yes.
29

30 Researcher: It's nice that you get along.
31

32 Participant: Yes, they are so nice guys. And they are so respectful. And all the time they cook,
33 because I'm not so good.
34

35 Researcher: Ah, they feed you? That's nice.
36

37 Participant: Yeah. And also because I don't have time. And because I spend all my day in the
38 school, and sometimes in the city, so they prepare for us.
39

40 Researcher: And can you tell me more about what you do in the city and at school?
41

42 Participant: In the city, before I go to the community centre, to my English class. But now our
43 classes stopped.
44

45 Researcher: Yeah, I know… Have they told you why this happened yet? Have they resolved
46 it?
47

1

48 Participant: Just, they tell us they are not ready about the issues about the place. And also
49 maybe they don't have special teacher to teach us this programme. But I'm not ask them again
50 what happened.
51
52 Researcher: Yeah, I guess [Busy Bee] will tell you when they're ready to open again.
53
54 Participant: Yeah, we will see. But now I'm going to Greek class, at the university, just for
55 Greek language.
56
57 Researcher: Just Greek? Not English, right?
58
59 Participant: Yes just Greek.
60
61 Researcher: So your English classes were only with [Busy Bee], and now they stopped?
62
63 Participant: Yes.
64
65 Researcher: Yes, mmm, your English level is too high, and now there's no classes for you. So
66 how long have you been going to Greek classes at the University?
67
68 Participant: For seven months. So we spend four or five months, so we will finish at June. At
69 June we can do the exam, B1 and B2.
70
71 Researcher: 'Bravo' Well done! It's difficult, B1 and B2 level is very good well done.
72
73 Participant: 'Efharisto', Thank you. But I feel like I am the stupid person in the class. ((Both
74 laugh))
75
76 Researcher: No, don't say that!
77
78 Participant: Yeah, because this is the reality, it's how I feel. I am good in grammar and also in
79 writing, but for other stuff, like how to understand the text, so I am not rich in vocabulary.
80
81 Researcher: It will come with time, stick with it.
82
83 Participant: Yeah, but I need it now! ((Laughs))
84
85 Researcher: And how long are your classes every week?
86
87 Participant: Monday to Thursday, every day four hours.
88
89 Researcher: Wow, that's great! And how did you first find these classes? How did you get
90 involved with it?
91
92 Participant: This is for the organisations that are responsible for the camp. They select some
93 people, so I become one of them.
94
95 Researcher: Did you have to give a test for the organisation to see your Greek level?
96

2

97 Participant: No, this comes from the class, because the teacher from the organisation there
98 knows your Greek level.
99
100 Researcher: I see, so first you did Greek classes in the camp, and then the teacher saw you had
101 a good level, so they recommended you to university level?
102
103 Participant: Yes exactly.
104
105 Researcher: Okay. So how long did you do Greek class in the camp before going to university?
106
107 Participant: At first I started with [Busy Bee], because at first they have Greek class, so I am
108 attending for four months. And after that the classes stopped. So, I never found the opportunity
109 to go to Greek class, until I found this opportunity.
110
111 Researcher: So then you went to the Greek class that [Magnolia Aid] ran?
112
113 Participant: So at the university, I asked them to let me come to Greek class here, but it is
114 difficult because my schedule. Because sometimes I have English class in city, and then Greek
115 class at the camp, so difficult. So the teacher saw me, so she take my name, and she put it in
116 the list of people interested to go to university.
117
118 Researcher: And why are you interested in learning Greek?
119
120 Participant: I am learning Greek because I choose to, because I want to live in this country.
121 And also, I need something to help me integrate with those people, local people. The language
122 is key for everything. Even you want to buy something, or to discuss with something, not all
123 the time you need someone to translate for you. So this is the reason I'm interested in the Greek
124 language. And also maybe it help you for the work also. If you are looking for a job, you need
125 the language. This is the country, this is the language for this country, so it's important.
126
127 Researcher: This is quite a different approach. Some people love Greek language, some people
128 hate Greek language, some people don't want to learn Greek language. It's quite rare to meet
129 somebody who wants to learn Greek. And it's a difficult language.
130
131 Participant: Yeah, it's a difficult language but we don't have choice. Because it's difficult, why?
132 Because Greek language, they use it just inside Greece. And also it is like a historical language.
133 It has many words, it has many vocabulary, it has many grammar, so this language is to be
134 difficult. But it need time to be familiar with this language.
135
136 Researcher: If you were in another country, if you were not in Greece, if you were in Germany
137 or whatever, would you try to learn that language? What I mean is, you are not learning Greek
138 because you want to learn the Greek language specifically, it's just because you are living here
139 and you need this language? Would you learn any language of the country you are living in?
140
141 Participant: Yeah, because you are in the country, you have to learn the language for this
142 country. And this is many people they do it like this.
143
144 Researcher: And have you made any Greek friends? Do you feel like you belong here in some
145 way?
146

147   Participant: Yeah, because I have some friends from Greek, so many times I spend some hours
148   with them and talk with them, so I try to make the friend. But sometimes you know the situation
149   here for immigrants and refugees, it make the local people to think negative about them for
150   refugees. Because you can talk with them, but when they see you are refugee, they feel like
151   other feeling. Some of them, it doesn't matter for them if you are refugee or not, but some yes.
152

153   Researcher: Yes and this is everywhere.
154

155   Participant: Yes, and it's up to you how to discuss with them.
156

157   Researcher: What do you think influences the way Greek people treat refugees?
158

159   Participant: Sometimes they thinking, the refugee people, they just come here to make the
160   situation bad. And also because you know the Greek has economical problems and they say
161   that the refugee people come to take the jobs and the opportunity away from local people, so
162   they feel bad feeling for the refugees. But not most of them, just some people. Most of them,
163   the new generation, doesn't care, they are more open. But for the old generation, it's sometimes
164   a bit difficult how to talk with them.
165

166   Researcher: It's really interesting that you say that… You know I was speaking with an old
167   lady in a village, she saw us with the [Young Explorers] one day, and she must have you know
168   been 70 or 80 maybe, she remembered the war from with Turkey and the World War, and she
169   was saying, 'Oh, I sewed loads of things for the refugees, you know we were refugees too'. So
170   maybe the old people who can remember the war with Turkey, from when they were refugees,
171   they are more sympathetic, like of course people flee from war... But people in the middle, like
172   40 or 50 years old, they are not as…
173

174   Participant: Yeah, exactly, they are not become refugee, the second generation. It's
175   complicate... But the new generation, like now, young people who are students, they don't
176   care...
177

178   Researcher: Yeah. When you go to university, do you feel welcome there? Do you feel
179   comfortable there in the classes?
180

181   Participant: Yeah, of course! Because most of the students there, that we study together, they
182   are not from Greece. They are from different countries, and there are more of them, and so they
183   look like me, they feel like me. So even when we want to go to the canteen, or something like
184   this, we make friends with most of them. And with many of them I become friend with them,
185   so it's easy. But from Greek, no even from now, I did not really make Greek friends.
186

187   Researcher: Are there any Greek people in the class?
188

189   Participant: No. Because the locals, this is the Greek language so they know this language.
190

191   Researcher: Okay. So can you tell me a little bit about where you live?
192

193   Participant: I live in camp.
194

195   Researcher: Mmm...
196

4

197 Participant: You see, just when you say 'camp' you feel are different, this is the feeling for the
198 camp.
199
200 Researcher: Different, how?
201
202 Participant: You feel like you did something, and you are in the punishment.
203
204 Researcher: ((Nods)) Did you know you would feel this way before you came, was this a shock
205 for you?
206
207 Participant: Before I come here, I just saw this in television. About camp, about people living
208 in camp, just I saw in television, in the news, some refugees, and they put them in the camp.
209 So when I arrived here I found myself in the same situation. So this shocked me.
210
211 Researcher: Yes, I see. Okay, so I know we walked around before you took me around the
212 camp, but can you just describe a little bit, what does camp look like? How do you feel walking
213 around? Maybe in the different spaces, do you feel differently in the daytime in the nighttime,
214 or summer, winter?
215
216 Participant: About the camp, it is different, and it has bad feeling. And sometimes we take the
217 bus from the city, and the bus he want to let us in the gate of the camp, so when we start to get
218 out, and the people, the local people, they talking, 'Ah, they are living outside, they are living
219 here'. This time, I feel myself, we are like guests. So even sometimes, even if you want to invite
220 some your friends to drink something in your house, it's difficult to invite them. Because the
221 situation for the camp look like jail. And also when you say, 'I am living in the camp', they feel
222 like you have done some crime or something like this and you are in the punishment. So the
223 camp for me, the camp is like death. This is my feeling.
224
225 Researcher: Would anything ever change that feeling?
226
227 Participant: This cannot change. Maybe sometimes you have like short periods, maybe they
228 put you in the camp, and after that they can send you to some house or something like that. But
229 here we live for 1 and 1/2 years. Some people living for two years. How can the situation
230 change? No.
231
232 Researcher: I want to pick up on two different things... How do you feel about time in general
233 in the camp?
234
235 Participant: People here, they are not care about time. They are losing the control. Sometimes
236 they're using to sleep, just to spend the time. Just waiting for time to go out of this situation.
237
238 Researcher: And you feel differently? Like you are using this time to learn new things. What
239 makes you make that decision, which seems different to other people?
240
241 Participant: For me, because I'm in the situation, to spend my time without doing anything,
242 because we don't have any activity. And so I thought, I have to do something to cover this time.
243 Because for me, if I stay like the other people, I lose my mind like them. Why I am lose my
244 mind? Because I am stay here not for 2 or 3 months... for two years and more.
245

5

327

246   Researcher: Okay, I understand. Okay can you tell me a little bit about how you feel when you
247   walk in front of the hangar? You know, the 'warehouse'?
248

249   Participant: I feel like this is the places for the people they can improve. They can learn new
250   things. This is the place they can feel like they have a right like the other people. Because they
251   need to learn new things, but they don't have the opportunity. But this is the only place they
252   can feel like they are learning something.
253

254   Researcher: And do you think it's the same for the other spaces, like the Greek class? Would
255   you feel the same there too?
256

257   Participant: Yes this is the same, I feel the same for the class for the kids too.
258

259   Researcher: So all of the spaces that people use for activities, you would feel the same?
260

261   Participant: Yeah.
262

263   Researcher: How about in front of the ministry containers? The doctor's container? The
264   [Magnolia Aid] containers? When you walk by there, do your feelings change?
265

266   Participant: It's like I saw for a million times, people shouting for their complaints. I don't want
267   to go there. Because I am remembering them, if they come to your container if you are absent
268   or if you are present. They don't ask you about anything else.
269

270   Researcher: How about in front of the washing machines?
271

272   Participant: For me, I'm never really use the washing machine. But some people they use it.
273   For my friend we living together, they use it. For me, no, I no use it.
274

275   Researcher: How about by the new structures?
276

277   Participant: Yeah, this is like the place for the new people. And this is for the emergency
278   situation, so a little bit better than the islands. Because the islands, the situation in the islands
279   is very bad... But the problem is, the people inside the camp, they need activity. Not just
280   activities for playing, no. They need real activity to build them, to build their mind, to build
281   their character. They are ready about this, but no one matter about this. And finally these things
282   with time, they are waiting for this, they are waiting for that, and are not providing these things.
283   So they are waiting, and they are living in this place, not for one month, for a long time. This
284   is something, they need it. They need to help them integrate. For me, I do my best. But for
285   others, they not like me. They don't have passions to continue, or something like this. So it's a
286   difficult situation.
287

288   Researcher: ((Nods)) So I noticed that when we walked around the camp, a lot of people came
289   to shake your hand. A lot of people know you in the camp. How did this happen?
290

291   Participant: This happened because, sometimes I speak the Arabic speakers, I speak their
292   language, and sometimes, they want me to help them with language, with translation. And also
293   I like to be social with people. And sometimes they surprise, when they see somebody from
294   Africa speaking Arabic. So for those people, come from Iraq or Syria, they doesn't know about
295   the culture in Africa, what happen in Africa, so when I start to speak Arabic, they say, 'Oh

6

328

296 wow, you speak Arabic!'. So in the first time, this is make them to be surprised, and the second
297 time they recognise me.
298
299 Researcher: Would you say that you feel like a community leader?
300
301 Participant: Yeah.
302
303 Researcher: What does this mean for you?
304
305 Participant: For me, to help. To be there to help, and at the same time you can guide and you
306 can, to declare something, like to say, 'Do this', because I realise this is good. And also because,
307 not just because we come here to eat and sleep. We have responsibility like the other people.
308 And by this way we can help our community by ourself. Because we can support each other.
309 Not just to wait for the other people to come and help you, no. At the same time you can help
310 by your way. Because this is the world, without helping you cannot. So we need each other.
311
312 Researcher: Yeah, I see. So you use the word 'community'... What does this word mean to you?
313 Would you say you feel part of a community in camp?
314
315 Participant: Yeah.
316
317 Researcher: Yeah, and who is part of this community? What does this mean for you?
318
319 Participant: Because we are living at the same area, and we have the same situation. And also,
320 the circumstances make us to be more close. So all these reasons, all these things, make us to
321 feel like one of this community, part of this community.
322
323 Researcher: And who is in this community? Like [Minoan camp] community? Arabic-speaking
324 community? I don't know, 'B container' community? Do you see any kind of different
325 communities around? What do you think you're part of?
326
327 Participant: For me?
328
329 Researcher: Yeah.
330
331 Participant: For me, in general, I see we are one community. Why I say this? Because the other
332 people they look at us like refugee. They don't see 'B community' or like that. They look at us
333 like the same. So for us, it must to make us, to see like one community.
334
335 Researcher: What does the word 'refugee' mean to you?
336
337 Participant: It's someone different... Someone different. Someone different... Also someone
338 has bad things. And someone he doesn't respect the law, because he come here illegally also.
339 And someone she just come here to destroy everything good. And someone he just come here
340 to take the opportunity from someone for jobs, everything. This is the definition of 'refugee' for
341 me.
342
343 Researcher: Yeah I understand... I'm sorry... And where does all this come from? Why do you
344 have this perception of the word?
345

346 Participant: I discover this from the other people, how they treat us, and how they thinking
347 about us.
348
349 Researcher: Did you feel like this before coming to Europe? Before you came here, what did
350 it mean?
351
352 Participant: Before, 'refugee' for me, it's like some people they forced to go out from their
353 country by war or by some earthquake or something like this. This was when I was in my
354 country, my definition for 'refugee'. But when I become refugee, so I realised this.
355
356 Researcher: Do you think other people in camp feel like this?
357
358 Participant: Most of them like this yeah.
359
360 Researcher: Do you feel like this at university? Or when you take classes?
361
362 Participant: Even at the university, this is for education... Because sometimes the teacher asked
363 us about, 'Where are you from?' and 'How your house look like?', 'Do you have kitchen?',
364 something like this, it happen for me in the class. Because most of the people, the students,
365 they don't know because I'm refugee or not, so when the teacher start to ask me this question,
366 so they start to describe their houses, where they live. But when it come to me, and he say, 'No,
367 it doesn't matter', because he know me, because I am refugee, I live in the camp. And he say,
368 'No, you cannot describe'. And he change the education. So the people they are thinking why?
369 So I told them, I am refugee, and I am live in the camp. So, this is the bad feeling. And this is
370 happening to me, so the word 'refugee' it not let me go any place. And when they say because
371 you are refugee, they thought like something they saw in the Lesvos. So when you say, 'I am
372 living in the camp', they are feeling like it's the same situation as Lesvos. They are feeling like
373 it's someone who just come from the sea, without anything.
374
375 Researcher: So, do you think local people know about [Minoan] camp, and what's going on
376 here?
377
378 Participant: No. Just most of them know that there are refugees. In the street maybe, when they
379 want to buy something... I know some people, when they arrive even for their parents for them
380 looks is so nice. Because some people we come together, even from the Lesvos, because they
381 feeling that the situation is not bad when they arrive here inside the Europe. Unfortunately,
382 they are feeling like they become more worse than when they arrive. And this is why the people
383 say because like, 'Europe just lying'. Some people are thinking, because we in our country, we
384 are like in the trees. We don't like something like cars, they are thinking we don't like something
385 like this. But it's the opposite. Those people in the camp, they are living like they like. But the
386 situation, the system, like change them to become like in this situation.
387
388 Researcher: So would you say that people arrive feeling one way, and then they almost like
389 absorb this negative definition of 'refugee'?
390
391 Participant: ((Nods)) Yes. And finally I try to tell the other people, the word 'refugee' is not
392 mean anything. Just someone he enter your country legally. Or he come by some reason. He
393 look like you. And I try to tell them, but finally I found that people are not ready to accept this,
394 because they have something, you cannot change this.
395

330

396   Researcher: Yes, it's a legal term, but it takes on all these other meanings doesn't it?

397

398   Participant: Yes...

399

400   Researcher: Okay, can you tell me a little bit more about the space that you live in? Can you
401   describe that space?

402

403   Participant: I thinking the place that I live, I not living, just I using for sleeping. The place if
404   you live in your house, you can relaxes, you can take your rest, you can learn, the place will be
405   quiet when you go back. But this place isn't. You have just a little space, and some air
406   conditions, to make us warm, just for the sleeping.

407

408   Researcher: Do you think you would feel any differently if you were living alone and not
409   sharing with others? Or the same?

410

411   Participant: Because this is my personality. I am like the other people, I have my personality,
412   I'm not just refugee to put me in these places, and you live one year, two years in this situation.
413   I need to live in the other places like the other people.

414

415   Researcher: How would you describe the space that you live in? What word would you use to
416   describe your sleeping space? *Probably not the best phrasing. I could have asked this differently*
417   *to elicit the response about what word he would use to refer that.*

418   Participant: I told you, this place is just for sleeping, just when you feel sleepy, you come and
419   you put yourself to sleep.

420

421   Researcher: So it's called the 'sleeping space'?

422

423   Participant: Yes. Because it's warm and you have a bed. Because we are using the kitchen
424   inside it, and we are three, and in one room we use all these things.

425

426   Researcher: Yes, I see. So what does the word 'home' mean to you?

427

428   Participant: Home... You feel like you are human.   *home = human being = dignity*

429

430   Researcher: That says everything... Do you feel like you're at home here?

431

432   Participant: No. ((Shakes his head))

433

434   Researcher: Do you think that you could feel at home in Greece if you had an actual decent
435   living situation? Or would it require more things?

436

437   Participant: I don't know, just because I'm used to living in the camp, so I don't know, if I go
438   out.

439

440   Researcher: Like say they give you a proper house in the city? Do you think that you could feel
441   at home in Greece?

442

443   Participant: Yes, a little bit, it would be changed...

444

445   Researcher: But still it would not be fully? So what would be fully feel at home?

9

331

446
447 Participant: When you think you are at home, maybe you live alone, and at the same time you
448 work and you rent, and you pay for your home, and you become able, not some organisation is
449 help you, you are paying the tax like the other people. So in this time, you can feel like you
450 have a home. That you live like the other people. Without this I'm not feeling like home.
451
452 Researcher: Would you consider Chad your home?
453
454 Participant: In my home in Chad, like when I'm sleeping, I feel like this is my home, and no
455 one come knock my door to ask me, 'Are you absent or not absent?'
456
457 Researcher: What is 'absent or not absent'? You've said this before...
458
459 Participant: This is for the organisation. Because if you are absent for over two weeks they will
460 kick you out.
461
462 Researcher: You mean the organisation comes to check if you are in your living space, and if
463 you're not there they kick you out of the camp?
464
465 Participant: Yes. So, so yes, this is, and the other thing is, if you live alone, for your house you
466 have your personality and you have your own house and not to add new people who doesn't,
467 know you, or your culture or something like this...
468
469 Researcher: Yes I understand. Do you think other people feel like this in camp?
470
471 Participant: Yeah... Because we feel that we are in the freezers... They put us in the fridges. So
472 they doesn't care about your feelings or something like this. Just sit here because this place is
473 warm, it's not cold, just sit inside, doesn't matter. It's not warm, it just protect you from the
474 world.
475
476 Researcher: And you said that you don't feel like inviting people over... Do you ever invite
477 people over?
478
479 Participant: I feel shy. Because this is like box.
480
481 Researcher: Yeah I understand, I'm so sorry, but you should know this has nothing to do with
482 you you didn't choose this place to live...
483
484 Participant: Yeah I understand this, you understand this, but other people don't understand this.
485 No I never invite people over. How you can invite people over? Even you, you want to do
486 interview with me, but we didn't find place inside my house to sit. For that I supposed to come
487 here ((signals in the coffee shop)) and do this, we don't find places to sit...
488
489 Researcher: Because other people are also using the space?
490
491 Participant: Yeah. And if you want to invite someone not to come and feel sorry about you,
492 and for this how can you invite someone?
493
494 Researcher: I really hope you know that for me this is a great pleasure to sit here with you today
495 and have coffee together, so thank you for coming! But yeah, I hear you what you're saying...

10

496
497 Participant: Just they feeling like the refugee need to eat and sleep. In the psychological, we
498 are destroyed here.
499
500 Researcher: Do you think the families that live alone together in one container feel differently?
501
502 Participant: Even for the families that live alone, they have many things. Because they need
503 the children to live independently in the different rooms, so yeah they feel the same.
504
505 Researcher: Okay, thank you… So to take a bit of a different path now… on a typical day, who
506 will you generally speak to?

507 Participant: In camp, I don't have no one to speak with here. Why? You can ask me why?

508 Researcher: Yes, why, of course…?

509 Participant: Just because, the people here, they want to complain about the situation. How they
510 treat us like this… 'How?! How?!' They are asking themselves to find the answer about this
511 situation. And if you hear this for long time… Because I am support myself. So if I want to
512 support myself, to stay, to resist this situation, so for me, I must to be far from this situation.
513 Because this is like epidemic for the psychological. And for this reason, I don't want to talk
514 with the people inside the camp. Sometimes I talk with them, but I prefer to be by myself,
515 outside the camp. Just I use the camp for sleeping. When I want to sleep, I come to camp to
516 sleep.

517 Researcher: Yeah… And obviously though, you know a lot of people, and they look to you for
518 help… So how did this happen in the beginning? How did you go from someone who minds
519 his own business, to someone who speaks the same language and wants to help everybody and
520 talk to everybody?

521 Participant: This is just happening here, in this city, from the islands. Because most of the
522 people here, we are living together, from the islands, from when we were in the Lesvos. So
523 there, I did many activities, like I become interpreter with some organisations, like medical
524 team, so all the time, they find me to interpret for them, so this is one way to make me to know
525 them.

526 Researcher: Ah, so that made you know people, and when you came here, you already knew
527 people…

528 Participant: Yeah… And also, because I am work with many different organisations, and also
529 in Moria camp, and I working nursing, and interpreting also at the same time, and I work in
530 [xxx – another NGO] as a teacher with the kids. So this is make me, most of the people, they
531 know me from the beginning. So then we arrive here, they told the others, 'This guy he know
532 interpret, and he work before like this'. So yeah, also when I arrive, I work also with [Busy
533 Bee] and now with the [Tiny Tots]. And sometimes, I go with them to the hospital, when they
534 didn't find someone to interpret for them at the hospital. This is the reason, and in general, I
535 want to be active person, and be leader for something.

536 Researcher: So, this does make you happy? You don't feel like it's a burden to constantly be
537 asked to interpret for people?

538   Participant: Yeah, yeah! And also, the situation needs you to do something, not just to stay.
539   And when some people they saw me to be active and do something, maybe I can encourage
540   them to do something like I do. Not just to sitting at their home, and thinking bad things.

541   Researcher: And in the working context, what language will you use to speak to people, if you
542   don't know them?

543   Participant: For me, because I don't have problem with language, because I know many
544   languages, so this is just for the Farsi speakers, I use English. Like for the French speakers, I
545   speak French with them. For Arabic speakers, I speak Arabic.

546   Researcher: Yep, I see. And for people who you don't know, you see someone in camp, what
547   language would you use?

548   Participant: Yes, first I will use English.

549   Researcher: I see… First English and then depending on how they answer, you will adapt?

550   Participant: Yeah.

551   Researcher: And how about outside the camp?

552   Participant: Outside, first English, then if they don't know the language, like with local people,
553   I use Greek also. But for local people, I prefer to use Greek, because I want to practice my
554   language. Sometimes, when you speak Greek with them, they feel more open.

555   Researcher: So, how important do you feel like language is then for building relationships with
556   people, in the camp, and in general?

557   Participant: Yeah, the language is very important. Because if you want to send a message for
558   someone, without language, you cannot send this message for him. So, if you have many
559   language, you have big opportunity to do something like you like it. So the language is
560   important, and especially in Europe. Not just with the refugee community… I saw this in the
561   other students at the university, they speaking many languages, and they have the same idea,
562   the same thinking. Because now, we are in the town, it must to know many languages.

563   Researcher: Would you say that you ever made a friend with someone who didn't speak any
564   common languages?

565   Participant: Not really, no. ((Shakes head))

566   Researcher: And then, how would you communicate with someone who doesn't share any
567   common languages?

568   Participant: For me, I just using body language. I don't think I met someone he doesn't
569   understand body language. And here, most of the people, they speaking English language.
570   Sometimes, with Farsi speakers, I have to use body language, because some of them doesn't
571   know even English.

572   Researcher: Can you remember any particular incident, that you can describe an interaction
573   you had with a Farsi speaker?

574   Participant: Yeah, sometimes with [Tiny Tots] we have to speak the schedule to them, so I
575   don't know the day in Farsi, [Laughs] so it is difficult for me to translate for them, which day…

12

576 So I will try to find some kids, because most of the kids they can speak English, and he can
577 told his parents, the day.

578 Researcher: Yea, I get my phone out and use Google translate… ((Both laugh)) Okay, so can
579 you tell me a bit more about your involvement in this [Tiny Tots] and [Busy Bee]?

580 Participant: So, with [Busy Bee] sometimes I help the team, because sometimes they need
581 someone to interpret, or for the kids, especially for Saturday and Sunday, so this is the activity
582 that I did with them. And for [Tiny Tots] it's so important… Why? Because we have many
583 kids in the camp, and we need for those kids, to involve them and to help them for something,
584 and for learning, and to prepare them they start the primary school, this is for the kids. And for
585 the community also, they start for [Tiny Tots] and they feel like they have responsibility, and
586 they do something, so they feel happy and they feel excited, and at the same time, they learn
587 new things. And the third thing, because we show to the community, and to tell them that's
588 community from refugee. And now they help the community like the community help each
589 other for other things. Like those women, those teachers, and the refugees. And they start to
590 teach the children by themselves. So they feel so excited, and they feel comfortable, and feel
591 confidence, now they feel confidence, so it's all these positive things for them.

592 Researcher: How did it all start? Who facilitated this?

593 Participant: This programme, some team come from United States, and they want to inform
594 some community from refugee this programme, and to teach their children by themselves, and
595 to help them for many things. And this programme, it start before in Tanzania, in Chad, in other
596 countries, I don't remember, and this is the fourth country, here in Europe, in Greece, so they
597 come and they training us. After that, they leave, and they give us the permit to teach the kids.
598 So in the beginning, we found some issues about the situation, but with cooperation with [Busy
599 Bee] and [Magnolia Aid] they help us with the location. Because we had everything, but we
600 don't have location in the beginning. So now, it's like little bit better.

601 Researcher: So who is running the programme now? Who is involved?

602 Participant: The teachers, the community refugee. Most of them is like women. We have Farsi
603 speaker, we have Arabic speaker, we have French speaker, so they manage, they do the activity,
604 and do the classes by themselves. Because before this, the community, like the women inside
605 the camp, they don't have something. But now they feeling like they have responsibility.

606 Researcher: Did these women have experience teaching children before?

607 Participant: No… Now is first time. But and finally, they are mothers, so they know…

608 Researcher: Yeah, totally! And so how does it work? Do they meet before the class to decide?
609 Do they plan and have meetings?

610 Participant: So our programme now, we have to come 30 minute before, so to divide the team.
611 One team, he will go to bring the children, and the other team will start to prepare the class. So
612 we have some routine to follow it every day. So, our programme is the same time as the [Busy
613 bee], so we finish, we do Tuesday and Thursday, and we have one meeting each week when
614 we finish. So in this meeting, we will discuss what challenges we have, what success we have,
615 and after that we will manage this and after that, we will clean, and prepare for next week.

616 Researcher: And what language is being used?

13

617 Participant: So for language, we have Arabic speaker, like me, and we have French speaker.
618 Because we don't have Farsi speaker, because they, most of them they are not interested. So,
619 we hope for them to continue, but most of them, they are not present.

620 Researcher: So do you have Farsi speaking children?

621 Participant: Yeah, we have Farsi children, but in this programme, we have, we training
622 together, but…

623 Researcher: But they can't find interpreters?

624 Participant: No, they are not interested. Even [xxx - a Farsi-speaking woman we both know
625 who is quite involved in camp community] she no want to come.

626 Researcher: Really? Why? Do you have any idea why they are not interested?

627 Participant: I don't know, this is up for the person… If they are coming, and they are coming
628 in the class with us, maybe they will find some interpreter to help with them, but they are not
629 interested. We have French and Arabic speakers, so in this meeting, we will facilitate to
630 understand…

631 Researcher: Between you and [xxx – French Interpreter]?

632 Participant: Yeah.

633 Researcher: And between the two of you? How do you communicate?

634 Participant: Most of the time, we use English, and sometimes, we using French.

635 Researcher: So, what has been the response? How is the programme going? Are you seeing it
636 have any results?

637 Participant: It has many things… Now… In the past, when community working together, they
638 just stay in their houses, but now they feeling like they have responsibility. And they have ideas
639 also. Because now they feel like they have responsibility, and how to describe their day, they
640 have to teach, so it's very nice.

641 Researcher: So, this is a small group of women involved… Do you feel like it's having a ripple
642 effect on other women?

643 Participant: Yeah! Because in the beginning, we started just 2 people. And then in the second
644 training, other women, before we did the training, some women they come just volunteer. And
645 they say, we continue with you and when they come to do the other training, we will do the
646 training, and we will be part of the programme. So this is, yeah, the result affect them. And
647 now, they already be trained, and they get them some certificate, and now they are continue.

648 Researcher: Great! So can you tell me about your work with [Busy Bee]?

649 Participant: So with [Busy Bee], I am not become basic or part of the team. Just I come
650 interpreter if they need, or to help them with their children or their parents. Just this.

651 Researcher: Would you like to be more involved?

14

652 Participant: Yeah, if they need, I need to. Because I am used to work, and help, and do activities.
653 And why? Because this is organisation, it help me for many things, especially in the English
654 class, many things, so, this is the organisation, I know it.

655 Researcher: Okay, two questions leading from that… One, do you see a difference in [Busy
656 Bee] way, which is, we come as an external organisation and run activities, and the [Tiny Tots]
657 that people come and they train the community to run the programme by themselves?

658 Participant: What is the best way?

659 Researcher: Maybe not best, just any reflections?

660 Participant: We prefer both of them… Why? Because [Busy Bee], they have idea for
661 integration. And most of the things they do it in [Busy Bee], for the community, he cannot do
662 it. Especially English language, he need it. Also, and this is, they show some volunteers come
663 from other country to help refugee, so this is good sign and they can feel they are not alone,
664 some other people they are with them. And [Tiny Tots]…

665 Researcher: Sorry, just to check, you feel like because volunteers come here from other
666 countries by choice to help, this feels good…?

667 Participant: Yeah, because they want to become with us, and to understand, because this is the
668 situation, and situation will be better in the future…

669 Researcher: I see…And [Tiny Tots]?

670 Participant: This is the part for activity, but it could be even for the community, they can do it.
671 So both of them is important.

672 Researcher: Do you think if we had more Greek volunteers it would make you feel differently
673 about being here? Like, [Busy Bee] is very international…

674 Participant: No, even in the [Busy Bee], they have Greek volunteers.

675 Researcher: Yeah, one, out of 20…?

676 Participant: Yeah, one, because, I don't know… Because most of the Greek volunteers, they
677 have economical problems. So for this reason, you cannot find Greek volunteer. I understand
678 their situation, the situation here also, so they need job. But for other volunteers, they have
679 opportunities, they can stay here long time and then they can go back to work, and get some
680 money, and after that, they can come back. But this is not happening in Greece.

681 Researcher: Yes, you're right, that's true… Okay, you don't have to answer this but the feeling
682 of time commitment, and expecting you to be around… Like, I've seen many times in [Busy
683 Bee], in the morning, we will have a meeting, and in 2 hours we are in camp, and they haven't
684 thought about who our interpreters are going to be, and we come knock on your door and say,
685 'Can you help *now*?' And usually people say, 'Yes, I come now'. But I feel like this is not very
686 respectful... I mean, how do you feel about [Busy Bee] volunteers knocking on your door and
687 saying 'Come help me *now*'?

688 Participant: For me, it's like, I don't have problem, because, maybe I have some programme,
689 so if you need some interpreter, at least you can tell me before, and after that I organise my
690 time. Because this is happening before, with me 2 times, and you realise this, this is not

15

691   respecting. Not because I am refugee, you can find me any time. But if you need something,
692   you can tell me, at least one hour before, you can find me. And after that, I can organise my
693   time.

694   Researcher: Yeah. And even you are saying one hour, that is not a lot to ask. For a professional
695   environment, you need at least a day mostly to prepare… You know, I've asked myself this
696   question many times as we were coming to camp, not having a plan of who our interpreter is
697   going to be… And they say, 'Oh, we go knock on [Magnolia Aid] and see if anyone can help'…
698   Yeah, but this is not a plan… And you know, I have brought this up in meetings…

699   Participant: Yeah, you know, I don't talk about this. Yeah, it's not matter, because I speak the
700   reality. But, I didn't understand the rules or the structure for [Busy Bee]. If they need someone,
701   like refugee to work with them, as the team, it is like something volunteer. But just they make
702   like this for volunteers for other countries, but for refugee, they don't want them in the team.
703   This is something I didn't understand.

704   Researcher: Would you be willing? Would you want to be part of the core team?

705   Participant: Because I want, not just the first time that I work with the organisation, but I don't
706   know, I didn't understand. Maybe they don't want to, to let the refugee to work, like in the
707   team, for something like for this, or maybe they have enough numbers, or something like this…
708   Because we here, for one year and a half, and I know the team is like better than before one
709   year and a half, so, but, I didn't understand the work or something. So for me, if they need
710   something, just I come for interpreter. Yeah, maybe the structure is like this…

711   Researcher: But if they were to make a different structure, and include volunteers, would you
712   be willing to be part of it?

713   Participant: Before yeah, but not now.

714   Researcher: Because?

715   Participant: Because now I have many things. I am study… But this is not, I am told them…
716   Maybe they can suggest, 'If you want to help, maybe you can come on Tuesday', not just come
717   to interpret.

718   Researcher: Have you ever spent time at [Darling Crafts]?

719   Participant: ((Shakes his head)) No, not really. I go there just for the library, to take books out
720   and that's it. For the other things, I don't like it. The activity they do it, it's not for me, I'm not
721   interested.

722   Researcher: Ah, I see, you mean you don't really like making things? Cause it's a maker space?
723   Building and crafting…

724   Participant: Yeah, exactly! But sometimes, I go for the library, and I borrow books, this is a
725   good thing for me in [Darling Crafts]

726   Researcher: And from your experience speaking with other people, how do you think the camp
727   community feels about [Darling Crafts]?

728   Participant: It is depends for the people. Some of them is interesting, some of them is not
729   interesting.

16

730   Researcher: Okay, if you had to use 3 words to describe [Busy Bee], what would you say?

731   Participant: Hmmm… 3 words? The organisation helping for integration.

732   Researcher: With who?

733   Participant: With refugees.

734   Researcher: Ah, so refugees with refugees, inside the refugee community, not like externally
735   in Greece?

736   Participant: No, like the refugees to integrate with the local people.

737   Researcher: How?

738   Participant: It's by doing the language, the English, and teaching the kids and taking them to
739   different places.

— BB helping to promote integration, create solidarity for refugees through power of language

740   Researcher: Ah, I thought you meant the refugees with other refugees in the camp?

741   Participant: No, you don't see this activity.

742   Researcher: And do you think it's having an impact?

743   Participant: For the kids, ok, many times I saw them exciting. And also for the adults, they will
744   make friend, classmates, during the time attending classes.

745   Researcher: Wow, okay, thank you for that interview! I don't have any more questions, but if
746   you want to add anything else, or ask me any more questions, please…

17

Appendix 7

Sample interview with refugee participant with an interpreter

Words typed in red font colour indicate translation control carried out by a professional interpreter in the UK. Some words are added where participant was speaking Arabic or some words are amended in the interpreter's translation done in the field.

1
2
3   Interview with Yasna

Researcher: Okay thank you for agreeing to speak with me. We will start really simply, can you tell me a little bit about where you're from and what languages you speak?
4
5
6 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
7
8 Participants: (Husband and wife speak in Arabic)
9
10 Interpreter: Her name is [Yasna]. She's from Syria I am from [xxx] Province and she speaks
11 Arabic.
12
13 Researcher: And how long have you lived in Greece?
14
15 Interpreter: (((Speaks in Arabic)))
16
17 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
18
19 Interpreter: Two years and 2 1/2 months.
20
21 Researcher: And when you first came to Greece did you come straight to [Artemopolis], or did
22 you go somewhere else first?
23
24 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
25
26 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
27
28 Interpreter: She say, at first they arrived in Moria and stayed for 20 days then we moved to a better
29 camp suitable for family as she was pregnant, and they have kids so they send them to
30 [Artemopolis], is better.
31
32 Researcher: And do you live here with?
33
34 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
35
36 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
37
38 Interpreter: Like seven children, and they are nine altogether.
39
40 Researcher: Mashala, we say this in Cypriot.
41
42 ((Participants and Interpreter laugh and then name children))
43
44 Researcher: And before you came to Greece, how would you spend your time? Did you work?
45
46 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

47
48 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

handwritten: – gender identity

49
50 Interpreter: For her, she is just stay at home and take care of children, and [xxx – husband] worked
51 in agriculture.

52
53 Researcher: Ok, great, can you tell me a little bit about where you live?

54
55 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) so can you give a little bit of detail about your life before you left
56 Syria and before the events started in Syria.

handwritten: – I didn't ask this → should have been more direct about temporality.

57
58 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

59
60 Interpreter: Before the problems start, they living so good. For the father, he goes to work, and the
61 kids they go to school. And then visit their neighbours and their relatives, and they go out to the
62 garden.

63
64 Researcher: And of course then war started, so they had to leave.

65
66 Interpreter: Yes.

67
68 Researcher: Yes, of course. Can you tell me a little bit about where you live now? As in the camp?
69 Can you describe the camp?

70
71 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) how is the life in the camp?

72
73 Participants: ((Speaks in Arabic)) I thought Europe was different

74
75 Interpreter: She say, when she come here before, she heard about the Europe, when she arrived
76 here, she discovered other things. Like the Europe is like big lie. When you live away from your
77 country you are a stranger and you won't feel relaxed and when we stayed here, excuse me for the
78 word, we felt like animals, eating and sleeping only. I didn't like the life here and I didn't feel I
79 could adapt.

handwritten: – 'bare life' Agamben (1998) just surviving not thriving

80
81 Researcher: Yes, I understand. Can you tell me a little bit more about that? What did they tell you
82 it was like, and what did you feel like when you got here?

83
84 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

85
86 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

87
88 Interpreter: Before that, she heard about the Europe like it is developed and civilized like
89 everything but within legal and restriction issues. But when she arrived here, she found another
90 things, like the law make them dislike the place...

handwritten: – image of Europe before arrival
handwritten: – maybe stereotype?
handwritten: – culture shock
handwritten: – so 'disorder' of Europe compared to 'order' of country of origin

91
92 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

handwritten: 2

341

93
94 Interpreter: And she discovered other things. Like everything is allowed, you can do everything.
95 There are not has a law, to put people in straight sense.
96
97 Researcher: Ah, in what way? Can you explain more?
98
99 Interpreter: (Speaks Arabic)
100
101 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
102
103 Interpreter: Like here, especially in the camp, people drinking after dark, and they start to fighting. — *culture shock*
104 They using the alcohol, so she is afraid about the kids and had to go running looking after them. *space of*
105 You can every time she looks for them, but in Syria this was no problem. Here there is also drugs *camp is*
106 and problems with rape and violence. There is chaos. *insecure & unsafe*
107
108 ((Interpreter is empathising with participant, speaks briefly to her in Arabic. I don't ask for a
109 translation.))
110
111 Interpreter: When something happen, like inside here, when the police come they don't interfere. *— space of*
112 the police just coming and just wait outside. And if you say, 'you have to come inside and like, this *camp is*
113 is your job', they say you have to pay. This system (law) is difficult to understand it. So in general, *unsafe compared*
114 not safety. *to space of*
115 *laws cause* *outside camp —*
116 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) *confusion & police won't perform*
117 *jar with their dutys inside camp*
118 Interpreter: And even when people hear the police is coming, they do not care because they cannot *own cultural — space outside normal*
119 do anything about them. So, they continue and they do violence... *values of safety* *societal order?*
120
121 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
122
123 Interpreter: You can imagine like the kids, what can they think about this?
124
125 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
126
127 Interpreter: She say in our country, we don't have something like this... if the police comes, they
128 straight away do their jobs.
129
130 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
131
132 Interpreter: ((Turns to me)) Do you want to drink coffee?
133
134 Researcher: Sure, sure, thank you!
135
136 ((Participant gets up to go make coffee))
137
138 Interpreter: Because she says, when you inform the police, they tell you to report it to a specific

3

139 person but even if you complain and pay, nothing happens. It goes to the court. But the police
140 continue to stay out. I didn't like this about the police arrive, even the people they are fighting they
141 are stopping. But here, even when the police arrive, they take the person, and after two weeks, you
142 can see this person he is outside. The police cannot do anything to him. Just they waiting for the
143 lawyer.

(margin notes: - local authorities don't really police arrive in the camps - listens different to the group of local citizens? - interactions with local authority are futile in making them protect them.)

144
145 Researcher: Okay so I understand that in camp you do not feel safe. Can you describe a little bit
146 more about the camp? Imagine we are standing at the gate, can you take me around for a little
147 verbal walk? What do you hear? What do you see? What do you smell? Maybe taste? Maybe
148 touch? If we walk around, what buildings do you see, what is it like?

149
150 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

151
152 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) the camp is not healthy, the atmosphere is not suitable for children
153 or for adults

154
155 Interpreter: It's not healthy. Even the weather here, it is not good for the children and for us also.

156
157 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

158
159 Interpreter: And she say, when she and her children go out into the city, they feel comfortable,
160 relaxed.

161
162 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) this place is not suitable for children or adult and I can challenge
163 any European to say it is good for children, women or adults

(margin notes: camp space = unsafe & unnurturing space to raise kids - suggests differential treatment between refugees & locals or other EU people)

164
165 Interpreter: She say, when you stand in the gate, just you, the camp look like a psychologic place,
166 or like a prison. And she say, this is a place there are not someone from Europe he can say this
167 place is good for the people.

(margin notes: - again prison & mental healthasylum (although seems negative connotation here) - gate is the threshold marking difference between sanity outside & insanity inside)

168
169 [Researcher nods in agreement]

170
171 Researcher: Do you think people know about this? Do you think people know about [Minoan]
172 camp? Like I mean Greek people, or in general? Do you think they know what conditions exist
173 here?

174
175 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

176
177 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) sure, because when people leave this camp to another camp they
178 give their impression and take videos and present evidence about the life in the camp

179
180 Interpreter: She says sure, because the people who go out into another country, they improve, and
181 they know this by voice, by picture, by sharing this story, they know.

182
183 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) like when some illness spread, everyone will take the infection
184 like measles and my son was infected and he didn't go to school for a week. This is all because

185 the camp is not clean, it is not suitable for living. We are waiting for the passports impatiently to
186 leave.
187
188 Interpreter: And she say, even for the like, it is not healthy. If some illness starting somewhere, it
189 is sharing, it is spreading. And this is happening for her family also. And she say, she is just waiting
190 for their passport. After that they will leave immediately.
191
192 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) we aren't looking for a lot of money; we are looking for a better
193 life. Like this room is expected to accommodate nine people. I challenge any European family that
194 can live like this.
195
196 Interpreter: And she say, the other people they say, we want to go to another country for get like
197 money or something. No, just we need to live like the normal life. And you can see, ((Interpreter
198 points around the room)) this place they live nine people. And in this condition, you cannot find
199 any European family they living like this.
200
201 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
202
203 Interpreter: And she say, except for nationality and our country, and finally, we are human. We
204 want to live like human.
205
206 Researcher: Of course! ((nods in agreement))
207
208 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) I am telling her in general like human beings we need cleanliness,
209 freedom, sometimes I want to sit on my own, but I don't have the space. Sometimes I have a
210 headache and want to be on my own, but there is no place to relax
211
212 Interpreter: You need the space, you feel like nervous, you want to space relax and to organise
213 your opinions. And for me, this is not happen for me. I cannot find space to relax.
214
215 Researcher: Yes... Have you felt like this for two years?
216
217 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
218
219 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) since we arrived to the extent that I feel like it is better to go back
220 home.
221
222 Interpreter: And she say, since when they arrived here.
223
224 Researcher: And so you're waiting for passport and then do you want to leave to go to another
225 country? If so, where? Would you stay in Greece, maybe if they gave you a proper house in the
226 city centre maybe? Would you choose to stay?
227
228 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
229
230 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

(handwritten margin notes:)
camp space = unsanitary
– liminality – limbo → will leave Greece when they can
'loose' national – cultural group categories
shouldn't interfere with being human but they do.
despite the differences we are all human
– wants privacy which doesn't exist in the camp container too small 9 people in her family
Home = Syria not camp / not Greece
I planted my own cultural bias here → my opinion of what a 'house' is → no such thing as 'proper'

344

231
232 Interpreter: They say no they want to leave. And you can ask them about the reason.
233
234 Researcher: Yes please tell me.
235
236 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) in other countries, they take care of you rather than isolate you
237 as if you are an epidemic that people should stay away from. They integrate you with their own
238 people, they let you learn the language, they give you an opportunity to work, and other things but
239 most importantly you feel like one of their own people
240
241 Interpreter: She say because in Greece, the people for Greece, they thinking because you are like
242 some epidemic, so they want to put us far away. But in the other country they will put you in the
243 people. In the middle of the people. And they took you to the school, maybe you find opportunity
244 how to work, so you feel like you belong to those people. But here, you cannot feel this feeling.
245
246 Participants: ((Speak in Arabic...husband now gets involved...)) ((emphatic movements and
247 gesticulating of hands)) so here even in the hospital, if you need to go you need to put the mask.
248 When we arrive, the first hurdle you will encounter is asking if your organisation has booked you
249 an appointment and they inform you that your organisation has to book an interpreter on your
250 behalf and they give you the feeling that you are nothing. You should be always dependent on a
251 Greek person, who they considered one of them. They treat you like you are below them.
252 (interpreter tried to inform the participant that this is the rules and regulation of the country but the
253 participant stated that we are talking about someone who is sick, needed immediate attention. They
254 have to treat the person, then ask all other questions and it is their work to contact the organisation
255 and I shouldn't be the one who has to contact the organisation.
256
257 Interpreter: She say when we go to hospital, and the people the first thing they feel like you are
258 different, and we are like unknown. So they say which organisation do you follow?
259
260 Researcher: Do you mean like religion?
261
262 Interpreter: No, organisation, like [Magnolia Aid] and then you have to take with you like
263 interpreter, for translation. So if I died, what happened? Because when I go to hospital, I need to
264 treat myself. And this is one example.
265
266 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
267
268 Interpreter: She say, because she feel like sick teeth and she go to hospital, and it's so hard, and
269 when she go there, reception say 'you have to bring with you interpreter', it must speak Greek.
270
271 Researcher: Greek? Arabic? English?
272
273 Interpreter: Just must speak Greek. And also I go many times to hospital and finally I go out to
274 private doctors and they treat me.
275
276 Researcher: They don't have a translator in the public hospital?

(handwritten margin notes)
= belonging comes from living amongst the locals, being treated as equals by the State, being allowed to work

- I was lucky to get this richness in the translation control - interpreter missed this interacting with locals are dependent on these locals -> local integrity preferred
-> individual agency denied by local authorities
- linguistic barrier reaffirming position of reified vulnerability

- state system refuses to help refugees unless it's on their own terms - linguistic games - but private sector is more accommodating.
- language used as a way to maintain position of vulnerability

277
278   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
279
280   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
281
282   Researcher: Or [Magnolia Aid] doesn't have to provide you with one to go to the hospital?
283
284   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
285
286   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
287
288   Interpreter: No. You must bring. And even if they accept you, just they take out teeth. They cannot
289   address your teeth.
290
291   Researcher: And [Magnolia Aid] doesn't have to give you a translator?
292
293   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
294
295   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
296
297   Interpreter: No because they do not agree.
298
299   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

(handwritten note): – to get access to basic healthcare, the authorities need to agree with it → so many important & personal aspects of their lives is controlled by the state / camp authorities

300
301   Interpreter: And one time she went to the hospital to the doctor, and they just said we pull it out,
302   we cannot fix.
303
304   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) for refugee people, he is not willing to fix the teeth as it takes a
305   couple of sessions, but to pull the teeth in 5 minutes he will do that.

(handwritten note): – different treatment to locals

306
307   Interpreter: Because he not ready to fix it. Because the fix need time, maybe one time, two-time,
308   three-time, you have to follow this, and he doesn't care about this. It's very easy for him to take it
309   out, five minutes and then finish.
310
311   Researcher: Do you know other people, family or friends, that live in camps in another country, or
312   other Greek camps that feel like this? I know you used the word 'epidemic'. Or is it better in other
313   European countries? Or just here in this city?
314
315   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
316
317   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) no. it is just here. My brother is in Germany and he is treated very
318   well.

(handwritten note): – Greek camp space contrast to Germany

319
320   Interpreter: And she say, this is just happening in the Greece.
321
322   Researcher: So you feel like this in general from all Greek people? Have they been welcoming?

(handwritten note): – Greece = undignified, – Germany = treated well

7

346

323
324   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
325
326   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
327
328   Interpreter: Most of them like this. And this is not just for me. Even the other families, they like
329   this. They take him outside, and then he make like through, and now he needs operation to fix this.
330
331   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) my brother has been in Germany for three years. He learned the
332   language, bought a car (work as a taxi) and the organisation supporting him is encouraging him
333   and life is really good. You are treated like a human being not an animal. We Arabs like to be able
334   to work, for example people opening restaurants, cafes… we are not here to live like animals.
335
336   Interpreter: And she say, because she has one brother he live in Germany, and the life there is
337   totally different. Even the people from the organisations, they support him. And now he complete
338   the language.
339
340   Researcher: And now he feels integrated into the society? Is there a good support system?
341
342   Interpreter: Yes. ((Speaks in Arabic))
343
344   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
345
346   Researcher: Yeah. Now he is working, and he feels like one of these people.
347
348   Participant: (Speaks emphatically in Arabic for a long time) Germany is different, talking from my
349   brother's experience. Germany is not like Greece kept you in the country to get something in return
350   from the European union. Germany on the other hand, try to get the best out of you as a human
351   being. They try to invest in your skills and expertise so that there is mutual benefit for both of you.
352   Greece I considered it a stupid country with due respect. Why, if you look at the people in the
353   camp, why they are drinking, why they are taking drugs because they are bored. They are doing
354   nothing. Let these people work. For instance, my husband is a builder, he can install tiles. He has
355   skills and they can make use of him, other people are painters. If they let people work, they will
356   get more occupied with work and as a result, they won't get into fights or trouble and they will be
357   able to help the country improve the economy.
358
359   Interpreter: … hallas…
360
361   Researcher: Yes please, for an accurate translation, sorry, but thank you for telling me all this…
362
363   Interpreter: She say, because here in Greece, they treat the person like, they put him like something,
364   just they want him to be fed by the UN. Not recognised like human.
365
366   Researcher: You mean the NGO workers?
367
368   Interpreter: For the refugees, they put them in camp and after they like, they want to use their

Handwritten marginal annotations:
- Germany = humanity
- meese = 'bare life'
- links ethnicity to work ethic
- they feel like their identity is being denied in the camps
- ability to work = affirms identity
- permits belonging
- keeps people stuck in the camps in a liminal state of 'bare life'
- is pointless and not helping the Greek economy or refugees → lose / lose situation
- Greece is using refugees as a way to get money from EU.
- liminality boredom causes problems
- again translation richness lost here

369   money to buy something in the city, for the organisations that work with them.

370

371   Researcher: So you mean like corruption the in NGOs?

372

373   Interpreter: It is like in general. Greece in general. Just they put the people that they want to take
374   their money from the UN or something like this. But in the other countries, they take you and they
375   put you in camp, but they want to take your skill. They want to build you and your skill, and you
376   are working, and you pay the tax, so they get something for you. But here, why the people they
377   start to drinking, to use the alcohol, because they are boring. And for a long time they don't want
378   to do anything. This makes them to be like negative.

379

380   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic, again for a long time, and husband joins in)) Look, for example
381   Turkey I consider the country civilized more than Greece you know why? I have three of my sisters
382   who are married and my mother and my brother and cousins they are all settled in Turkey. You
383   know why? Turkish people were able to benefit from these people. The farmer was given a piece
384   of land to farm it. Even the vegetables that were farmed in Syria are started to be farmed in Turkey.
385   They were able to get something in return from these people whether farmers, builders etc. every
386   person who is specialised in something is getting a job in his speciality. My sister told me that
387   when she first went to Turkey, she stayed in a city that was at the border, it was almost like a
388   desert, but now it is completely changed, the Syrian made it a flourished city. So although the
389   Turks placed the Syrian in Camps, they gave them the opportunity to work. Europe are not getting
390   the expertise of the refugees. They think refugees are hungry people who do not have a place to
391   stay. No the refugee wants to exercise a normal life and be able to live and provide for himself.

392

393   Interpreter: And she say, like example, in Turkey it's more better than here. Why, because she has
394   relatives there. Even they are living in the camp but the Turkish people give them the opportunity
395   to do the job as they like. So most of them working like to plant something in the ground or
396   something. Before this place like empty, but now it is developing. And all those people they are
397   living in this area, they are from Syria. But this place from Turkey. But this is not happening here.
398   Just they thinking, you come here angry and hungry, and you just need to eat and to sleep.

399

400   Researcher: So you know how you said before when you go into the city, you feel relaxed when
401   you're in the town. But you also mentioned that you don't feel welcomed by Greek people. So how
402   come you feel relaxed in the city? Can you tell me more?

403

404   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

405

406   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) No, not as Greek people. I didn't talk about the Greek people but
407   my question is why they are isolating us outside of the city. Is it a quarantine, a prison? Once you
408   come to the camp eh. What about her when she arrived to the camp, what is her impression?

409

410   Interpreter: Because the situation, I am not say because all Greek, local people not welcome for
411   us. The problem is why they put us out. Because this is for the psychology, for they are like prison.
412   And for you like also ((looking at researcher)) when you arrived here to the camp, what was your
413   reaction?

414

415 Researcher: Yes, of course…

416

417 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) there is no transportation after 5pm.

418

419 Interpreter: And she say because after 5 o'clock, the life for us is stopped. And the other, the

420 opposite. When you go into the city, they are taking the coffee, they are walking.

— social & physical isolation due to lack of transport

421

422 Researcher: And why do you say life stops?

423

424 Interpreter: For the bus. You can go out into the city.

425

426 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

427

428 Interpreter: And she say even when they decide to go into the city, to enjoy and to make like

429 walking, the taxi cannot take all of them. Like 20 and 20, like 40 (Euros). And if I want to go out

430 each week, eh, 4 weeks, how much money can I spend? The wage is gone.

431

432 Researcher: Yes, I completely understand…((pause for a moment))Do you have any Greek friends

433 at all?

434

435 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

436

437 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

438

439 Interpreter: Yes she has.

440

441 Researcher: And where did you meet them?

442

443 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

444

445 Interpreter: Like in opposite, the local people ((motions near camp, I think she means [Minoan]

446 villange] locals)) is so quiet, and so kind.

447

448 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) ((young child is screaming, demanding her attention, but she

449 doesn't want to stop the conversation))

450

451 Interpreter: She say, they are so kind and want to social. When I open my restaurant, I put to one

452 page in Instagram, and when they saw, they coming.

453

454 Researcher: Do you mean locals from [Minoan] village?

— has some good experiences of locals
— has been an entrepreneur & opened own restaurant in camp
— supported by locals

455

456 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

457

458 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

459

460 Interpreter: From the city.

10

461
462 Researcher: Wow, that's great! Can you tell me more about the restaurant? Please tell me
463 everything! Why did you open? Is it still running?
464
465 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) [as the family understands we are going to start talking about the
466 restaurant, they shake their heads in sadness/lament/nostalgia))
467
468 Participant: ((Husband speaks in Arabic, wife joins in)) the restaurant got closed. Our problems
469 were because we are not working.
470
471 Interpreter: They say, because now they are not working.
472
473 Participant: (Husband speaks in Arabic for a long time) when we first arrived to the camp we were
474 quite optimistic. The area wasn't large and we were quite happy and there were no problems and
475 we started to think about the next step and how we could get a better life. So we opened the
476 restaurant.
477
478 Interpreter: So when they arrived here, even the camp is not like now. The area is not large. And
479 also the containers like a hundred containers. And just the big containers, not section B or C. So
480 when they arrived here they feel comfortable, and they feel relax here. They start to thinking about
481 the idea how to create restaurant here. At the same time we can do something, and we can enjoy
482 also.
483
484 Participant: ((Husband speaks in Arabic, wife joins in, speaking very passionately)) we started to
485 work and got some help from the organisation and they really welcomed the idea and started
486 requesting food and opened us an account in Instagram and work got better. But suddenly the
487 police came and told us that we were not allowed to work. Only eat, drink and sleep that's it. You
488 know at that time we felt we had a dream and we were able to fulfil it. Life got better, we had a
489 better social life. We started forgetting about the war and we felt back to normal life. But when the
490 police came, they closed the restaurant saying we are not allowed to open the restaurant and we
491 closed the account at Instagram.
492
493 Interpreter: They say because the idea come, and after that the refugees and the people in [Darling
494 Crafts] support them. And it starts, and little by little the people come. And even the people for
495 [Darling Crafts] they come and they eat here, and they drink coffee. And everyone he can tell his
496 friends. So they started, and they feel like they start to integrate with the people, with the local
497 people. But the police…
498
499 Researcher: And who came? The local people from [Minoan] village come? Or from the city? And
500 the local NGOs?
501
502 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
503
504 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
505
506 Interpreter: At first, just the NGOs, and then their friends, and then their friend they tell their friend,

[handwritten margin notes:]
— time in the camp has eroded their hope and sense of self
— liminality causes suspended dreams / hopes

- self starters, the restaurant gave them a sense of purpose, new way to deal with liminality and uncertainty by doing something new / their own = agency & autonomy
- had local support = felt belonging
- then clash with authority crushing their dreams. Speak to liminality

by word of mouth it was a success
until police shut them down

350

507 and it is like spread like this. And when the police come, the police stop everything. They say you
508 are not allowed. And just here you have to eat and sleep, you don't have anything.
509
510 Researcher: How long did it work for before it shut?
511
512 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
513
514 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
515
516 Interpreter: It was like one year.
517
518 Researcher: And then the police came and stopped it... ((Interpreter nods))
519
520 Participant: ((Husband and wife speak in Arabic))
521
522 Interpreter: And even when the police come, they say you are not allowed to working here, and
523 just for the people they say we no have problem. They say we can come and you can give us inside
524 the container (camp), no problem. The people who come, because they say they know outside it's
525 not allowed, maybe the people they see as they tell the police, so inside the container.
526
527 Researcher: And so do they still serve food inside? Sorry, I don't think I understood this last part.
528
529 Interpreter: When the police told them it is not allowed, this happened for short time. Now it's no.
530
531 Participant: ((Husband and wife speak in Arabic)) no we stopped because the police threatened to
532 give us a fine if we continued and we may pay €4000. We continued to work not in the open, so
533 the police came twice and then said this the last time and accordingly we stopped.
534
535 Interpreter: And they say, if use this place for restaurant, maybe you will pay €4000.
536
537 Researcher: And what kind of food and drink were you serving?
538
539 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
540
541 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
542
543 Interpreter: For the food, it's like Syrian and Arabic food.
544
545 Researcher: I am so sad that I missed it... Like really I'm so sad... Because I heard about this and
546 I was really looking forward to coming and eating at this restaurant...
547
548 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) ((Husband-and-wife nod emphatically))
549
550 Researcher: So, they didn't have a restaurant back in Syria? This was just an idea that came to them
551 here? Because they were resourceful and thought what can we do to be productive while we're
552 here?

12

553
554   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
555
556   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
557
558   Interpreter: Just here. Because in Syria, this is our country, we are busy with our jobs and we had
559   our life and our friends. And when they first opened the restaurant, the first thing we sold falafel,
560   because this is our culture and our food, so we want to show the other people.
561
562   Researcher: Yes yes... So is the problem authorities in Greece? So like with police hospital
563   government, this is problem, but like with local Greek people she feels comfortable?
564
565   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
566
567   Participant: ((Husband and wife speak in Arabic))
568
569   Interpreter: Yes she says this is true, because local people so kind and so nice, and so friendly and
570   they help us for a lot of things. And even when you go out, and you see them, they are smiling.
571   And she say the government of Greece stop this.
572
573   Researcher: So it sounds like maybe you experienced some culture shock? You expected
574   something and you came and found something different? Do you feel like you experienced that?
575   Or do you feel like local Greek culture and customs are welcoming for your cultural practices? Do
576   you understand what I mean by culture shock? ((Researcher addressing Interpreter)) Like you come
577   to Greece and it's a different culture and this is difficult?
578
579   Interpreter: Yes. ((Speaks in Arabic))
580
581   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
582
583   Interpreter: Because the problem is the government. He want to put the border between us and the
584   local people. And she say the conditions they put for us, you have to learn the Greek language.
585   And if they want us to learn the language, have to put us in the middle of the local people. And
586   after that we can talk with their neighbour. But they put us in separate. How can we learn this
587   language?
588
589   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
590
591   Interpreter: And she say, our children they learn the language not from the school. They learn the
592   language from the organisations, they come here and they talk with them, and they make fun with
593   them.
594
595   Researcher: Do any of the kids go to Greek school?
596
597   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
598

Handwritten margin notes:
- food as a way to connect
- culturally symbolically significant
food as a way to assert identity
- sharing with other people in the camp → source of pride despite their difficulties

contrast between locals & authorities

- language as a tool for communication with locals, as a tool for integrating with locals

- physical space between them & locals → state bordering practices → creates social division

- language learned through form → support of NGOs from abroad not from local Greek people/authorities

13

352

599   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
600
601   Interpreter: Five children go to school. They take the lesson, but they hate the programme, because
602   they can't give us something like useful. In this year our children are so late because two months
603   and after that they started. And even for the programme in the school, they didn't take it at first
604   like the other local kids. Because the local kids, students they start and after two months, and then
605   after that kids from [Minoan camp] can start. And this is difficult for them to cover the programme.
606
607   Researcher: I understand… Sorry, just to go back to the restaurant, to finish up… Did you run this
608   by yourself just the two of you? Or did you have other people helping?   - not the best flow of conversation
609   here.
610   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
611
612   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
613
614   Interpreter: When she feel like she have many things to do, some neighbours come and help.
615
616   Researcher: And how many people would you feed?
617
618   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
619
620   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) we cook in here but people had to book before coming and inform   - it was a
621   us how many people will be coming. This is because the place is so small and we don't have the   whole
622   place equipped with proper resources. So they contact us and tell us what they want to prepare in   thriving
623   advance.   business
624
625   Interpreter: And she say, this is for the people who want to reserve the food.
626
627   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
628
629   Interpreter: And she say, this is for our page on Instagram. Some people call us and they say,
630   'tomorrow we will come, me and 4 friends', and so prepare.
631
632   Researcher: And you would cook where? And serve outside in the back where there is space?
633
634   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
635
636   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
637
638   Interpreter: Yes, outside in the back, it is so beautiful, it has flowers. Now it is not like last time.
639
640   Researcher: And did [Magnolia Aid] help to make the tables and chairs?   - past temporality of camp
641   space was before when they
642   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))   had the restaurant
643
644   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

14

community support)
buy-in by people
wanted to help

645
646   Interpreter: Yes! And she thanks them, everybody help them. Even they help them open the
647   Instagram page.
648
649   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
650
651   Interpreter: And when the local people they come here and they eating, they know because they
652   are refugee, they help them, and they ask them if you need something I will bring for you. And
653   they bring many stuff for the kitchen. They want to support them.
654
655   Researcher: And how much would you charge for a meal? Would they accept money?
656
657   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
658
659   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) ((shakes her head)) you pay as you wish. The most important
660   thing is that they were happy with the food and enjoying themselves.
661
662   Researcher: It was pay-as-you-wish… I understood that…
663
664   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
665
666   Interpreter: It was important for them, everybody come and feel comfortable and he enjoy, and
667   after how he feel.
668
669   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
670
671   Interpreter: And because she say, you know when the people is coming, and is laughing, and is
672   enjoy, and is comfortable, this is very important. This make us to feel encourage and to support
673   us. We don't have like fixed price for anything. Even you don't want to pay, no problem.
674
675   Researcher: Aaaw, I don't want get you in trouble, but I really want to come and eat here. And
676   your food smells so good! ((Points at the oven of food cooking for dinner))
677
678   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
679
680   Researcher: And so this made you feel like you were doing something in the community? And did
681   you feel integrated with people? And now that it finished how do you feel?
682
683   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
684
685   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) we felt really down.
686
687   Interpreter: But we feel like so bored. And even our emotion is falling. And for example because
688   she say, if you just eat and sleep, without working, how would you feel?
689
690   Researcher: Yes of course, I understand... And are you hoping to go to Germany?

margin notes:
- successful because also created a community
- business was a way to get noticed by locals and have access to more support — material support — emotional/community
- did it for the community feeling
- food/folk term to resist liminality of camp
- bare life = depression
- no work = loss of social status and sense of self

15

354

691
692   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

693
694   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

695
696   Interpreter: Yes to Germany.

697
698   Researcher: And do you think you will open a restaurant in Germany? Or would you like to do
699   something else? Did you enjoy this work?

700
701   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

702
703   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

704
705   Interpreter: And she say yes, if I find someone to support me in this and to give me opportunity,
706   yes I will do it. I enjoy.

707
708   Researcher: Wow! I really hope it works out for you, that amazing! Okay let's speak a little bit
709   about who you speak to in general in the camp? Like on a normal day, who will you interact with?

710
711   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

712
713   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

714
715   Interpreter: And she say, because the first thing that is important for me is my kids. First I prepare
716   them for the school. Then I will invite my neighbours, and after that we will sit here and drink
717   coffee, and we will talk about our problems. And the police give us a long time to discuss because
718   we don't have work, so we have a long time to discuss.

719
720   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

721
722   Interpreter: Like if someone has a birthday for his child, they celebrate. And even if someone get
723   his passport, they will also celebrate about this.

724
725   Researcher: And what will the celebration look like? Can you describe a little bit?

726
727   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

728
729   Interpreter: Most of them is a birthday party. She wants to show you some pictures.

730
731   Researcher: Great! Thanks! Can I ask... Islamically, you don't celebrate birthdays...? But here
732   you do?

733
734   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

735
736   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

Handwritten marginal notes:
- connecting with friends through food & drink = way to cope with difficulty and to resist liminality.
- community sense here → all rejoice in each others' joys and sorrows
- big assumption here that I made - based on my Muslim friends in UK but clearly I was wrong - they do celebrate → assumed that maybe there was a connection between celebrating despite displacement

16

737

738 Interpreter: Yes. This is like for memories. She has a birthday for her son, and she making like
739 surprise for him.

740

741 ((Participant shows researcher the pictures))

742

743 Researcher: Wow! So nice!

744

745 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

746

747 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

748

749 Interpreter: For her, it doesn't make sense. This is like for New Years, they just celebrate, because
750 they have time.

751

752 ((Participant shows Researcher and Interpreter New Years pictures on phone))

753

754 Interpreter: They make like cake, and a kind of pastry.

755

756 Researcher: ((Pointing to a picture and speaking to one of the [Young Explorers] children)) Who is
757 this? Your sister? ((child nods and laughs)). Ok, so I am seeing that you are a very open and warm *potential*
758 family and you like speaking with people. When you invite people over, do you speak Arabic *tension*
759 amongst you? *here →*

760
                                                              maybe she thought I was asking her
761 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))   *if she minded speaking to people in other*
                                                              languages → but I wasn't stereo-
762
763 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) I don't have anything against anyone. I don't discriminate *-typing*
764 between people.   *I was genuinely*
                                                                                    asking -
765
766 Interpreter: She say, it doesn't make sense for her. Even for Kurdish people, and other nationalities, *but from*
767 she doesn't mind.   *here dialogue -*
                                        I know this distinction is made   *looks like one*
768   *by interpreter, not participant*   *misunderstood me*
769 Researcher: So how often do you speak to someone who doesn't speak your language? *why did he choose to*
                                                                                       single out Kurdish'
770   *as a relevant member?*
771 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

772

773 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) my children help me to communicate with people.

774

775 Interpreter: She says, she can invite her children to help about the language. Her children, they
776 speak 3 languages, Farsi, English, Greek.

777   *quite a typical experience, refugee*
778 Researcher: How did they learn these languages? *children picking up languages faster*
                                                      than parents & then helping parents.
779
780 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

781

782 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

17

356

783

784 Interpreter: This is from, they used to talk with other people, and this is to help them learn 3
785 languages.

786

787 Researcher: And did they learn these in this camp? Or from before?

788

789 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

790

791 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

792

793 Interpreter: Just here, they learn in the camp. — camp space is highly linguistically diverse's with environment
794 children learn many languages just by virtue of being the space of the camp keep in daily interacting with people

795 Researcher: Do you prefer to speak to people who speak Arabic? Or are you comfortable with
796 other languages?

797

798 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

799

800 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

801

802 Interpreter: She say, she prefer if someone speaks Arabic, she feel comfortable.

803

804 Researcher: And how about English and Greek? Would you like to learn?

805

806 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

807

808 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

809

810 Interpreter: She say that the English is important for me. Because this is opportunity to connect — language
811 with everyone. Even for the Greek people, they speak English. as a tool for connection

812

813 Researcher: And how do you communicate with someone when you don't have any common → presents /
814 languages? creates the opportunity for connection.

815

816 ((Participant interrupts to show more pictures of the restaurant)) — it was clearly

817 very significant and another

818 Researcher: Wow! traumatic event almost for them →

819 keeps showing me the

820 Interpreter: For them, it's like big achievement. And sadly, everything comes down. picture & returns back

821 to this topic of

822 Researcher: I am so sorry, that is very difficult... So, we were talking about communication... conversation

823

824 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

825

826 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

827

828 Interpreter: By signs

18

829
830   Researcher: And can you describe one time when this happened?
831
832   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
833
834   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) [laughing] I have Afghan friends
835
836   Interpreter: And she say, she has some friends, from Farsi speaker and sometimes we meet at the
837   washing machines, and for this situation we are just using sign language, body language, and we
838   use some English, so we understand.
839
840   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) ((laughing louder))
841
842   Interpreter: And she said, sometimes those women ask her about something and she just say 'okay -
843   okay'. And then they ask, 'What does that mean? Do you understand what I say?' And she laughs...
844
845   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
846
847   Interpreter: Because she say, she has washing machine before, and they start to asking her about
848   this story, and after that the other women ask her about, 'Where is your machine?' And she say
849   just, 'Okay okay'...
850
851   Researcher: Ah, so they misunderstood each other?
852
853   Interpreter: Yes.
854
855   Researcher: And so in front of the washing machines, it's a place where people speak to each
856   other... Are there any other places around the camp where people connect, and speak to each other?
857
858   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
859
860   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) yes in the clinic and the lawyer office and sometimes we gathered
861   here and we meet people from different countries and start using sign language asking the person
862   if he needs any help.
863
864   Interpreter: She say, because in the office here for the [Magnolia Aid], this is opportunity to meet
865   different nationalities, and you can use to talk different languages. And also, sometimes we sit
866   outside in the evening, and some people from different countries they can, and we tell them, 'Come,
867   sit, do you need something?' By body language.
868
869   Researcher: So, from what I'm understanding, there is no community space where people can just
870   go to sit, and talk, and be together. When you say people come and sit, do you mean here outside
871   your home? ((Points to the outside perimeter of the container))
872
873   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
874

(handwritten margin notes:)
daily — It happens around places of daily household activity
- need to negotiate information & communicate via NVC.

- linguistic mix-ups in the camp a source of laughter
Something → can be relief if not about sensory issue.

- also use NVC for important matters
- NVC a way to connect across langs

19

875   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) no there is no other place just in the street   *- confirms lack of*
876   *community space*

877   Interpreter: No. Just in the street.

878
879   Researcher: So there isn't any official community space?

880
881   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

882
883   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) it appears you (the researcher) is shocked by this reality. Initially
884   there was places (like for learning English/refugee centre sound is not clear) where we used to
885   gather and particularly on Wednesday it was mainly for women. We used to meet from 4 o'clock
886   until 7 and there used to be different activities for women from the different nationalities but they
887   closed this place. There is [Darling Crafts] but it is quite far from the camp. It is really good and *- DC vs.*
888   they have lots of activities. We used to go there and sew and they helped us with lots of projects. *camp =*
889   They used to sit with us and ask us about our problems and how they can help us. We really benefit *place just*
890   from them.   *across street*
891   *miles away*
892   Interpreter: And she say because for the refugee people, this community space, they bring women *in terms of*
893   from different nationality and they have three hours, so they spend and they make their activity. *symbolic*
894   But when they leave, everything leave with them.   *significance*
895   *place to*
896   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))   *resist*
897   *difficulties*
898   Interpreter: And sometimes in [Darling Crafts]. But it is far away from the, it does not belong for *- but how can*
899   the camp, it is outside.   *belong here as*
900   *'not part of' >*
901   Researcher: I see. Can you tell me a bit more about your activities with NGOs?   *but interesting choice*
902   *of word.*
903   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

904
905   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))

906
907   Interpreter: For example, the activities in [Darling Crafts], I do many things like tailoring, and they *N who vols*
908   sit with us, and they ask us, 'What cloths you have?', and they show us. And they help me with my *at DC have*
909   restaurant.   *time to sit with*
910   *them & connect,*
911   Researcher: That's great! And so, have you made any friends at [Darling Crafts]? Either with the *offer*
912   volunteers, or with other people who go there?   *support*
913
914   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

915
916   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) sometimes they take them in a journey to the city.

917
918   Interpreter: Yes. All of the friends for her started at [Darling Crafts]. And sometimes they make
919   picnic for them, like take them outside in the car.   *- moment of escaping the space of the camp*
920

921 Researcher: And would you say that you made friends there that you wouldn't have made any other
922 way?
923
924 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
925
926 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
927
928 Interpreter: Yes. She say here in the camp, everyone in his container. And like this, door they are
929 not open. But in [Darling Crafts], because when you go there, you find the women because they
930 go there for talking, so this is opportunity you can start talking. And after that, you can invite them
931 in your house. — *much opportunity to ask follow-up here.*
932
933 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
934
935 Interpreter: And even for the [xxx - previous NGO that gave free food in the warehouse], the
936 refugee women, when they bring some cloths, they want to share it in the camp, and so we will go
937 there and talk. And so, in the second time when you see these women outside, so you will smile,
938 and say, 'Hi, how are you?' So this is like the beginning. — *how groups are formed —friendship begins at DC.*
939
940 Researcher: And so how important is language for this?
941
942 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
943
944 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) language is important but it is not impossible to make friends. So
945 if felt comfortable with someone, I won't let her go, I will learn a little bit and she will learn a little
946 bit so we can communicate. So language is not a barrier that one can't overcome. To the contrary
947 you can overcome
948
949 Interpreter: She say the language is important. But it is not possible to make friend. Because if I
950 feel comfortable with someone, so I find the way to talk with them.
951
952 Researcher: I see...So it's important, but not necessary? Like you can find other ways to
953 communicate?
954
955 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) so for us Arab people, our friends should not be only Arabs, no,
956 I have Afghan friends, Kurds, I have African friends, all comes and gather at my home and we
957 exchange visits. (the participant didn't use the word community)
958
959 Interpreter: And she say, from the Arabic community, it is not necessary for all to speak Arabic. I
960 have friends from different communities, from African community, from Afghan community,
961 from Kurdish community, from Arabic community. And we will just meet together and discuss.
962
963 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
964
965 Interpreter: And she says, I have friends from the local people also. And they call me, and they ask
966 me, 'How are you feeling?'

(marginal handwritten notes:)
DC = safe space to meet people and people already willing to be open. Dir camp always side containers.
language barrier not seen as obstacle, it's still an opportunity to learn & something of get to know someone.
—seems to be distinguishing herself from others that she would regard as having a problem ethnicity/ language/ nationality irrelevant

21

967
968 Researcher: I see, so you are using the word community. I'm curious what do you mean by this
969 word 'community'? Do you feel like you are part of a community here in camp or in Greece in
970 general?
971
972 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) so do you feel like you are part of this community in the camp
973
974 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) no.
975
976 Interpreter: She doesn't feel part of a community.
977
978 Researcher: Okay. So when you say 'Arabic community' what do you mean? Can you tell me more
979 about this?
980
981 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
982
983 ((Participant looks at him like she doesn't understand. Interpreter looks back at me.)) 'because the
984 participant didn't use the word community she appeared to be a bit puzzled by the word Arab
985 community'.
986
987 Researcher: I'm talking about belonging… Because when she says the words 'Arabic community',
988 I feel like she feels like she belongs to a community, I feel like it means something to her, but I
989 am trying to understand what it might mean in one context and what it might mean another
990 context... I am just curious, because at first she said yes and then she said no, so I'm just curious
991 maybe the word means something different for her?
992
993 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) so you said that you are not part of this community. The
994 community (Greek) doesn't have the characteristic or (attributes) that make you belong to this
995 community
996
997 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) Yes, I have Greek friends but the government is parting us from
998 the local, they don't want you to integrate with them. There is a barrier between us which is not
999 getting away. We tried to break this barrier but we couldn't.
1000
1001 Interpreter: She say, because she has friend with local people, but finally the government put
1002 border between us and local people. We tried to crash this border but we can't.
1003
1004 ((Young Explorers child returns from Young Explorers, we all say hello))
1005
1006 Researcher: I see... So stopping the contact between you and local people made you feel like you
1007 were not part of the community? So I guess, what does it mean to feel like you are part of a
1008 community?
1009
1010 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) for example, when you had the restaurant you felt a bit part of the
1011 community so what are the things that may make you feel you are part of the community.
1012

(handwritten margin notes:) – case of interpreter over-stating maybe he thought I wanted to hear about community?

(handwritten margin notes:) socio-spatial segregation between locals & refugees.

22

361

1013   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) the government came and stopped all this. The link between us
1014   and the Greek community has been broken.

1015

1016   Interpreter: so in general what are the things that you may be able to do in order to feel part of the
1017   community

1018

1019   Participant: we can't do anything if they didn't allow us. The government should find work
1020   opportunity for the refugees. They have to try to integrate the refugee with Greek people with. For
1021   instance, our Greek friends came to visit us yesterday but the camp manager didn't allow them to
1022   enter the camp. The government are trying to prevent this or stopping this from happening.
1023

(handwritten right margin: —camp authorities seem to be getting in the way of local belonging. opportunities.)

1024   Interpreter: She say, because the first thing is opportunity for jobs. And the second, like to connect
1025   with the local people. But the government, they don't want this. Even for yesterday, when my
1026   friends, some local people come to visit us, but the director, they stop them.

1027

(handwritten right margin: —literally acting as So co-ordinator gatekeeper)

1028   Researcher: You are kidding? You mean they stopped them at the gate?

1029

1030   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

1031

1032   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) they didn't come to visit us personally, they brought some aids
1033   for the new refugees so the camp manager went by herself and told them to leave the camp. So
1034   they left. The friend can come and visit you after the organisation leave.

1035

1036   Interpreter: Some local people bring some stuff like presents for us, to giving for people in the new
1037   structures. But they say it is not allowed to go inside, so they take their car and they go back. If we
1038   have friends, they can come after the organisation they leave the camp.

1039

1040   ((Baby starts crying))

1041

1042   Researcher: I'm so sorry, I understand… So last question because I can see that you are busy now
1043   and the baby is crying… Can you describe the space you living? What word would you use to
1044   describe this space?

1045

1046   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic)) for example if you are going to describe the place you are living
1047   in, a word that you can describe the place you are living in

1048

1049   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) a prison   *(handwritten: feels incarcerated in camp space.)*

1050

1051   Interpreter: It's like a jail.

1052

1053   Researcher: ((Nods in agreement)) And I remember hearing you use the word 'caravan'... What
1054   does this mean?

1055

1056   Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))

1057

1058   Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) you can't feel the sound of the rain in the house but in this caravan

(handwritten: caravan not very home-like)

*(handwritten: contact scheme 23
house ≠ home of container.)*

1059 you feel that you are placed in a container and someone keeps banging on it.
1060
1061 Interpreter: She say this is different between ground and sky. Caravan and house is different. She
1062 say when you are in the house and the rain starts you cannot feel anything or hear anything. This
1063 ((he points to the ceiling of the container)) is so noisy.
1064
1065 Researcher: I see... So what does the word 'home' mean for you?
1066
1067 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
1068
1069 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic))
1070
1071 Interpreter: She say, even you say 'house' you feel comfortable. Because in house, you have special
1072 room for sleeping and eating. Here ((they point around the room of the container)) you eat, and
1073 you sleep, and everything is mixed.
1074
1075 Researcher: Yes, I understand... And I can see that you've done many things to make it feel nice
1076 in this space, it's very pretty and the walls ((points around the room))... And it feels comfortable,
1077 like a home... Would you use the word 'bayt'?
1078
1079 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) I try to improve and make some changes but it is impossible. The
1080 place where you sit is the kitchen. For instance, if you are watching a series in the TV you can't
1081 follow it because of the sound of the cooking and extract and another person is sleeping
1082
1083 Interpreter: She says it's impossible. Yes I tried to make it feel comfortable but impossible.
1084
1085 Participants: ((Husband and wife speak in Arabic)) ((They laugh as they look around the room))
1086 another thing this caravan can never be a home. the door. All house the door opens to the inside
1087 but this door opens to the outside and I can't accept this idea. Sounds really strange. There is no
1088 privacy like other houses.
1089
1090 Interpreter: Because everything in this room we use, like kitchen, like for the sleeping room. In
1091 the house, in the home, you feel like everything has its place. For the kitchen, for the sleeping, for
1092 the watching TV. But here, this is something different.
1093
1094 Participant: ((Husband speaks in Arabic for a long time)) what the government should do to
1095 improve this. I have been here for almost two years. They should bring me here for only 5-6 months
1096 and then they should move you to the city for example. But I have been resident in this camp for
1097 two years. I am not learning anything or going to a school or work. If you try to look for work,
1098 there isn't any opportunity for work. So you should stay here for 6 months to adapt, then move to
1099 the city. They should prepare you to integrate in the community but they are leaving us in the camp
1100 now for 2 years. I don't know how they think.
1101
1102 Interpreter: Because he say, it's possible. Normally, when they bring us here, this place is just for
1103 reception. After six months, it must to take us in another house. Because we know, here is not job.
1104 But at least they put us in the local people, like we feel like we are with people. And now, I'm

1105 living here for two or three years, so how can you say house?
1106
1107 Researcher: Yes, I understand… I'm so sorry. So the camp is supposed to be a temporary space,
1108 and yet they've been living here for so long, and they are very resourceful, and they've made this
1109 place look and feel like a home, and they thought about more permanent things like opening a
1110 business, and making roots here... Can you tell me a little more about this? Maybe about feeling
1111 permanent in a temporary space? Do you get what I mean?
1112
1113 Interpreter: Yeah I think I understand. ((Speaks in Arabic)) she says this place is only temporary
1114 but you did your best and were open to open a restaurant. The things you did shows you are like a
1115 person who is resident permanently so she would like to know your thoughts you are in a temporary
1116 place but made the things that a person who is living permanently is doing. How is your feeling
1117 towards this, normal, difficult…?

default because living in liminality

1118
1119 Participants: ((Husband and wife speak in Arabic)) when we came to this place if we came
1120 knowingly that we were spend 5-6 months, that it. We know that we will leave in due time but we
1121 have seen the process taking so long and we start feeling bored so we start to think how we could
1122 improvise the situation. Boredom was the motive for us. (husband engaged in the discussion and
1123 said we wanted to work, in any condition. If they moved us to the city, we could have start looking
1124 for work.

husband gets involved to comment on difficulty of not working = gender issue particularly pride for men/social status. denied in camp.

1125
1126 Interpreter: They say because at first we thought we just spend like six months and after that we
1127 can go another place. Finally we discovered that the process here takes a long time, so this is like
1128 result to lead us to project this idea about the restaurant. So we don't just stay with nothing because
1129 we feel boring.
1130
1131 Researcher: Yeah I understand. So in the European idea of 'home', it is somewhere that you live
1132 with your family and then you feel comfortable and then you can also think about work after... It's
1133 like first step... Would you consider this as something you did to make yourself feel more at home,
1134 when you opened your restaurant? Or not really, you just open your restaurant because you are
1135 bored and needed something to do? Or maybe it was to bring Arabic/Syrian culture here to feel
1136 more at home here? Or maybe, am I using this idea of 'home' wrong?
1137
1138 Interpreter: Let me try to ask… ((Speaks in Arabic)) she says normally when a person feels safe
1139 and move to a home, he starts to think about the next project /step but here you have done the
1140 opposite. Staying in the camp/feeling bored you start thinking about the restaurant idea.

home = place to be excited by the future and try new things —

1141
1142 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) what we said is that this place should be only temporary for at
1143 least 6 months but they don't have a temporary place for refugees. For this reason, we say there
1144 should be a temporary place. This is what we say should be done. We were hoping that this place
1145 is going to be temporary and then move to the city to improve yourself and integrate with the
1146 people and your thinking became more developed.

bec they tried new things because necessity forced them they were bored

1147
— *space of camp is only bearable as a temporary place of 6 months living in it → anything more = too difficult*
1148 Interpreter: They say because we thought this was just for temporary, but in reality this is for
1149 permanent. And especially for Greece, for that we feel like this is permanent then we can start…

not very — to be too difficult unbearable liminality.

1150

25

1151 Researcher: Okay thank you. And maybe if it's okay can I speak to [xxx – Young Explore children]
1152 for a second? ((Parents nod)) How do you feel about [Young Explorers] and [Busy Bee]?
1153
1154 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
1155
1156 Participants: ((Children and parents speak in Arabic)) they are meeting with their friends and doing
1157 a lot of fun. They don't feel bored.
1158
1159 Interpreter: They say because [Busy Bee] gives us many opportunities to take us out and do some ~~BB offers~~
1160 fun with us, and you just leave us in the container. Because there are many things to do, and you ~~fun =>~~
1161 don't have free time to think about negative things. The parents say the kids say this to them. ~~results~~
1162 ~~camp~~
1163 Researcher: ((Looking at children)) And how you feel about [Young Explorers]? ~~boredom.~~
1164 ~~way to have~~
1165 Participant: ((Children speak in Arabic)) ~~fun with friends.~~
1166
1167 Interpreter: Yes, they like a lot.
1168
1169 Researcher: And what language do you use to talk to other people?
1170
1171 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
1172
1173 Participant: ((Children speak in Arabic))
1174
1175 Interpreter: Most of the language she uses is Kurdish.
1176
1177 Researcher: Okay thank you so much. Okay, I can see it almost dinner time and the baby is crying
1178 so I think it's time for us to go soon... Just one last question if you don't mind my asking... What
1179 does the word 'refugee' mean to you?
1180
1181 Interpreter: ((Speaks in Arabic))
1182
1183 Participant: ((Speaks in Arabic)) a refugee word means disappointment in everything. A refugee ~~bad life~~
1184 means you had nothing you only can eat, drink and sleep and if you got sick we can treat you that's ~~-alone~~
1185 all. You have no role in the community. The refugee in Greece can't show his skills and has no ~~-denied~~
1186 right as a human being. Even the opportunity to learn is scarce and for example someone like ~~humanity~~
1187 myself with two young toddlers, if I was in other countries, I can go to study while my children ~~-without~~
1188 will be placed in a nursery but here there is nothing. You have to look after yourself and mange ~~social~~
1189 things on your own. ~~network~~
1190 ~~children~~
1191 Interpreter: She say, the word 'refugee' is different in different places. Because when I arrived in ~~suffer~~
1192 Greece, so I hate the word 'refugee'. Because they treat the refugees, they just take you to hospital,
1193 and eat and sleep. You cannot have any right to live like human. And for the refugee, if they try to
1194 become like experienced, and to integrate, and to feel like excited, no. And she say for the other
1195 camp, there is education, and I go to school and my children go to school. But here, no one find
1196 the solution.

1197
1198   Researcher: Wow... Thank you so much this was such a great conversation! I don't have any more
1199   questions for you... But if you have any questions for me, the project please feel free to ask away.

27

Appendix 8

Sample interview with NGO volunteer

1   Interview with Isla

2   (R):

3   Okay we are doing an interview on the 5th December. Interview with [Isla]. Just to get started

4   can you tell me a little bit about yourself where you are from a bit of your background like that.

5   (P):

6   I'm from England I have a degree in philosophy err, and a qualification for teaching English

7   as a foreign language. Err, I'm also currently doing a master's in international humanitarian

8   affairs. Err, that's about it that's all of the things.

9   (R):

10   And what brought you to [Busy Bee] or what made you want made you like volunteer here?

11   (P):

12   So really it was kind of an accident, like I was just looking for err erm international

13   opportunities to teach English just generally. I was looking just to teach English then I saw an

14   advert for [Busy Bee] and I was, I just don't know why I had never even really thought of it

15   before it was like of course this is exactly what I want to do. So I applied then got it and yes it

16   was

17   (R):

18   What particularly from the advert made it sound appealing?

19   (P):

20   Well I mean it's I came to be teacher it's not what I've actually ended up doing. But the teaching

21   is is, kind of something I really love and I didn't know I would love it its another one of those

22   that I came to it by accident sort of thing.

23   (R):

24   Yes yes.

25   (P):

26   But I really love teaching English, and so I saw this and then I saw working with refugees

27   which is something that I've been thinking about doing for for a while, for a variety of reasons.

28   I like my family are quite politically inclined and have been on been on a bunch of marches.

29   Like sort of thing, so it always been something that I intended to be when I like said things in

30   favour of refuges but I realised that I have never really acted on it, and so like

31   (R):

32   ((nodding))

33   (P):

34   It was like okay yes so I can be like I can actually show that I'm passionate about something

35   instead of just talking about it like. Yes. So that was a big part of it yes.

36   (R):

37   That's great. So can you tell me like what your actual role is with [Busy Bee], what do you do

38   here?

39   (P):

40   Okay so that's quite a complicated question like I say I came to be a teacher when I first got

41   here I was with the [Young Explorers] programme. So working with the children err, in err

42   more of the err workshoppy roles, err so a lot less of the English teaching that I expected and

43   then err I got approached by the err, head of the adult education departments who asked me to

44   be her assistant which obviously I'm not going to be, I wasn't going to be here for very long.

45   But so there only certain things I can do in that role. But I moved to a lot more of an admin

46   based role a lot more outreach err, stuff. Things with the adult education just bringing new

47   people to the classes. Err, I worked in three different sites err, with a variety of different people,

48   I still stayed with the [YE] a little bit one day a week. Err, but mostly admin stuff. Towards the

49   end I got to do some student support with err, with the learners who were maybe who could

50 maybe speak relatively good English but couldn't read or write or had very low level things
51 that people that really needed the support. But yes so a variety of admin based roles.
52 (R):
53 I take them in turn can you describe like typical day of doing outreach what does that look like?
54 (P):
55 Okay perfect so outreach err so I had two kinds of outreach, outreach at [Minoan camp] and
56 the outreach in the community centre. In [Minoan camp] it meant err walking around the camp
57 knocking on doors I would have a list of people who needed to join class. Err, and I would
58 knock on their door I would have them read the rules in their language make sure they
59 understand it.
60 (R):
61 Was it just just you doing this did you have a translator?
62 (P):
63 This would be just me ((talking over)) I would have, have the printed yes copy of the rules
64 which they would then get to keep. And I would make sure that the understood it. If they
65 understood it, I would have them sign something saying they have understood the rules. If they
66 didn't understand it, I had some videos that I could show them. Or I just wouldn't make the
67 sign the rules and we would just not hold them to the rules of the class. I would tell them what
68 time to come to class and give them a copy of the err, timetable in their language. Err, and then
69 I would go onto the next house and and ask somebody new. It always entailed many people
70 approaching me and saying, 'When do I come to class?' And I say 'not today' or 'You are on
71 the list or you need to do a placement test come Monday twelve o' clock' or something like
72 this. So, it was quite an interactive role and it did mean me getting invited to a lot of homes
73 like this so yes.
74 (R):
75 Tell me about being invited into homes, what does that look like?
76 (P):
77 So it's a variety of things. Sometimes there would be times when I would say no, but most of
78 the time I would say yes.
79 (R):
80 Would you say no like, why would you say no?
81 (P):
82 Usually if I'm working yes like it would be like if I'm like actually I've got loads of work to
83 do today I would say no. Sometimes it was like a just a young man who sees err single young
84 girl walking around and I'm like I'm not an idiot ((laughs)) but most of the time it would be
85 families and they would invite me in and err, and yes so I would be invited in. Yes so I would
86 families would invite me in I would come in I would have cup of tea sometimes they would
87 give me food or sweets it was always very nice and I learnt to be very not English about it and
88 very comfortable.
89 (R):
90 What does that mean 'not English'?
91 (P):
92 Not English. I just would relax a lot more because the difference is I knew that like if you go
93 into an English persons home last minute and they offer you something they don't necessary
94 mean that they want you to have it, the homes in [Minoan camp] if they invite me in they really
95 want me to be eating this food that they prepared only for me. Err like sometimes they would
96 prepare me an entire meal and it's just for me and they would sit and watch me eat it. Like okay
97 got to eat all of this now and I've got two other houses that might invite me in. Towards then
98 end as I made more friends in the camp, there would be people I would know would feed me
99 right, I'd get like two meals in a day. ((laughs))

100	(R):
101	So how could you tell that they wanted you to eat it? Or how could you tell there were different
102	norms, to break out what you would usually do?
103	(P):
104	Well at lot of it is they say 'thank you' when I eat stuff and they like say 'thank you' from me
105	coming in and I think a lot of it is you can tell that they are so lonely they are so bored especially
106	like the mothers who spend all their time in the containers. They don't see other people and
107	they don't necessarily, there aren't necessarily people who are willing to come in and speak
108	with them and learn about their lives and listen to them as they try to explain what's happened.
109	And just the, like seeing a friendly face they are so grateful and I can understand that completely
110	especially as someone who has been lonely in the past I completely understand why they would
111	want me to come in, yes.
112	(R):
113	Amazing. Do you have any idea why like mothers would kind of spend all day I their containers
114	any sense of that?
115	(P):
116	Well I mean a lot of it if they have got children, children small children they have to take care
117	of their children there aren't always like those, like strict gender rules but a lot of them it is that
118	way.
119	(R):
120	I know like again say they would open the door and you would have the initial conversation
121	how would that go, like how would you get from 'we are doing the rules' to 'come in'?
122	(P):
123	I would knock on the door I would say in from [Busy Bee] I'm the English teacher about
124	English class I would explain that they could come to class and then sometimes they would say
125	'thank you', and then they would say thank and then they would say 'come in'. err they would
126	say 'please come in my home have tea'. Sometimes I would knock on the door while they were
127	eating and then they would automatically invite me in err ((nervous laughter)).
128	(R):
129	I noticed a lot of shoes were outside the houses, would you take your shoes off?
130	(P):
131	Yes, I always take my shoes off to go into the home always always, err. Sometimes sometimes
132	they say no it's fine sometimes you can get to a certain part of the of the home, the container,
133	and before you take your shoes off, like you get to where they put the rugs down and then you
134	take your shoes off. I think a lot it depends on how they err, how many people live in, how
135	many families live in that particular container, because if there are two families then the first
136	area into the container isn't necessarily like their home, their actual bedrooms are like their
137	home,
138	(R):
139	Interesting
140	(P):
141	But everyone of them is laid out differently they all have different what so it's always best for
142	me to just make, at least make a show like I'm taking my shoes off now and then they can say
143	'no no later' or' no no it's fine'.
144	(R):
145	Yes and when it is like two families in a container, can you just describe the space?
146	(P):
147	Okay so there is one particular example that I can think of right now who in two families.
148	Where like you walk in and there is the shared kitchen area which has some places to put some
149	of your shoes. Err and then you have got straight across from you you have got the toilet then

Handwritten margin notes (right side):
for refugee hospitality / sharing a cup of tea = mode of social/emotional important
social contact
- chance to connect
for women = gendered dimension

ask her about camp room? built thing
- small culture formation?
- everyone must invite you in if a volunteer knocks and you are eating?

- less privacy if more than 1 family staying
- 'home' demarcated by rugs - physical thing to mark social space.
- certain culture involved in that social space

3

150 and both of these families in this one container have two small children and that err, that are
151 and they are each in a single bedroom themselves that's sort of how it's laid out.
152 (R):
153 Do they have showers?
154 (P):
155 Yes there is a shower in the toilet in the back room.
156 (R):
157 Kitchen area where they can, all that kind of stuff like running water?
158 (P):
159 Yes they have got running water they have got air conditioning they have got electricity all
160 these sorts of things.
161 (R):
162 And you have been to like quite a few so you can say generally? Okay.
163 (P):
164 They all have toilets; they all have running water they all have kitchen areas; the kitchen areas
165 vary slightly but they all have them and they all have air conditioning. Yes.
166 (R):
167 Have you been to one where there is only one family and one where there is a shared space?
168 (P):
169 Yes, I mean, I've been to some where they I've been to some where there is one like big quite
170 extended family, I've been to one where there is like there is just two single men living there
171 and they will often invite like a bunch of other people to come in and they cook for lots of other
172 people. err, but I it its not its not, I don't think it's that common to just have it just like a couple
173 of single men. But then like I guess they don't want to necessarily put them with families I
174 don't know. Yes. so yes
175 (R):
176 Any difference between two families and one family, anything significant there?
177 (P):
178 I guess if there's only one family its generally quite a big family but they have managed they
179 have been able to make the space their own. If they have been there for a long time they tend
180 to have done some maybe building work around the container, they have built significant
181 structures around maybe some extensions maybe a seating area outside a private area
182 something like this. One of the one of my friends he has a like he keeps homing pigeons and
183 he's got a a big thing for homing pigeons, and he will let them out sometimes and I've been
184 recently and because it's now winter he has built a more enclosed space for them so they are
185 warm [both aww] yes I know it's one of my favourites.
186 (R):
187 Well and this went down well with the camp or?
188 (P):
189 Well, from what I can tell [Darling Crafts] the organisation they come to their help them build
190 stuff like this. So like a lot of the stuff they go to [Darling Crafts] to make stuff or they get stuff
191 from [Darling Crafts] err to make stuff err, so it's err, yes yes as far as I can tell it's fine like
192 yes. I mean they have got some that have like huge gardens outside like yes they are some of
193 their living spaces that they really made quite beautiful and their own like some of them keep
194 chickens and things like this.
195 (R):
196 Wow, and would you say there is a difference between who would chose to do that and who
197 wouldn't? What cases would you see something like that like where would people build extra
198 space?
199 (P):

4

200	(P):

200 (P):
201 I don't know I don't know, there is a specific like who would and who wouldn't maybe they
202 do it differently but I think a lot of it is the people who have built stuff are people who have
203 been there for longer time, people who have been there for maybe two years maybe even three
204 years like from what I can tell from talking people its people who have been there for a least
205 longer than a year like the brand new people haven't done that yet they are just in their
206 container.
207 (R):
208 Okay got it. When there is two family have you noticed how they make a decision to put those
209 families together?
210 (P):
211 I don't know no I don't know.
212 (R):
213 Cool I noticed you said one of my friends that's really interesting. Do you like generally have
214 a lot of friends in the camp how do you make friends?
215 (P):
216 Yes I really do think that I mean maybe I'm just ((laughs)) like somebody who has been so
217 introverted and shy her whole life, that now I'm like 'no wait I have friends'. But it does feel
218 I've make friends mostly from from being invited in for tea, err, from from knowing people
219 because when I go for outreach days I would also maybe err, go to err, watch a couple of the
220 classes the English classes things like this. So I would get to meet the students, the already
221 existing students as well as meeting student potential future students and then sometimes
222 people would see me would just see me walking around and would invite me in. Err, and if I've
223 got time I will go in, if I am hungry I will go in ((laughs))
224 (R):
225 And like would you repeatedly go to the same people's house again and again?
226 (P):
227 There are some people that I have been to on several occasions, err, just purely because they
228 are comfortable with me and they know who I am they recognise me, but I wouldn't necessarily
229 say I'm only going to this person and I'm not going to try anybody new. Yes.
230 (R):
231 When you initially have that what language do you use and how do you communicate? Like
232 how and would you say that language plays a role in this process, like if you don't know the
233 person's language is that going to move into 'oh we can be friends'?
234 (P):
235 Yeah, I think because I don't speak any of their languages apart from like a little French. So
236 when the French speakers are around they speak very tiny, tiny French, but yes no it's all done
237 in in English I speak quite the clearest English I have, err, and I'm also willing to move into
238 the sort of pigeon that they have in the camp and use words. I don't know like err, like err, like
239 I'm willing to say 'ali baba' instead of 'steal' or I'm willing to say 'very problem' or things
240 like this. I don't know, I'm not fussy about it having to be perfect English as long as they
241 understand me. Err, and I understand them as well. Err and and a lot of them, a lot of them the
242 people who would invite me in are people who do speak some English not necessarily a lot,
243 but some.
244 (R):
245 Enough to be able to…
246 (P):
247 Yes, and even when I'm with a family there is usually one person in the family who speaks a
248 little more than the others and they can help, and they always are trying to communicate with
249 me because they wouldn't invite me in if they didn't want to say something to me. Err, but I

5

249 err, very aware that it's difficult for them. And I'm very aware that I'm the one who doesn't
250 know their language. Err, so yes.
251 (R):
252 So people you have met have been people who have willing to kind of bear with the discomfort
253 of not being able to fully communicate but there would be something in that interaction that
254 would be valuable for them?
255 (P):
256 Yes yes.
257 (R):
258 Okay you said like the different words, say 'ali baba' or 'very problem' but some people are
259 more particular about using them that others. Can you say more about that what do those words
260 mean, where you have heard them being said, and why would people be willing or not will to
261 use them?
262 (P):
263 Yes I think from what I can tell most of the volunteers I work with you almost accidently will
264 start using them anyway when you talk or like 'he speak bad', instead of 'he said something
265 bad to me' or 'he said something wrong' or 'we had an argument', not even he speak bad
266 sometimes he would say 'but she speak come this time'. And I will say this sometimes if I have
267 a conversation particularly with a child or a lower level student to try and make sure that they
268 understand. You say 'he speak this' or 'this person speak this to this person' to make sure that
269 they know what the message is, instead of 'this person said this' because then.
270 (R):
271 Because that is what they understand want to make sure you are being understood by that
272 person. Okay do you have any idea where these words come from like who created this, these?
273 (P):
274 Well I mean I mean from what my very small understanding of linguistics, from what I
275 understand and I've done a little bit of research into pigeons before, they they make they have
276 less tenses. Because they just learn a few words and because they are all English is like almost
277 a shared language without it being a shared language, they are all trying to find err, a single
278 way of explaining to each other, people who speak Arabic or Farsi or Kurmanji or any other
279 ·Sorani or any other language that they speak they are trying to find a way to communicate with
280 each other and communicate with the people who work with them and things like this so they
281 have the small small small English and they can, it's more efficient to do it without tenses.
282 Without without err too many err, pronouns even like I yes.
283 (R):
284 Would you, I mean this is a bit weird, but like but would you like notice any difference in
285 somebody who is willing to speak like that and how they are treated by the community of
286 refugees and somebody who is not? Like say when somebody like, if they were trying to use
287 full complete sentences, would they be stared down or looked at strangely?
288 (P):
289 I don't think so. I think it just might be more difficult for them to be understood err, not always
290 but if you say too many words in a sentence it's I mean I any time somebody is speaking a
291 different language to you if they use a big, long sentence and they speak very fast, you you are
292 not going to understand.
293 (R):
294 Fair enough, okay cool and about 'ali baba' what is that one?
295 (P):
296 'Ali baba' means 'steal'. Yes like the forty thieves.
297 (R):
298 And when have you heard that being used?

6

300 (P):
301 All the time all the time; all the time yes the kids use it. I mean we especially have to use it
302 when speaking to the children, but grownups use they say 'this person ali baba from this person'
303 it's used everywhere yes.
304 (R):
305 Okay cool. Back a little bit to like having tea with families. Can you give me a bit more of a
306 comparison between what you are like willing and able to do here and yet feels outside of your
307 comfort zone but you wouldn't necessarily do back home? Say for example what would you
308 do if you didn't like something that was served to you here, versus how you might react at
309 home?
310 (P):
311 I mean I am someone who tends to like everything served to me ((laughs)) But also I'm
312 somebody who is like extremely polite like I will always eat things or even just try. But like
313 yes I don't know I'm always going to be extremely polite in those sorts of situations. But yeah.
314 (R):
315 And how would you be able to like sense what is politeness and what how do you know?
316 (P):
317 I don't know like yes. I don't know.
318 (R):
319 I think that we all kind of know but yeah.
320 (P):
321 I don't know like you just yeah.
322 (R):
323 How do you know when they want you to finish what you are eating?
324 (P):
325 Well yes I mean they keep giving you more ((laughs)) yes they do give you more and keep
326 saying and they also tell you even when they don't have much English they will like motion
327 towards you and be like yes try like eat eat like or like they tell you. ((gestures plate being
328 given to her))
329 (R):
330 So non-verbal communication is also part like saying happening you will use non-verbal signs,
331 Can you describe some kind of actions of what that looks like?
332 (P):
333 Yes so like I say they want me to eat they will maybe wave towards the food. And and and
334 maybe towards their mouths very like really like obvious things like err and err on the non-
335 verbal communication. Also, like I'm somebody who doesn't always notice when I'm
336 understanding non-verbal communication like because I, I've always had I got like an audio
337 processing issue of my own, so I my whole life I've been someone who focusses a lot on non-
338 verbal communication to understand what people are saying to me. Err, so I don't always notice
339 any more like I'm just kind of like aware of it, like I understand what people are saying to me
340 of course. Like. So I don't know err.
341 (R):
342 Okay cool. Okay so that was kind of like outreach.
343 (P):
344 Yes that the [Minoan camp] outreach I've also got the community centre outreach is different.
345 (R):
346 Do we want to do that, we do?
347 (P):
348 Yeah. Please yes okay. So community centre outreach is completely different it would mean I
349 would go sit in the community centre and I would make phone calls to people who are who are

7

373

349 have to get a err, a native speaker usually an existing student from one of the higher levels
350 classes I would pull them over and say please can you help me make some phone calls, I need
351 to call these people err,
352 (R):
353 And like basically why do you do it on the phone?
354 (P):
355 So because because these are the community centre they live all over the city they I I don't
356 know where they live some of them might live in the camps but most of them will live in the
357 city. And so we have phone numbers err, but the problem is if they tested a long time ago and
358 they have only just made it to the top of the waiting list their numbers might be different they
359 might not their numbers might not work. They might not have paid their their credits so they
360 can't answer phone calls they are just using it for internet maybe Wi-Fi. So they so sometimes
361 you can go through and make four of five phone calls and not get a single person answer the
362 phone. And so it's quite, and it relies on me having to be able to find a native speaker of that
363 language and so. It ends up being you can't necessarily go through the waiting lists
364 systematically you have to go and find all of the Arabic speakers and just pull someone over
365 because I know there is an Arabic speaker there that day who can help me or the Farsi speakers
366 because I know there is a Farsi speaker who can help me that day so, its yes it's a very it was
367 a very different job. Yes and like
368 (R):
369 It sounds like language is more significant there you are not having that personal interaction?
370 (P):
371 Yes yes because it's on the phone like you can't explain the same way I don't have it written
372 down in front of me yes.
373 (R):
374 How would you say that like it's different between the two sites like just in general like the
375 way of interacting with people?
376 (P):
377 Well I mean like I, I can I always like sit in the community centre as well but like it would be
378 different like obviously I'm not in people's homes I'm just. Err, sat in a workspace and people
379 would come over and talk to me and they got to know me quite well at the community centre
380 as well, and again it would be people would approach me and ask me question 'when do I come
381 to the class', 'can you help me with this'. Err, which was positive because it meant they knew
382 who I was they were comfortable with me. Err, but err, and it was a lot more of the sitting down
383 job not a walking around the camp job. Which is quite nice sometimes and it also I I got to
384 know the site manager at the community centre better than I ever got to know the site manager
385 and the [Minoan] camp. Just through the nature of it being in one space err much smaller space
386 like very I had very few interactions at the [Minoan] camp with the site managers and the
387 organisation there. But the organisation at this community centre because I just there was three
388 women who working alongside me basically I got to know them quite well so for me that was
389 quite a positive interaction.
390 (R):
391 Who runs the community centre?
392 (P):
393 The organisation is [xxx]. Err they are refugee organisation err, I don't know that much about
394 them but
395 (R):
396 Community centre
397 (P):
398 No

399	(R):
400	It's a refugee.
401	(P):
402	Yes but the English classes that we did here were open for technically were open for non-
403	refugees err,
404	(R):
405	Did you get enough?
406	(P):
407	I think there was maybe maybe some people who weren't technically refugees but but not really
408	but technically it was open for Greek people especially Greek people of lower incomes but I
409	don't think they came.
410	(R):
411	Kind of building on that like interaction with locals. So this centre is based in the middle of
412	town where you could have more interaction with local whereas in [Minoan camp] is quite an
413	isolated space so maybe less so. Have you noticed any interaction with locals?
414	(P):
415	I mean all I know is the complaints about the noise level particularly of the children. That that's
416	my main interaction with with the locals. So I don't really know but when we have taken the
417	children out places other than some bus drivers we have had some quite positive interactions
418	with with local people and we
419	(R):
420	Any particular memories?
421	(P):
422	I do know because the excursion that we are going on the following weekend, this weekend, I
423	went to the place to find out what it was like and we spoke to people who had seen err this this
424	[Busy Bee] take children there in the past and remembered it and were very happy for us to
425	bring them back. So that's quite a positive thing because they are just a small business in in a
426	village so like
427	(R):
428	Yeah.
429	(P):
430	So they are happy to accommodate these children. So err, so that's a positive interaction yes
431	I've see I've seen some positives so yes.
432	(R):
433	But basically in terms of the space, it's not really used for locals, it's used for refugees?
434	(P):
435	Yes.
436	(R):
437	Maybe, okay who comes to that centre and like where do people live who come there?
438	(P):
439	Err so some of the people live in the city. Err some of the people live in the camps. Err, maybe
440	the people so the people who live in the camps maybe they are they are too higher level English
441	for them to have an English class in the camps, just because of the nature of the how our English
442	classes work were laid out err but err, people because there is also err not by our organisation
443	but there is also err social workers based in the in the community centre. So you get a lot of
444	people just coming in and out of the community centre, and people who have err, students adult
445	students who have children bring their children there and their children sit downstairs and they
446	can go to class there. I mean we are not doing classes there anymore the classes at the
447	community centre have closed. Err, they they might open again but partly it's a shortage of
448	teachers. Err, and partly it's a breakdown of the relationship between us and the organisation

9

450	teachers. Err, and partly it's a breakdown of the relationship between us and the organisation
451	that run the community centre. Not that not the particular woman who work at the community
452	centre but the organisation as a whole. Err, we've had some issues of
453	(R):
454	Not to like say anything that we are not supposed to say, but was that because of working with
455	refugees or something that?
456	(P):
457	They are a refugee organisation so it's not that. But like I think it's a few different things and
458	maybe their they're closing they wanted more control over it than than it would work if we
459	were also able to do what we were doing err, they yes they didn't want us to be in the place.
460	(R):
461	((talking over))
462	(P):
463	I think they changed the head of the person the head there changed and they didn't like what
464	we were doing but also there is a good chance that the community centre is closing anyway.
465	So it's kind of like even if we managed to fix this relationship it might close. So.
466	(R):
467	How much do you think that would impact people like if it's closed?
468	(P):
469	I do know from from us even just stopping the classes there because there wasn't a lot else
470	going at the community centre any more like it's not a very well used space, err, but when we
471	when we were, I went to err like the err the last last day at the community centre the last our
472	last classes there and I spoke to some people and we like we had a bit of a gathering err, and
473	they are like 'well I don't know what I'm going to do in this time now like I'm just going sit in
474	my home'. And because there is not so many opportunities its hard for them to find work. Err.
475	it it's yes they they are all obviously trying to find work and trying to find education and trying
476	to do these things but they just don't really have that much to do and if the classes aren't there
477	then.
478	(R):
479	Do you get a sense of these barriers are to people accessing these things or? Say about
480	(P):
481	Yes I mean there is there is some animosity towards Greece and Greek people in general they
482	are some of it is justified, maybe some of it is just their own insecurities. Their own their own
483	difficulties. Err, they it, obviously there is job shortages for Greek people as well so it is it's a
484	really difficult situation.
485	(R):
486	Can they legally get work do you know if refugees can work here?
487	(P):
488	Err, yes yes they should be able to yes they should be able to get work yes yes.
489	(R):
490	But difficult to access.
491	(P):
492	Yes especially if they do not know the language that well it's limiting, it's limiting.
493	(R):
494	Do you know like how common that is or anything like that?
495	(P):
496	I do know some people with Greek friends.
497	(R):
498	How common is that?
499	(P):

Handwritten annotations (margin):
English classes provide an escape for the monotony of liminality

'home' in relation to daily activities → but did the student say this, or did Isla use this word?

fairly balanced assessment

link to stereotypes that refugees speak about & general perceptions of Greece

10

500 I think it really depends; it really depends on like I think maybe it's different for the people
501 who live in the camps. Like they are going to struggle because they are always in the camps
502 and the only Greeks that they have err, interaction with are the the people who work for the
503 organisation who aren't allowed to have it's like significant interaction with them because of
504 working with the organisations. Err so and so for them as far as they are concerned the Greeks
505 don't have any interest in them but really I mean maybe partly the people who work for those
506 organisation don't but partly they are not allowed to so.
507 (R):
508 ((talks over))
509 (P):
510 Yes so
511 (R):
512 So why would making friends be difficult for those living in camps as opposed to those living
513 in the city and going to the community centre? Can you tell me about the space?
514 (P):
515 So the camps like err, particularly [Minoan camp] is very isolated I mean it's outside of a
516 village like a twenty minute walk away from a village. Err, [Dorian camp] also quite quite
517 isolated err, quite far away. It's not a lot to do in either of those places err like I even I
518 sometimes think [Dorian camp] is kind of like even less to do there even though it's maybe
519 slightly closer to the city like there is it just doesn't feel it feels a lot more closed. Than like a
520 lot less like, like not like a community not a lack of stuff to do I don't know yes.
521 (R):
522 Do you feel more of a community sense in [Minoan camp]?
523 (P):
524 Yes I mean I can guess it's more open I think and they spend a lot more time between places
525 and then also they also have the [Darling Crafts] there so they have got things to go and make
526 stuff. And and learn things that isn't just English or Greek they can learn other activities. I
527 mean they do want to learn English and Greek but yes they can learn a more hands-on
528 something.
529 (R):
530 How does [Darling Crafts] work? What do they do there?
531 (P):
532 So [Darling Crafts] I mean we have only been over a couple of times but it's it's great, like I
533 said they do so many things it's a very varied space that can change depending on who the
534 volunteers are. So they have like a sewing station, they have computers as well teach people to
535 work with computers which computer literacy is very low for a lot of the people. So that's
536 really really helpful err, particularly when you come here and like just generally in the West
537 computers are quite integral to getting a job to anything. Err, there is also an art space for people
538 just if you want to make there is an art space, woodworking which again making use to make
539 their constructions outside their homes. Or these sorts of things, there is a bike fixing area
540 because like because they are so isolated having a bike is really useful. Err, I am trying to think
541 what else there is. And then all eat together they sometimes cook together like it's it's a very
542 like community area with so many different like exciting things to do it's really great.
543 (R):
544 Do you think it's located in [Minoan] camp?
545 (P):
546 It's across the road like it's like less than five minutes' walk across the road.
547 (R):
548 And you use this word 'community' quite a bit. What would that word mean to you?
549 (P):

[Handwritten margin notes:]
- space of the camp denies access to local connections for refugees - equally Greek locals don't seem to go looking for interaction
formal rules of other organisations not B.B.
- not allowed to really socialise
physical & social isolation for refugees
- DC is in stark contrast to spaces of the camps
- DC very different to Minoan camp - presented as an escape space, respite from camp, return to 'home' in relation to homemaking, practice of improving material conditions
physical location & social distance is profound spatial metaphor for isolation of camps

11

377

550   Like, rhe people like talking to each other.
551   (R):
552   Part of that
553   (P):
554   Talking to each other like it feels like a village, it feels like these people know each other they
555   they don't they aren't all friends with each other but there is, there are friendships. There there
556   is a willingness to help each other err, I sometimes they will cook for each other but like err,
557   like if there is one person I know who lives in [Minoan camp] who he cooks and he will cook
558   a big meal sometimes his other friends will come over and he says anybody can come over
559   anybody is welcome. He's like 'I'm just here on my own all the time anybody can come over'.
560   Err, I know it's lovely. And I have eaten food before it's very good. ((laughs)) very nice Afghan
561   food. Err, so yes there is a like I mean yes.
562   (R):
563   How often would you say friendships happen across the same language or across different
564   languages and if so what language do they use to communicate?
565   (P):
566   Yes so I've seen friendships particularly with the like the single men who are there on their
567   own like they make friends with pepe who speak different languages. Single young men. Like
568   I've seen them and they will speak English usually or a version of English err they might try in
569   each other's languages sometimes like you will hear an Afghan trying some some err Arabic
570   or something like this. Err, and they will learn err, but mostly its like English err, and I yes
571   they do make friends with each other. Yes.
572   (R):
573   Greek has been?
574   (P):
575   I sometimes I feel like Greek is err, with the kids more and more especially since they have
576   started going to school err, and it's actually made me. I was saying this today it's made me
577   really happy like being in in the classes in stuff like hearing them slip into Greek instead of
578   English I don't want to correct them on it because, because I'm it means that they are going to
579   school when they are learning things at school and like this is really good. So yes like I heard
580   a few of them say the Greek word for 'bag' instead of bag yesterday and I like not even
581   necessarily realise that they the do it, like and so like it was yes. Yes of the children definitely
582   more and more Greek. Some of the adults also they call me 'kyria' (miss/madam) or like they
583   say 'geia sas' (hello) and things like this.
584   (R):
585   Various questions stemming from that I want to know more about that single men how
586   language things happen there, and then also more about the kids in school so we'll get back to
587   that one. Friendships - so men single men young single men are willing to kind of cross
588   linguistic barriers and give it a go, err, and, any idea why that is?
589   (P):
590   I think maybe they are just lonely and because like a lot of the women who come a lot of the
591   women who come have come with families, mostly there aren't so many women who come on
592   their own. In fact, I don't think I've met any women come just on their own with no family.
593   But I've met a a lot of men who have come just on their own with no family. So they come and
594   they want to make friends they are lonely. Err, but yes.
595   (R):
596   Family or women?
597   (P):
598   The women they will tend because maybe less lonely but within the classes within the English
599   classes at all three sites people have made friends with each other and will say hello to each

12

600	other around the camp and and will communicate with each other. And obviously in English
601	because they met in English class so they know some of the same English words so like err, so
602	yes they they, there is definitely I don't know I find that the English classes definitely helped
603	people interact with each other and maybe not separate themselves into Afghans, Arabs,
604	Africans.
605	(R):
606	Yes, tell me more about this, do you think ethnicity or nationality plays a role in how people
607	kind of interact?
608	(P):
609	I I mean I haven't necessarily experienced it myself but I do believe that there is that. And there
610	is definitely like err especially like err, there is an awareness that maybe it's easier for certain
611	Arabs to get to get err asylum than it is for Afghans sort things like this there is an awareness
612	of that and you understandably it's quite difficult for them not to be frustrated by this. So maybe
613	a Syrian, like there aren't many Syrians left in the camps because they got asylum. Like but
614	like. Because there is a lot of Afghans.
615	(R):
616	Because the asylum process, because of the war in Syria whereas for other countries, okay?
617	(P):
618	Yes because apparently Afghanistan isn't a war torn country any more so. ((smiles)) So yes so
619	sad.
620	(R):
621	Okay, I see. But then you are saying that the English classes and generally [Busy Bee]
622	activities, there are spaces here for people to break out of those norms?
623	(P):
624	Yes
625	(R):
626	How do you think that happens, who sets those rules? How does that become like?
627	(P):
628	I think what I can tell from being in the English classes it's not necessarily that there is a rule
629	set. It's just that the English teacher is whichever English teacher is there and this counts for
630	all of the English teachers I have seen. They are so like fair with everybody and equal with
631	everybody and unwilling to enter into any like like small political, I mean not the big political
632	stuff but the small political like between specifically between these people, like there is so not
633	going to enter into that that it becomes nonsense. It's like of course these people are just people.
634	And you always and even not even just that but like when you interact with people anyway
635	once you meet somebody, oh okay like this person is okay. There might still there might be an
636	Afghan who hates all Arabs but not 'this one, this one is is his friend' 'this one is different'
637	you know and like. 'I hate Arabs but you're okay' you know? Like so ((laughs))
638	(R):
639	That's great, okay so okay many number one I would like to hear more about these settings.
640	Can you describe what English classes look like, what might typically happen, and then we
641	will go back to what we said before?
642	(P):
643	Of course
644	(R):
645	Tell me about the classes first.
646	(P):
647	Okay the classes it varies like it does depend on who the teachers and it also depends on the
648	level err, let me think. So they are very interactive, there is a lot of encouraging people to be
649	able to speak because of a lot of it is to do with encouraging err confidence in their own

13

648 speaking ability for them to be able to say you know 'I can I can communicate I can do this'
649 err so there is a lot of interactive stuff. Some things don't necessarily work very well. Pair work
650 has been a struggle from what I can see getting people to just like have a conversation in pairs
651 is not necessary always going to work.
652 (R):
653 Because?
654 (P):
655 I don't know they don't necessarily understand what we are trying to get them to do or they
656 just don't do it. Sometimes it does work but I've seen in not work very well particularly with
657 lower levels. There's err some written elements depending on what level. Higher levels
658 obviously get to write more, lower levels maybe learn their ABC's that's it. But err, a lot of
659 pictures and things like this it really is very varied but from what I can tell from the classes I
660 thought were very good. And there would be within the the class there is a varied and it moves
661 very quickly like a different activity now we are doing this, now we are doing this and not
662 necessarily always on the same concrete team even if they are learning some things maybe like
663 maybe phonics at the beginning which doesn't necessarily link completely to everything but a
664 certain amount of understanding, a lot of drilling, a lot of, we are going to do this sentence
665 structure again and again and again because you have to for them to understand it. And
666 remember it. And let me think yes just a lot of communication a lot of conversation a lot of
667 encouraging everybody to be a able to answer a question giving everybody a chance that sort
668 of thing.
669 (R):
670 Can you describe like physically, you enter a class, what does it look like, where do people sit?
671 (P):
672· Okay so it depends on the site. Err, because they are laid out slightly differently at [Minoan
673 camp] the err there are chairs with like desks attached to them that are in like a horseshoe shape.
674 Err there is a white board at the front teacher can move around and everybody can see each
675 other and interact with each other. Err the community centre there is there are tables with chairs
676 that again in a horseshoe shape people can see each other and interact with each other. The
677 classroom at [Dorian camp] is quite bit smaller and doesn't allow for that same thing but there
678 are three desks and people sit pretty much around the outside of the desks so nobody has their
679 back to the teacher or their backs to each other. They are all able to see each other which really
680 facilitates discussion, and everybody can always see the teacher which helps being able to
681 understand.
682 (R):
683 And where do people sit?
684 (P):
685 People do just sit wherever they want. A lot of the time this means that there is a separation
686 between men and women in the classroom, which means I don't think any teacher particularly
687 makes like a like a real like a 'this is big problem thing'. It's like 'you are adults sit where you
688 like'. But sometimes they do group work they might shove somebody over to the other side
689 and be like 'yes you can communicate with a man for once, you will manage you will survive,
690 you are adults'. Or 'you can treat a woman like she's a whole human it's fine', But yes generally
691 they just chose wherever the want to sit and usually men on one side and women on the other
692 side, it is what it is.
693 (R):
694 So that's interesting, because I have noticed in the [Young Explorers] programme with the kids
695 they make the children sit 'boy girl boy girl'
696 (P):
697 Yes

698 (R):
699 Is there any reason whatever you can think of why?
700 (P):
701 Well this is because because because children we are still trying to teach them the I mean and
702 also it's not necessarily just the classroom it's [Young Explorers] and [Young Explorers] are
703 supposed to treat everybody equally, and things like this it's like a certain level of like these
704 are the values that we have. And that we are, err and we just trying to encourage them to grow
705 up understanding that men and women can be friends and it's fine ((nervous laugh)) it's not bad.
706 Err, but but when people are adults it's kind of they I mean, not too late, but also like 'you are
707 a grownup we are not going dictate this to you'.
708 (R):
709 Cool. Okay, back to the kids and the Greek school have you heard anything about kids in Greek
710 school?
711 (P):
712 So when I first got here like most of the children were not able to go to school. But some of the
713 kids who I knew that lived in the city the teenagers who lived in the city err who maybe went
714 to class at the community centre, had told me not great things about Greek school. That they
715 had been treated badly by the teachers and the other students things like this, but the kids that
716 I know now that are going to school now have really enjoyed it and tell me Greek school great
717 they love Greek school they love it. So it does seem that maybe because there is such a big
718 group of them going together its like it's a lot more positive err or maybe because they ..
719 (R):
720 They all go to the same school.
721 (P):
722 They go different times, so there is morning school and afternoon school. One is for the big
723 kids in theory one is for the kids who have slightly higher Greek level can speak some Greek
724 can understand maybe have a little bit more education. And the other one is for the kids with a
725 lower level. In theory, but sometimes it doesn't always work out that way but generally that's
726 supposed the same for the kids at [Minoan camp] and the kids at [Dorian camp] err, and a lot
727 of them will all go to the same school and .... This person goes to my school, this person goes
728 to my school. They are not necessarily in the same class but yes.
729 (R):
730 Okay has anybody said they have Greek friends?
731 (P):
732 Not err, not many of the kids that I know, no. Adult friends who have Greek friends but the
733 kids at the moment no but they have only been in school for like a month. Yes err actually no
734 my friend one of the girls from the community centre who has had a really difficult time at
735 school recently just recently started to make friends at school. So I mean one of them I think is
736 Chinese but think she also has Greek friends. I think yes.
737 (R):
738 Okay so generally difficulties?
739 (P):
740 Yes.
741 (R):
742 Okay, so backtracking to the other thing, so at one point you did mention that like [Minoan
743 camp] is different because you got invited to people's 'homes' and you used the word 'home'
744 which I have notice a lot of people just say 'container'. Can you tell me a bit about home and
745 relationship?
746 (P):

15

381

749 I just feel uncomfortable saying container, because I mean I have I have had this discussion
750 with one of the teachers before and cos she also said like it's container feels like a place where
751 you put stuff it's not for people it's not and some, and the thing is like especially if they have
752 lived there for a while it is their home, especially if they built extra things and they built a
753 garden and these things they it is their home it's not a big home and it's not like an ideal home
754 but it's their home. And they keep it very clean and they try very hard to make it nice. I've seen
755 one where they have painted like painted a mural on the side and on the inside in like inside
756 and they have put like decorations inside and they have made it so beautiful. And yes so it's it
757 is a home it's just yes. Small.
758 (R):
759 This might not be anything you can answer but have you ever heard refugees using the word
760 'home' themselves or in their mother tongues?
761 (P):
762 Yes a lot of time when I go in and they invite me in like they say, 'my home very small my
763 home this I'm sorry my home very small' they are very embarrassed by this their living
764 situation. And I don't know because obviously they shouldn't be embarrassed they have put all
765 of this work in to come here all of this energy and everything to come here and now they have
766 got something that they are embarrassed by. So yes.
767 (R):
768 ((talking over))
769 (P):
770 Yes.
771 (R):
772 Going into a bit of like spatial stuff, can you kind of like take me on a verbal walk around
773 [Minoan] camp? You enter the gate, tell me what you see and we can go around? What is
774 significant and not significant for you?
775 (P):
776 Okay so when you first get in the gates on your right is the err, the hangar where we have the
777 classes now, very big space it's painted on front it's got nightmare of doors. Err, so many locks
778 and so insecure. Err and then straight ahead of you you have got all of the containers all of the
779 homes and some, on your left the [Magnolia Aid] spaces err, the [Magnolia Aid] containers
780 err, and offices I don't hundred percent know what everything there is. I think there are a couple
781 of classrooms ahead as well. Err, and then and then straight ahead is A camp and B camp. Err,
782 and this is just like a separation to help so that the numbers didn't get really big like as far as I
783 can tell. And A camp is slightly more clearly laid out than B camp. But generally it's numerical
784 order you walk up and you walk down. And I've walked up and down a lot. Trying to figure
785 out where all the numbers are.
786 (R):
787 ((nodding))
788 (P):
789 Yes and like yes so then you walk up and down at the very back there is err, washing machines
790 and tumble driers, some chickens and yes that's at the very back. Yes yes. err
791 (R):
792 … you can wash communally …
793 (P):
794 Yes and to one side like sort of like just past the hanger on the right err, there are toilets that
795 seems to be completely locked at the moment. I'm not quite sure why but they are err also
796 showers I think but again I think most of those are locked as well, but like I say most people
797 have toilets and showers in their containers I think if there was a problem [Magnolia Aid]
798 would probably unlock one of them for them or something. I don't know.

16

797 (R):
798 And other like significant spaces or?
799 (P):
800 There is a volleyball pitch err, which is quite popular I've seen a lot of people playing volleyball
801 so that's kind of straight ahead of you, there is a classroom err I think that's run by [Magnolia
802 Aid] they have err, Greek I think and then there is another big like shared space there is a couple
803 there is a couple of err, communal areas one I've seen people praying in. Err, and another one
804 that I'm not quite sure what they do in but yes couple of communal areas with like verandas
805 and stuff.
806 (R):
807 Any food spaces?
808 (P):
809 No err, there is a play area. Yes there is a children's play area and no food spaces but there one
810 of the containers is also call the 'Falafel house'. And from what I can tell they do serve food
811 there.
812 (R):
813 Is that someone's container?
814 (P):
815 Yes it's a family, it's a family home but yes its got a huge garden outside yes. It's listed as the
816 'Falafel house' not the number of the container.
817 (R):
818 Err people pay with money to eat?
819 (P):
820 I don't hundred percent know I think yes I think yes I think like it is technically a restaurant.
821 Yes, err, yes but other than that no no food space nothing like this.
822 (R):
823 Other than that any other spaces? Or busy or not busy areas?
824 (P):
825 It does depends on the weather err, in between containers can often be quite like sometimes
826 they will like cook outside things like this. Or they will sit outside err, the volleyball area is
827· like I say quite popular err, people can sometimes sit outside the communal area bit of a
828 veranda err, so it's quite nice if it is raining. Err yes just depends on on the weather.
829 (R):
830 So the weather, and if it's raining?
831 (P):
832 People stay inside, yes you don't see many people really if it is raining raining they are not like
833 they they only leave if they really have to which I mean is fair.
834 (R):
835 Okay you said something about the 'hangar' – 'so many locks yet so insecure', can you tell me
836 more about that?
837 (P):
838 Well people keep breaking in. ([Laughs])
839 (R):
840 No
841 (P):
842 Yes, and like the thing is like you can get in.
843 (R):
844 And is there anything of value there?
845 (P):

848   There isn't really anything like I the past it was like was [another refugee charity] and they

849   would give out like clothes and stuff so there is some stuff in there but its not there is nothing

850   anything really valuable just people kind of just breaking in. We do have a couple of heaters in

851   there that belong to us, for classrooms and ideally we don't want anybody to steal those because

852   it's very cold in there. Err, but other than that no, there is not really anything of any value. Err,

853   it's just people breaking in sometimes for fun sometimes. because they think there might be

854   something in there. Yes.

855   (R):

856   Great, okay, thank you. I am just going to weave through my questions now and patch up if

857   there was anything we left behind. Umm… If you used three words to describe [Busy Bee] to

858   a friend back home what would they be?

859   (P):

860   'Grass roots', errr, 'busy', 'well intentioned'.   *little terms? see if any use them*

861   (R):

862   Nice.   *nice idea for code-name.*

863   (P):

864   Yes.

865   (R):

866   What else do I have here. Have you been able to learn any Greek while you have been here?

867   (P):

868   'Ligo' (a little) ((laughs)) a lot of what I've learnt has been from my refugee friends rather than

869   from anyone Greek but I have tried I have tried.

870   (R):

871   Have you, like in terms of volunteers and being languages that they speak, like what is kind of

872   the general makeup of the volunteer group?

873   (P):

874   Made up from everywhere err, like predominantly European like everywhere.

875   (R):

876   But how many people speak Greek?

877   (P):

878   ((Points to me)) One, two?

879   (R):

880   And why do you think that is? Has there been any attempt to kind of engage local..,?

881   (P):

882   Yes I don't know like we have you, and we have you err, and I don't know. I think well we did

883   have another girl for a while but she didn't do so well but I think maybe I don't know I don't

884   know what it is that.

885   (R):

886   For some reason there is not really an interest with the locals?

887   (P):

888   Maybe we have tried we tried to get involved in the local [youth group] and again that didn't *-BB & locals*

889   necessarily work too well it did seemed like they were interested but they weren't willing to *can't bridge*

890   commit all of their time to it. But it's something that I can sort of understand because if it's in *on time values*

891   your, like if you come like a long distance to do something, then of course that's what you are *- many Greek*

892   going to do and you are going to put all of your effort into it. But if it's something that's close *locals would*

893   by to you, like you are like oh maybe I will do it, maybe I won't and I feel like it would be the *probably find*

894   same in my hometown. Like I might, I might not put the same level of work into it because I'm *this approach*

895   already living there and I've got other things that I'm doing there. That aren't necessarily related *to the - leagay*

896   to this. So I think maybe that is part of it. *quite jarring*

897   (R): *with their*

culture/values

\ so but why hasn't BB
tried a bit harder to learn
Greek or engage with local
vols? or maybe they have?
- investigate!

18

384

896 Yes, it's been difficult to local people, how do you that think that's kind impacted on being
897 able to actually get some local integration?
898 (P):
899 Yes cos a lot of it is like well obviously 'you are going to want to do it because you are not
900 Greek' so like, Yes I think it's like a because yes. Yes I do think it's a definite like err, 'like
901 why aren't Greek people interested in us' sort of thing so I don't think it's helpful yes.
902 (R):
903 Okay I'm sure I have like a million more questions, I will need to process all of this amazing
904 stuff and I might come back to you for follow up questions, if that's okay?
905 (P):
906 Of course!
907 (R):
908 Any questions for me at this point?
909 (P): (Laughs) No!
910 (R):
911 Okay, thank you so much!

19

Appendix 9

Refugee participant information sheet

Hello! My name is Andrea.

I am a student at Sheffield University in England.

I am a Greek teacher for the ███████ programme.

I am also here to learn from you and your children about your experiences in the refugee camp.

If you and your children decide to talk to me, what you say to me will be part of my research and writing and may be published.

I will not include any names.

All information will be kept private.

You do not have to speak to me.

You can stop speaking to me at any time.

I can tell you more if you have any questions!

My email: aeantoniou1@sheffield.ac.uk
My Teacher's email: j.woodin@sheffield.ac.uk
If you have any problems with my project, you can speak to ███████

Appendix 10
Refugee participant consent form

Participant Consent Form
Intercultural Interactions Fostering Belonging in a Refugee Camp in Greece

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking part in the project		
I have read and understood the participant information sheet and been allowed to ask questions.		
I agree to participate and to allow my child to participate in the project. I understand that this means talking to the researcher about topics such as ourselves, our culture and our language, home, belonging and the refugee camp.		
I understand that participation in the project is entirely voluntary. I understand that I can withdraw consent at any point.		
I agree to allow our conversation to be recorded so the researcher can transcribe it.		
I agree to allow mine and my child's data to be put through the transcription software DragonNaturallySpeaking, which does not keep my data.		
I understand that if I want to withdraw consent after the researcher has published my data, the information will be removed from any further publications but cannot be removed from any already published work.		
How the data will be used during and after the project		
I understand that all the data collected will remain anonymous and confidential.		
I understand and agree that my words and my child's words may be anonymously quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs.		
I understand that any authorised researchers may also use mine and my child's data anonymously.		
I give permission for mine and my child's data to be deposited in an online research database, ORDA, to be used for future research.		
So that the information given by you and your child may be used legally by the researcher		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated by myself and my child as part of the project to The University of Sheffield.		

Name of participant [printed]   Signature   Date

Name of Researcher [printed]   Signature   Date

Project contact details for further information:
Student Researcher: Andrea Antoniou, aeantoniou1@sheffield.ac.uk,
Primary Supervisor: Dr. Jane Woodin, j.woodin@sheffield.ac.uk,

387

Appendix 11

NGO volunteer participant information sheet

Hello! My Name is Andrea Antoniou and I am a student researcher at the University of Sheffield, in the United Kingdom. I am volunteering with ▮▮▮ *as part of my research project to obtain my PhD qualification funded by White Rose College of the Arts and Humanities. You are being invited to take part in this research project. Please read this information sheet to understand what my study involves and please ask me if you have any questions before you decide if you would like to participate.*

The purpose of my project is to explore how communication between people of different cultures can create a sense of home and belonging within the refugee camp and you have been chosen to participate because you are part of the refugee camp community. Your participation is **entirely voluntary** and can be withdrawn at any point throughout our discussion. If you do decide you would like to participate, I will give you a copy of this information sheet and you will be asked to sign a consent form.

If you decide you would like to participate, we will engage in open-ended and informal discussions throughout my stay with ▮▮▮. This can last as long as you would like, and you will steer the conversation based on what you think is important. I will be interested in your experiences of working with refugees- mainly about your identity and what home, belonging and the space of the refugee camp means to you. We will not discuss anything that you feel uncomfortable discussing and we can stop at any time. If you give your permission, the conversation will be recorded only for me to listen to and transcribe afterwards (only if we sit down for an interview). While there are no immediate benefits for those participating, it is hoped that this research will help ▮▮▮ with their integration work in ▮▮▮ and that perhaps this research can contribute to inform wider refugee camp policy makers in the European context.

All the information collected throughout the research process will be kept strictly confidential and anonymised so you remain unidentifiable, unless you explicitly request to be named. If you agree to me sharing the information you provide with other researchers (e.g. by making it available in a data archive) then your personal details will not be included unless you explicitly request this. The data collected is controlled by the University of Sheffield and will be used in my PhD thesis, which will be published online, and I will share this information at conferences, or future article or book publications.

This project has been ethically approved via the University of Sheffield's Ethics Review Procedure, as administered by the School of Languages and Cultures. If you would like more information, please contact me by email at aeantoniou1@sheffield.ac.uk, or phone number at

█████████████ or my supervisors, Dr. Jane Woodin, by email at j.woodin@sheffield.ac.uk or phone number at ████████████ or Dr. Stephen Connelly by email at s.connelly@sheffield.ac.uk. If you have any serious complaints that are not addressed by my supervisors, you may contact my Head of School, Professor Jan Windebank by email at slc-hod@shef.ac.uk.

Thank you for reading this!

Appendix 12: NGO Volunteer Consent Form

The University Of Sheffield.

Participant Consent Form
Intercultural Interactions Fostering Belonging in the Refugee Camp Consent Form

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part in the Project		
I have read and understood the project information sheet. The project has been fully explained to me and I have been given the opportunity to ask questions.		
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include talking to the researcher about topics such as my experiences of working with refugees in refugee camps, what home and belonging means to me, what the space of the refugee camp means to me.		
I agree to allow the researcher to have extended conversations with me throughout her time as a volunteer with Second Tree.		
I agree to allow sit-down, extended interviews to be audio recorded to be transcribed at a later date.		
I agree to allow the recording to be processed by the transcription software, DragonNaturallySpeaking. They will not keep a copy of your data.		
I understand that my taking part in the study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw my consent at any time. I understand that if I choose to withdraw consent after the researcher has published my data, that my data cannot be removed from already published work, but that my data will be removed from all future publications.		
How my information will be used during and after the project		
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.		
I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this.		
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I give permission for the data that I provide to be deposited in ORDA so it can be used for future research and learning.		
So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.		

Name of participant [printed]   Signature   Date

Name of Researcher [printed]   Signature   Date

Project contact details for further information:

Principle Student Researcher: Andrea Antoniou, aeantoniou1@sheffield.ac.uk, █████████████

Primary Supervisor: Dr. Jane Woodin, j.woodin@sheffield.ac.uk, ██████████████

Secondary Supervisor: Dr. Stephen Connelly, s.connelly@sheffield.ac.uk

Head of School: Professor Jan Windebank, slc-hod@shef.ac.uk

Appendix 13

Domain Analysis 1: Characteristics of refugee camps

<u>Semantic Relationship</u>: Attribution

<u>Form</u>: X is a characteristic of Y

<u>Colour Code</u>: Blue = Verbatim by NGO volunteers; Green = Verbatim or translations of refugees' verbatim; Purple = Researcher's observations

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Cover Term (Y)   Refugee camp (Minoan and Dorian)

Semantic Relationship   is a characteristic of

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)

Minoan refugee camp	Dorian refugee camp
"typical camp… free-standing huts, 3.5 square meters per person" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 100-103)	"Dorian camp has lots of trees and looks more like a neighbourhood" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 39-40)
"open camp" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 109)	"First thing I notice is the big metal gate, with a Greek sign that says it's a welcome centre and refuge area […]We walk up to the side of the gate, there is a rock wall entrance, with a small door, for pedestrians, not the big metal gate that is for cars" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 151-155)
"This camp is much further than Dorian camp was yesterday, and we are quite far away from the city centre. We pass a local village, Minoan village, and we are still driving. The area is quite rural, although there are local coffee shops and restaurants, a main bus stop, a few kiosks, no clothes stores from what I can see. Then we drive through this village and it looks more and more rural. There are a lot of farms on either side of this small dual carriageway road. It seems like the village is nestled in the mountains, like in a valley, mush more so than Dorian camp, which feels like it's still more integrated in an urban area." (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 10-16)	"this place is housing refugees in proper buildings… It feels more like a decent, temporary housing place. On first glance, it could resemble Council housing in the UK for example. There are a lot of trees, mountains surrounding the camp, as well as local Greek housing, and refugees here live in solid buildings, and the team tells me they have a private room but share common areas like kitchens and bathrooms. We climb a big hill from the entrance/security gate, there are fences around the whole enclosure from what I can see so far. We walk up the hill on a concrete road, with grass on either side, lots of recycling bottles gathered in heaps on the right, next to the

	gate and a bit further up the hill." (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 161-171)
"Eventually we see big metal hangars, shaped like a greenhouse, it looks like a military base on the right of the road, and we turn right onto another tarmac but smaller road. I think we are driving on the side of the camp now. We drive for approximately 200m and then we come to a dirt parking lot in front of the camp. Now I can see a sea of white containers, very bright, reflecting the sunlight- the kind of containers you would imagine to see construction workers setting up headquarters inside on a construction site. I can see a broken metal fence, that is supposedly surrounding the camp, but it doesn't feel at all like a protected camp, like Dorian camp does. I am struck by the difference in feeling immediately as there are no guards here at the entrance. The team tells me this place used to be an old military base, and technically, the military still controls it, although you can't see any military presence here very often. This camp has approximately 1500-2000 people living here, whereas Dorian camp is much smaller, more like 600 people. Minoan camp is very flat, on gravel, white/grey, chalky stone gravel type rocky floor, you can see to the end of the camp, and I am struck again by the mountains surrounding this place. It is very naturally beautiful, nestled in a valley" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 19-33)	"On the right you can see some buildings, I guess they house refugees. There are gardens in these buildings and it seems like the people living on the ground floor have built extensions into the green space behind/in front? of their living spaces. The buildings are concrete, white, look a bit run down, lots of windows and doors, and the gardens seem to have vegetables in them so I guess people are growing their own food here" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 172-176);
"There is a free bus for refugees that goes from Artemopolis town centre to the camp but it is not very frequent, like once an hour, and stops at 17:00 so no possible night life for refugees, unless they take a taxi, and that's expensive, like 10 euros. There is also another paying local bus that passes by the main road of the camp, but that one is even more infrequent." (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 46-49)	"As we walk further up the hill, we see a tar parking area, with a big building in the middle, it's the Dandelion Aid building, the workspace of the NGO that runs this camp, and then other NGOs collaborate with them to provide services in the refugee camp. This building has 2 stories, a balcony on the top floor, and a bug sign outside in front of the main door that seems to have announcements in multiple languages" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 178-182).
"outer perimeter of the camp, we pass a lot of containers on the left that seem to be where the people who run the camp work, lots of signs like UNHCR and doctor signs. The containers that house refugees look clean in general, I notice a lot of people have their washing drying outside, hanging on clothes lines strung between each container. We then come to another few	"On the left of the parking lot, there are lots of large garbage bins, and this plot of land is naturally elevated from another green area, further to the left, which is on a lower plane of land, which has another dirt parking lot and leads onto a football field and a playground for kids, with a swing set, a slide and a see-saw." (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 187-190)

containers, enclosed by a metal fence, and they have a really nice playground in between some of these rows of containers. The team tells me these containers belong to the ministry and are used for education, and we are using them temporarily for the summer, until they find a more permanent solution for Young Explorer classes. We open the classroom container, it's very small, maybe 2m wide and 7m long, fits approximately 16 students in at a squeeze. There is no furniture- massive contrast with Dorian camp English classroom, which now appears luxurious compared to this" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 63-74)	
"a field behind the camp" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 205)	"There is a feeling of the buildings making a rectangle shape, around a middle courtyard of green space, where there seems to be a colourful garden, and lots of trees. We walk under an underpass which connects the Dandelion Aid building to some other buildings, and we find the room which is a massive theatre," (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 198-201)
"big metal hangar that looks like a greenhouse" (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 28); "the hangar is enclosed in another fence, with a metal/wire fence" (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 73); "The hangar a metal tin cage, with concrete floor, plywood cork doors, very large and long, maybe 100m x 20m. As soon as you enter from the door, there is a hallway space, with a little canteen-type room on the right, with a door and a window- you can see purpose built to serve food, and then there is an open space that becomes a long and narrow hallway, that is very bright and has been painted by children in the past? And this leads onto 4 rooms, approximately 10m x 10m, that are used for various classrooms- the team tells me we will be using this space now for adult English classes and our Young Explorers classes. At the end of the classrooms and hallway, there is a larger space that looks like storage, with a lot of clothes and other random items leftover" (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 80-89)	"The English classroom, called the PC Lab, is connected to the main Dandelion Aid building, the door is connected to a ramp that we walk up, and the key comes from the main Dandelion Aid building. On first viewing, the classroom seems very nice, proper tile floors, walls painted, albeit a bit chipped, electricity, air conditioner, lights, tables and benches for the kids, lots of artwork and project work on the walls of activities that the kids have done, a locked wardrobe at the back, a white board for writing and a teacher's desk, and a door that connects to a small sink, kitchen area?, and then bathroom and sink. Room is approximately 4m x 8m, quite large, can fit about 20 students I would guess, and there are tall tables on the back left hand corner with 4 computers connected. I also notice maps of the world on the walls, and the agreement of the 4 values of Young Explorers, the things the kids get stars for, Responsibility, Teamwork, Focus, and Kindness, written on a poster on the wall in Arabic and other languages (probably Farsi) and French." (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 207-219)
"there are some tall plants, gardens planted, and some extensions built on some containers" (FN, 22/10/2019, L. 72-73)	"Because if I, for example forget my card inside my room I can't go out, and the same thing when I was when I lost my card in the shopping I couldn't come inside. Because of this I feel

	like I am in prison." (Zulema, L. 67-69); "When I go, it's not good for me, it's like I go in prison, not my home. You know, it's like prison." (Titti and Arjin, L. 63-65); "(I): When I go out the camp, I feel comfortable, but when I go inside, I feel I live in prison." (Jameela, L. 41); "(I): Here, it presents itself like a prison, with all the different cells, all the rooms are the same. It's like a prison as you see in the films." (Sharif, L. 85-86); "prison" (Inaya, L. 222); "(P/A): I don't know. I am mostly feeling like I am imprisoned living always inside the house and they are outside sitting (Zinah, L. 124-126)
"When we arrived at the Hangar/Warehouse, there were lots of kids waiting for us at the door, as usual" (FN, 05/11/2019, L. 8-9)	"shelter" (Inaya, L. 225); "(I): This is camp fortunately it's safe and the other places or other people live in tents we thanks God because we have buildings to live" (Jameela, L. 430-431)
"the mini-bus drives us a bit further along the dirt path than we usually drive when we come with BB. We pass the main gate entrance, where we usually enter with BB and there are lots of refugees there congregating by the wire gate […] We arrive at a second entrance to camp, by the NGO containers, that I hadn't noticed existed before." (FN, 13/11/2109, L. 31-35)	"here it's very safe, especially for children when they go in the morning, I know they will not go out the camp." (Suha, L. 183-184); "there is safety here, no one can enter without permission, my kids are growing up in a respectful environment, there isn't much intoxication here, like people drugging themselves, who drink alcohol, so our children are free in here." (Arezo and Ayan, L. 331-333)"
"There were kids and adults playing volleyball at the net" (FN, 12/12/2019, L. 3-4)	"(I): Yeah I feel happy during the day but in the night I feel scared" (Sanam & Amany, L. 409)
"The containers are As and Bs approx. 1-100 each, and a huge tent-like structure for new arrivals, area C" (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 19-20); "The new structures are wooden/cork, and it is in the shape of a massive tent, with a long corridor in the middle, with rooms on either side, protected by a tarpaulin type tent." (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 43-44)	"it really looks like a village" (Beatrice, L. 421) In Dorian camp, it is more closed. There is the gate, and also they have these are more houses, are house-looking, and the place is looking more like a town." (Beatrice, L. 506-507)
"She say, when you stand in the gate, just you, the camp look like a psychologic place, or like a prison. And she say, this is a place there are not someone from Europe he can say this place is good for the people." (Yasna, L. 165-167)	"the gate […] the drive on your left you have what I call 'theatre of dreams' which is the football pitch […]There will be people playing hot cold rainy sunny now they will be there. And so I guess you get that kind of feeling. […] as soon as you come out the car you are inundated with little kids […] happy to see you and then err so [Dorian camp] is an old orphanage […] strong sense of cigarettes err, a lot of them smoke quite a lot. Err, err you probably do see err a few refugees just kind of like leaning against pillar leaning against the

	wall smoking a cigarette. Err, and then yes like as you go through kind of garden where the [Young Explorers] have planted some plants and vegetable and fruits and stuff and there are kind of spaces where people are walking around. Err, and then obviously there is a classroom err, their homes are kind of just living rooms can't describe then as just err, big square and they have communal kitchens which are pretty well equipped actually and I think they the way it kind of works is they have their time when they cook. So you will see one family cooking there and the smells are amazing […] Middle eastern food" (Ben, L. 359-371)
"(P): For me it's like in the camp like a jail because I don't have anything to do, only sleep and eat." (Bilal, L. 24-25); "jails" (Saadat); "I didn't come here to sleep and drink water; this place like a jail" (Dakan)	"Well [Dorian camp] is like kind of almost looks like a school building or something like that it's big brick building that goes on quite a long way and it's all connected through I don't from what I see I haven't walked round the whole thing […] looks more like a home I suppose like how you think about home" (Cassie, L. 486-489)
"(P): Yeah… When I go to the camp, the first time when I came to the camp, it was at night. I feel like in a desert. When we came here, I say, 'Where are you going? This is not a place to live, this is a desert.'" (Bilal, L. 31-33); "(I): In my mind, the camp is located in like a desert, so without any safety or security" (Hamida and Mohseena, L. 31-32)	"[Dorian camp] is probably the nicest refugee camp in Greece. Err it consists of a series of what looks like big stone cottages err, obviously when you zoom in and you look much closer they are quite uncared for there is rubbish everywhere but on first look [Dorian camp] in spring is a lovely place to be. Err like the building the buildings it's obviously nicer to be in one of the, so the buildings usually contain three rooms downstairs which is smaller. And seven rooms upstairs. One of which is usually contains a single mother because it's small. […] So when you go into a room you might see a bed. You might see just err like don't know how to, not mattress is the wrong word like a foam cushion where they sleep. If there are many people in the family, you will see two sets of bunk beds pushed together err I think the most I've known to live in one of those rooms is seven.[…] Like a family of two parents and five children. [Dorian camp] could be extremely beautiful place. If it weren't for the atmosphere of err restlessness and frustration. Or all of the rubbish everywhere it would be really lovely." (Emma, L. 463-478)
"He says, right now we are living in a camp. So I guess I can call a second word, it's a type of prison for the people. Because in prison, people	"[Dorian camp] whether it's sunny or not it always just has a lonely vibe. I don't think there's as much community and I don't know

have problems. And also, it's the situation in the camp that all have some problem." (Hazim, L. 34-36); "'We are not safe', she say I tell for them, here we also don't have any free, not free, but like I am in prison." (Layla, L. 127-129);	whether it's because of the people there are a bit more vulnerable and it's […] police in the camp a bit more. But it's definitely not as you feel like the people are more refugees than the people at [Minoan camp]" (Maddy, L. 648-651)
"So, when I feel like I am living in the camp, it comes a little bit negative for me which is called 'camp'. Special place for special people. So in this case, I feel negative things when I feel that I am living in the camp." (Hazim, L. 116-118)	"[Dorian camp] is super interesting because you go in and right away there is a security guard and it's a closed camp so while people are allowed in and friends come to the gate to let them in, umm, so I go in I give them my ID, I get my keys form the Greek security guards, the security guards are really interesting because they have really funny relationships with the people who live in [Dorian camp], like there's always people there cracking jokes with the security guard and speaking in this mix of like Greek and English and it's quite nice. And then you walk up this huge hill, well I shouldn't say huge but to a lot of the people who live in [Dorian camp] it's hard for them to get up the hill. And as you're walking up you see the football fields which there are never any people on because it's all rock now. You first see the building 18 and 19 and those are mostly, well actually there is a mix, from what I've seen there are people from Afghanistan, Syria and from Congo all in those 2 buildings and a lot of the people that are there have been there a long time. Then as you walk up there the [Dandelion Aid] office and the [Dandelion Aid], I don't know, to me they are always off in that office and they're never integrating with the community. They will be like smoking downstairs or out on the balcony but they never will talk to the people whereas when I walk up my favourite is when the school bus is dropping off the youth off and they all come running up to me and I get hugs and get to talk to them about their school day. So, for me it doesn't really seem like [Dandelion Aid] does that at all. […] If you walk straight there a Theatre and a Library that are locked. My classroom is on to the left, up and down building 15. There's the PC Lab and then the buildings go down in a loop. In the spring there are a lot more people sitting out, like they'll have blankets and they're having tea or coffee out, but since I've been here in the winter, I haven't really seen that." (Niamh, L. 1016-1039)

"(I): And he say like, we are afraid some epidemic to start here. Why? Because they put us in the middle of the places for the chicken, for the sheep. Because all around us, the place not good for living." (Hamal, L. 81-83); "(I): He says that this is not a life. Maybe the animals can live here." (Dilara and Malik, L. 36); "(I): We live in this room like animals, like sheep. Because we eat and we sleep and we do everything in the same place" (Sadia, L. 39-40) "(P): The first word, 'jail'…No good life, nothing to do. I think we feel like animal, only eat and sleep. I think this is the bad thing in this camp." (Bilal, L. 488-489	"Yeah, when I went to [Dorian camp] first time, I wasn't expecting that at all. Like it looks like a neighbourhood…Like when you go, it's like, I mean, you have a football pitch. You have like houses. Then you go in and in there they are not houses like they are like buildings with rooms but like from outside, it looks like a neighbourhood…Okay, like grass. My house is like, yeah, like some community place. Yeah, it looks like a normal neighbourhood…There's a hill. You go up the hill, there's a parking in the left and then they start like the buildings they are like…8-9 buildings with, I don't know, maybe 9 rooms in each building…Yeah, they, they live like in a room with their family. And there…is, like, communal bathrooms and communal kitchen. And like the space outside is really good. I really like it, like they have the theatre, they have the library, they have the classes, they have the football pitch, they have a park like outside. I really think it's really cool" (Rafaella, L. 11-24)
"(I): Like some people go to the paradise, and some people go to another hell, like the hell." (Dilara and Malik, L. 42)	"[Dorian camp] is also much cleaner, like [Minoan camp], there's no a single tree, it's like an empty white space […] containers, and at [Dorian camp] building they have their own vegetable garden as far as I can see they have, I don't know, I think is a much friendlier environment. It's still a camp. It's not a resort but" (Tommaso, L. 320-323)
"(I): Here like as death but slowly." (Suha, L. 76); "Because the situation for the camp look like jail. And also when you say, 'I am living in the camp', they feel like you have done some crime or something like this and you are in the punishment. So the camp for me, the camp is like death." (Amir, L. 220-223);	"as soon as you arrive, you face the big metal gates, which is recently broken and requires someone to push it open does not open automatically anymore. […] You have to hand in your identification and ask the security […] they take your ID and give you the keys for whatever you need and the entrance on the sides of the roads that goes out to the camp have becoming increasingly dirty. […] particularly the first time, I remember being, that's the first camp I went into. Ah. My first experience with refugee camps. I was expecting worse conditions and I definitely wasn't expecting big buildings. As you go up and drive around the car park, normally at that point you smell cooking, something delicious. Someone baking bread, and also in other areas. The whole place in [Dorian camp] doesn't have this sort of community feeling that [Minoan camp] has. There are quite less people walking around. It

	feels messy, and it seems sort of a little bit not taking care of the environment […] so dirty, certain elements of you know washing being strung in unusual places […] there's like there little things that make it feel more like a camp. But it's known as an accommodation, that's essentially what it is. But I was actually struck by the inside of the buildings, I only saw the inside of the buildings, after I've been to [Minoan camp] and [Minoan camp] is nicer. In my opinion, as you're walking now. I was surprised by the conditions inside the buildings. From the outside it seems like there's going to be a lot of space, it will be well maintained and is just not. It's not well maintained at all, it's not painted, run down, the communal bathrooms and kitchens aren't nice […] [Dorian camp] is, concrete and really, really horrible muddy grass. I would, would, you know the colour I associate with [Minoan camp] is white and [Dorian camp] is grey, a really dark grey and mud. And that's the feeling as well. For some reason I don't associate the sun with [Dorian camp] at all." (Nancy, L. 239-270)
"(I): I prefer to walk during the day in the camp, because when I walk during the day I can see you, see other people in the camp, at night I, it's not the looks, the look is not good for me." (Zahiya and Badia, L. 610-611); "(I): Maybe when I want to go out during the night, maybe someone want to say something some bad thing for me and I don't like it." (Madeha, L. 302-303)	"It's that there is a huge metal fence that looks like a prison and you know, like no matter what is going on behind that door, it's not normal. Like it's not a normal way for people to live. So, it was an orphanage before. I don't know that gate was there when it was an orphanage. But that gate for me, it's just a symbol of oppression and isolation, and I hate it." (Nora, L. 970-976)
"(I): She says when we get inside the camp, at the gate, we see a small box for the security guards, which the wind is broke, so there isn't any guards. You see the broken fence. You see the people which is look like very sad, you feel like they have big wishes in their mind. So you see the gravel on the ground which is hurt the children when they fall down. So these are the things we can see in the camp." (Hamida and Mohseena, L. 67-71)	
"In [Dorian camp] [the supermarket] is close, there are buses, you can also walk to the center in 25 minutes, I guess. it's not something too big in a matter of time. In [Minoan camp] it's like, it's a proper refugee hot spot. [Dorian camp] doesn't feel like a refugee hot spot." (Kalia L. 152-154)	

"Minoan camp, anybody could get in and you can come and go out [...] it's more open to other people" (Beatrice, L. 523-525)	
"you can enter it from anywhere [...] but if you go through the main entrance you will, I like [Minoan camp] because there is always people going round on their bikes err, so you are kind of always being overtaken [...] but err, there is always people riding around and then you walk in and the [...] hangar the [Young Explorers] .... but when we are not there it's kind of not really used and then there is a volleyball pitch you look ahead. Err you usually see people playing volleyball that seems to be one of the preferred sports. Err, I guess most people can play it. And then have all the [Magnolia Aid] offices beyond there. Err, I generally try to stay clear of those [...] then there is the err, child friendly space [...] and then just kind of very systematic yes just rows and rows of containers and the thing that I love about [Minoan camp] you can tell the people who are trying to kind of make it feel more homely because those little gardens outside, the sheds attached to their to their containers to keep their bikes or something, growing tomatoes [...] and some other gardens are really impressive as you walk [...] Puppies and people have made like kennels for them. Err, that's the other thing about [Minoan camp] loads of dogs going about. Err, and yes like [Minoan camp] if you walk around just kind of say hello how are you everyone says hello to you. Even if you don't know them" (Ben, L. 378-397)	
"[Minoan camp] is much more err I suppose what you would think of when you think of refugee camp. I mean [Dorian camp] isn't even a refugee camp technically is it so. But it's containers everything looks the same it's long lines and different streets or like rows err, they are like even like the ground the pebbles and the dust everywhere they kind of feels I guess it feels more temporary than [Dorian camp] especially because it's a container that can be moved" (Cassie, L. 489-494)	
"So if you are standing at the entrance of the camp you see err rows and rows probably twenty maybe more rows of containers. In front of those rows of containers you see two large community three sorry large community spaces,	

err two of the community spaces well they are like large containers. Like in terms probably double the height and double or triple the size probably double the size and they are colourfully painted. Err if you look to your right you see err again you see the disused well not disused it is used, but an old aircraft hangar […] Everything is very non colourful; the containers are grey the ground is kind of a grey yellow err the colour comes from the painted community spaces. And the trash. All over the floor on one side. Err in summer and kind of on days like today when it's really sunny. The place really gives you a headache because it feels like everything is reflective, like everything is a light white colour. So like I always feel like when it's sunny here I'm squinting err you see the mountains surrounding. On pretty much all sides, and the satellite dishes on top of the containers […]The trash is quite bad. This is the worst that I've ever seen it. There are also rows along this along the edge of the camp of places where you can do washing […] Erm behind us if you are standing at the entrance you can see a garden which is next to the hangar which is very unloved right now. And beyond that err a row of public telephones which I'm sure have never well have not been used for a good decade. […] Sometimes when you are walking through the rows you see there is variation in the uniformity of the containers because people have made their own gardens [Darling Crafts] or they put on an extension to their container. Err which is is nice. The dogs. […] There are new puppies quite often and the cats. The big pits that you see in different in different rows of the containers where they have had a barbecue. Err in summer as well all across there there were fires." (Emma, L. 374-411)

"around the door and then there's just it's just flat and then a sea of containers. I remember when I first walked in, I was a little shocked by it, I didn't expect it to be like that. It almost looked like a futuristic weird on first look you'll think it was soulless but it's the complete opposite. When you first walk in you can't see anything, it's when you then walk in between the containers that's where everything is happening. And then also just beautiful mountains just all around the camp and then

there's just one flat camp, it's very photogenic. Umm so that's the camp, and very bright you have to wear sunglasses because the white containers reflect but [Minoan camp] on a dull day it's very eerie, like when the weather's not nice it's very eerie, very quiet, no one is out ad it's almost like something from a horror film. Or like if the characters went there, you knew something bad was going to happen. And it makes me feel weird and I don't like being there when the weather's bad. And when its sunny you walk in and there's thousands of people everywhere, kids playing with the football. Kids just walking about on their own just jumping about entertaining themselves a massive group of teenage boys playing volleyball they play it a lot and you just walk around and there's just kids everywhere. And it's great I love it. When it's sunny it's the best place ever. When it's not it's strange. Yeah." (Maddy, L. 632-647)

"the striking thing about it every time I arrived, right until the very end, is coming along the main road and noticing that the camp is tucked in isolated, separated from any kind of form of village life or community that might exist in Greece at all, that it's really just hidden away. Now I do realise that's because it is army land and that was the land that they had available that they could appropriate cause it's come from a government mandate […] those hangars, it's all quite, I wouldn't even say militaristic, but it's definitely utilitarian, it's not a human palpitation. Then coming up the lane way, umm, you start to see the wire fencing, which is in bad repair and there's litter around the place, there's big containers to the left, generally overflowing with rubbish, so there isn't a very regular rubbish collection but that's a standard Greek thing […] I don't think that's particularly to the camp […] well the first thing is there no nobody checking who you are coming in or so I suppose for all intents and purposes it's an open camp. But that seems a little odd because there children everywhere. There are children running down the lane and there're children playing inside and outside. There's no sense of particularly inside and outside, even though it's railed enough by this very basic kind of um wire or fence umm and then the couple of little cabins that you might of assume were a security

post are that shape and size, they're just small enough for one person, maybe two. They're all bashed in and vandalised […] And aside from that it's very dangerous because there's glass, all around and there's metal. […] Pipes and things that have been pulled down like aluminium I suppose, like the […] smashed windows and that, so there's broken aluminium framing on the ground and young children playing in that and young children sitting, sitting on this open, rocky, stony, I suppose, gravelly, gravelly ground […] environment is the wide-open space, it's, it's actually quite stunning running because it's huge sky, from the distance on on two or three sides is really striking mountains, certainly from Ireland. You've never seen anything that high […] So, it's it's actually in some ways very picturesque, but it's, but it's at the same time it's not some where you would want to spend a lot of time because the one thing it lacks is vegetation. There's no trees, there's no shade, there's no contrast to this wide-open space and flat, flat, gravelly white reflecting Earth. So, if it's well, if it's a grey sky, it's very it's totally grey. If it's a blue sky with clouds, it's stunning […] and then just rows upon rows of containers […] you don't get an idea of how deep it goes back […] the rows of gap cabins, but also because one, one road blocks another, so you don't really see it till you walk through it. Really how immense it is. you know, I'm sure there's far bigger ones, but it. This one is sizable, and then it is quite clear where the the administrative section is because there's lots of posters and lots of things to indicate that these are the administration. You know […]that stick what do you call those adhesive kind of posters to naming UNHCR or [Magnolia Aid]. The medical office and also it's interesting and the medical office and bathroom or toilet is on a concrete platform. So, they obviously they took care […] but the kids seem to know. The kids can wander around and find a way home, a few campers like that […] I've described them to people as office cabins, like office for construction sites […] and sort of temporary offices and that section is under the command of let's just say the department of education. […] the little fence where there's also a little children's playground? […] In the the centre of

the main area and just as you come in on the far side of the open space, there's umm I think it's a concrete building. Yeah. On a, again on a concrete platform and that's that was built by [Magnolia Aid], no, I'm not sure about that, but it's used by [Magnolia Aid] and for their classroom. so, they teach Greek in there and again, they're very nice spaces and they painted them on the outside with murals like comic style murals because they used for children classes, or certainly they were before the children started school. So, they're quite attractive buildings. as these things go […] you know, again and utilitarian space that they paint them so that they're you know there's somewhat attractive and could just to take that edge off." (Fay, L. 1764-1900)

"But when you get there a gate, I usually get there in the morning on Mondays and I'm greeted by a pack of dogs which I adore and umm all of my friends there always telling me not to pet them but I adore these dogs […] I say hi to whoever is around that I know or I don't know and then as I walk in the gate and turn to the left, I see, there's a hangar but it's behind the gate that the other day it broke but then I go and I struggle with 20 keys on opening these like I don't know, 6 or 7 locks to get into the gate to get to the hangar to open the hangar yeah to go inside. The hangar is freezing cold when you go inside umm sometimes it's clean, most of the time it's quite messy and dirty. The last time I was in there on Monday it looked like people had been in there rummaging through thins and I saw about 4 kids come in and go through the trash umm. Then in the camp, umm it's very interesting, at the very very far end of the camp you have the new C building and there are tent structures." (Niamh, L. 971-983)

"[Minoan camp] is like more of what I was expecting like. So, you go. And they are like they're live in containers […] You can easily find the container you're looking for […] It's like a truck. And it has well, first thing, like the first thing I saw in [Minoan camp] were the classes we had, they were like in containers as well. So, and they had like little little kitchen and a toilet and like all the, and I remember I asked [xxx] like are the containers the same? And she said yeah but, like be bigger but same

same, [,,,] and yeah, so like they don't have like, umm space to hang. Oh yeah, there are two parks. But like the, the visual is much worse. Like it's not a beautiful place. It's like maybe a poetic place like, oh, But like, it's not a good place like the outside. And also, I feel like they are way more isolated." (Rafaella, L. 97-108)	
"Walking around [Minoan camp], people are more friendly, there are more people around. There's always groups of children playing in, there's always groups of adults sat outside containers socialising. There's gardening, you know people have built around the container to create more space and nicer things. People have made gardens. There's loads of puppies, and animals in general, a lot of animals like chickens, pigs. Actually, when I first arrived in [Minoan camp] was really clean as well. It wasn't a place with rubbish and again as time went on it's got worse and worse" (Nancy, L. 254-259)	
I don't remember if it was a lot of dirt, of course, some time is…super dirty, super, ok. But a lot of the tents with families or people was clean (Ricardo, L. 112-113)	
If you try to find [Minoan camp] in Google maps, you can list there, you can read "hospitality center" I tell you more now, Is not right, is not right, one camp, ok, there are tents, there are tents but there are containers that is not houses, is a camp… If you were to go around [Minoan camp] you can see one line, and I don't need describe the lines, is lines without these elements for cut, in this case that is better, something more kindness like a structure. In my language the name of those structures is confertina is a kind of classical music, when the Saharauis, play this confertina the music that is written they don´t like (*Speaking Spanish*) well, I come back again, I come back about [Minoan camp]. That border you can see break in some places and also in the gate you can see there are some guards or something like a protection for this field , is a big field… (Ricardo, L. 540-551)	
Also not a safe place for children for citizens… keep safe population in that place, workers from the, NGO manager, only hours to work until 6 or 7, I don't know… Nobody that is in the camp. (Ricardo, L. 559-561)	

in the winter when there are opportunity to be out of their houses, they…they go for play, for walking for speak with his friends is like a small village. It's the same role, it's like a small village… summer, maybe there is some park for children, free park, for play but the most important for me is not safe place. (Ricardo, L. 563-567)	
So [Minoan camp], the first thing you see is military warehouses so that's what you see and a fence and then when you walk through the main entrance you realize the fence is…you just open and…and then you see, when you enter you see on the right this huge very white house the colorful door that has been painted…then when you look on your left you just see like a lot of containers. A lot of containers and usually kids messing around and maybe adults playing volley ball. That's usually what you see when you arrive and then on your left you see the NGO people and on the right the inhabitants of the camp, government…and you walk on rocks which seem shit but is better because when it rains there is no mud, you see a lot of containers have been improved by people with wooden construction that they…people can be creative sometimes, there was a pigeon house if you can imagine, there're hairdressers, things like this…and then it's dirty, I was surprised there is no rubbish… you see other things on the floor, like you see broken washing machines, like really contrast with the idea that…you see mountains you really feel… (Flavio L. 404-418)	
Like it's 40 minutes walk from town, maybe an hour, it depends how you walk. You feel like you're lost in a shithole when you're there (Flavio L. 425-426)	

Appendix 14

Taxonomy Chart 1: Refugee camp characteristics

Normal text: Researcher's analytical term (derived from interviews)

Bold text: Verbatim (from interviews)

Refugee Camps

Refugees — Volunteers

Prison	Desert	Typical camp	Open camp
Jail	Shelter	Neighbourhood	Village
Special place for special people	Hell	Photogenic beautiful	Best place ever
Temporary	Death	Caravan park on holiday	Town
Place for animals	Unsafe	Utilitarian	Proper buildings
Psychological place	Safe	Isolated	Temporary
		Refugee hotspot	Eerie/Soulless
		Futuristic	Prison
		School buildings	

Appendix 15

Taxonomy Chart 2: Specific places in Minoan and Dorian camps

Normal text: Researcher's analytical term (derived from interviews)

Bold text: Verbatim (from interviews)

Specific places within the refugee camps where intercultural interactions occur

Minoan Camp

Dorian Camp

The entrance

Between **containers**

The gate

The communal **kitchen**

Washing machines

Shopping/Warehouse /Hangar

Dandelion Aid

Football field

Magnolia Aid

Volleyball net

Theatre

Library

The BB **Adult English classroom**

PC Lab

The BB Adult **English classroom**

Washing machines

Appendix 16

Domain Analysis 2 – Inside/Outside

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Strict Inclusion

<u>Form:</u> X is a kind of Y

<u>Colour Code Key:</u>

In relation to 'home'

In relation to 'camp' vs 'beyond camp'

In relation to Busy Bee activities

Cover Term (Y) Inside and/or Outside

Semantic Relationship   is a kind of

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)

- "Marco arrives and has the keys to the door, he opens and lets us in" (FN, 08/10/2019, L. 10)
- "Someone knocks on the door- late kid? and one of the kids sitting by the door goes to open the door and let the kid in, but he gets told off by Kathy, "you don't open the door, teacher opens"" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 87-89)
- "Julia was standing by the door of the container, and she kept saying to the girl, "too many absences, you go home now, sorry" (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 31-34)
- "We have some more banging on the sides of the container from the outside again" (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 67)
- "and we realise that the door is closed- apparently Marco is outside stopping kids that are not part of Young Explorers from entering so they closed the door" (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 132-134)
- "We make our way to the Warehouse and Isabella unlocks the padlock of the first gate and Nora unlocks the second padlock on the main door to the Warehouse. Somehow at this point, two young boys have managed to push through the door and past Nancy who is standing guard at the door and now they are running around through the Warehouse screaming and laughing. Nancy starts running after them to get them outside and Gabriella tries to help her. Eventually they manage to kick them out." (FN, 24/10/2019, L. 35-40)

- "I was also struck by the absence of much activity outside the containers." (FN, 24/10/2019, L. 95-96)
- "Rafaella enters back into the Warehouse yard to grab the boys and get them out of the area that needed to be locked up. It took her a few minutes as they continued to yell and run around, clearly the kids found this hilarious, and then finally once she got them out, we were able to lock up." (FN, 24/10/2019, L. 173-178)
- "the minutes from the meeting today mention the problem of the 'locks' with the hangar 3 times" (FN, 31/10/2019, L. 9-10)
- "We had the usual issue with entering the Warehouse and then locking the door behind us and making the kids feel locked out until it's actually time for the class to start." (FN, 05/11/2019, L. 10-12)
- "Maddy had to tell some kids to wait outside" (FN, 08/11/2019, L. 12)
- "And then it was the end of her class and she wanted to be on lunch break, and that she was going to stand outside to smoke, but that the man asked her "if I wanted to be in or out, but that I couldn't be in and out" (this greatly disturbed her) and so she chose to stand outside, smoking her cigarette and thinking, "what the hell am I doing here?" (FN, 08/11/2019, L. 39-42)
- "one student asking to be let into the class and Fay having to tell him that he can't join any more because he has had too many absences." (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 88-90)
- ""…very difficult for me…if you have more than 3 absences you have to leave. I know that many people say hospital, passport, sick babies, I knooow, but computer says out… difficult Greek class, English class, same time"" (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 195-197)

- "They still welcome us, some try to invite us into their homes" (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 27)

- "you have to share everything and that makes it impossible to say 'home', they use the word 'room', and people opening your door all the time, accidentally and saying they got the wrong room, no privacy (Ibrar, L. 340-360, L. 387)
- "Yes. We don't need keys to open, to close, nothing like that. We decide whether to come here and open or not." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 83-105);
- "Yes. She say here in the camp, everyone in his container. And like this, door they are not open. But in [Darling Crafts], because when you go there, you find the women because they go there for talking, so this is opportunity you can start talking. And after that, you can invite them in your house." (Yasna, L. 928-931)
- "So when the [Magnolia Aid] bring the newcomer in front of the camp, the people of the camp closed the door and they start fighting with the police and with [Magnolia Aid]…" (Yusef, L. 539-546)
- "(I): Especially for my girls. When they go out, I call them to come back because I always afraid for them" (Inaya, L. 94-95)
- "In here, no. Sometimes when I want to go to the doctor, I ask my friend can you look my children because I have to go to the doctor, they say no we cannot because also we have children. Maybe your children hurts us so. And then so, because I lock the door, I put my children inside, and I lock the door." (Hada, L. 310-313)
- "And he say, there are big difference between outside and inside. Why? Because when I enter this place, so I feel like most of the people around me, they have civilisation,

they are educated. So this is different between outside, this is something I cannot find outside." (Murad, L. 405-407)

- "Women praying together, very intimate, and this can happen inside the cabin, with no need for perfect hospitality etc. "(I): We have, in our religion, we have community. Like 6, 7, 8 women, sit together and pray together. This is our community." (Salma, L. 810-811)

- "When I'm inside the camp I see different people, I can hear loud of children, I see a lot of fighting, different people like our people, like Turk, like African people." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 48-49)

- "We don't have any community together inside of the camp." (Madeha, L. 326)

- "Because inside the class, we have to do something like good for, but outside the class we don't have to." (Madeha, L. 201-202)

- "Because sometimes people living at the house, but it is messy, so I am trying to make it like the home and I feel comfortable inside" (Murad, L. 531-549)

- "No not. Just, I invite my teachers of my children. They came inside our cabin but no." (Salma, L. 284-293)

- "Inside the connex, we say like 'home'. But when I speak around like about the home we say connex ." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 459-460)

- "Home is like, this is not like home because, this is inside the camp. In here, they are living a lot of people like Arabic people, African people and home is like, we have a home that we can live for a long time, inside the city, not like this inside camp." (Omar's Family, L. 396-398)

- "Yes. They don't know that inside the icebox they live sick people, pregnant people. I told for them, 'why do you put them?' they say ? and, when my family came. When my family came, they, they want to speak with me, finally they fight them together..." (Omar's Family, L. 402-407)

- "when I go there, he says I feel really very good. It belongs to him now. In the camp, it belongs to him, it belongs to us, as if it was ours. When we go inside of it, we feel warm feelings." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 83-105)

- "(I): The problem here, in the past, my friend visited me and the law here didn't allow she must go. I would be so shamed about this because his husband in the prison and she was pregnant and she has also two children and the police of the camp came to take her out. Also, she didn't know how to go. So I rent a taxi by signs. Told the taxi how he can reach her to her camp. It's not good for the camp to do like this." (Interview with Suha, L. 194-198)

- "As you know, the parental country, is the best country people can have. But since we left our country, all the other countries that you are in, you are like a refugee inside them. You have asked for a shelter, and some security in this country. Once they give this security to you, it's like your country. You know Greece, it's not a small country, historically it is a grand country." (Rafik, L. 100-103)

- "Come inside home for drink tea." (Almas and Jawana, L. 61)

- "Because if I, for example forget my card inside my room I can't go out, and the same thing when I was when I lost my card in the shopping I couldn't come inside. Because of this I feel like I am in prison." (Zulema, L. 67-69)

- "When I go out the camp, I feel comfortable, but when I go inside, I feel I live in prison." (Jameela, L. 41)

- "In one year, my son hurt his head inside the camp 6-7 times. And also, one time, we carry him to the hospital." (Almas and Jawana, L. 70-71)
- "(I): Because in here, I don't want to go out, when I go to [Darling Crafts], I see my friends and also my children play and also I knitting. I knitting, sew something, I knit something." (Hada, L. 273-274)
- "when I was at my room I was more happy than when I go out because I will be with my girls and I feel so sad when I watch other people, they are, don't feel happy." (Zinah, L. 106-108)
- "When I go out to this camp, yes if feel belong to Greece but when I go to [Dandelion Aid] I feel as a refugee." (Zinah, L. 154-155)
- (I): And if I were change for example anything in my room and [Dandelion Aid] said 'no this is not for you'. So, I yes I don't feel this is my home…My heart now is like stone….Because of my sadness…I have six beds in my room and they are all, it's very small and so I decided to take out five of them outside, but they came and they come around they ask me for one month why I take them out?" (Interview with Zinah, L. 308-329)
- "(I): I can't call this place my home. Why? Because when you invite someone to your home, you have space for everyone, for the kids, for everyone. Unfortunately here, we don't invite people over and we are not invited over, because we don't feel good, that we are at home here…We had a guest here once, and I don't know if you know, but here, after 22:00, guests must leave this camp, and we had a guest with his kids, and he had to wait at the bus stop from 21:00 until 23:00 to wait for the bus. Now his kids are ill. And it was not in our power to keep them here with us. We were forced to tell them, 'You have to leave because these are the rules here'. After 22:00, no one can stay here. And you don't have the right to be responsible for your own time. To stay overnight or not, it's not you that decides. It is decided by others." (Interview with Rahim, L. 537-546)
- "(I): Inside the map is very difficult for me also I cannot go to my friend's home because of my children and also I cannot go for wash my clothes because the men are more than women there." (Hada, L. 59-60)
- "(P/G): And inside the house, is very good, and all of the smiles and outside no I don't see, not in [Artemopolis] in the camp. In the camp it's very bad. I go for walks in [Artemopolis] which is very good, but the camp no." (Pirnaz and Alen, L. 238-240)
- "(I): No just inside to the camp, when I see someone Greek people say 'hello' I just say 'hi'. Just help and outside the camp I am scared." (Madeha, L. 247-248)
- "(I): Inside the camp I don't have good feel, it's just sometime I want to go out, sometimes I have good feeling in [Artemopolis]." (Madina, L. 47-48)
- "(I): Most of time we don't want to go out, the most of time we are inside our home, sometimes when my husband want to see something, go to the [Darling Crafts], sometimes we go to my neighbour's home, she is Iranian people and sometimes she come here." (Madina and Tarik, L. 492-494)
- "I cannot find any place in the camp inside to go and see something different. It's all the same." (Nadeem, L. 63-67)
- "(I): For me, I use the word 'home' sometimes, but I don't really feel like it's my home. Why? Because sometimes I invite guests, here, in my home, and I am obliged to throw them out after 10pm, and this breaks my heart. It's not my home in this regard. He says,

if this was really my home, I would never let my guests leave in the night and so he doesn't really use the word." (Interview with Sabir and Deeba, L. 123-127)

- "they look at who is arriving they open the gates to let you in, they are like electric gate and everyone who is getting in should give the documents. When you give the documents they give you the key which you may need […] and the other one is […]. And also people who want to go outside [name ….] and so it's kind of different because when you get inside there is the staff and there is little house […] people who are looking at who is coming in and going out" (Beatrice L. 407-412)

- "I think […] I think it's how the people is feeling there. Like err and also I think that its how they see structured and managed […] anybody could get in and you can come and go out and it's so yes but you don't have to do that in […] to go out and […] because arrive in a car and you see all the place and you just yes. Yes. Like it's more open to other people" (Beatrice L. 517-520)

- "one thing that is really nice is that when you get inside the camp and this is for both camps […] that when you get in there […] it's really nice because there is always somebody saying hi. And there is always somebody that you know. And they are hugging you and the kids are shouting your name" (Beatrice L. 398-401)

- "I haven't been there for a while guess I have been like locking up and stuff the night feels." (Cassie L. 535)

- "So in the [Young Explorers] hour err the workshop hour you start off you welcome bring them in to the circle, oh you line them up outside" (Cassie L. 90-91)

- "Again more in [Minoan camp] because there is I think more hanging around and less they are more like outside in [Dorian camp] less so I've never felt again I feel comfortable in [Dorian camp]" (Cassie L. 538-540)

- "there's lots of people came with with an idea which is great to know because nobody was stopping them in the thing was wide open, you know knock yourself out do whatever you can everybody was open to do what you can, who should I ask." (Fay L. 345-348)

- "because if if it had just been an open, come as you want, people would have come and gone and it would have been absolutely chaotic" (Fay L. 884-885)

- "maybe because it's open this fresh air as opposed to [Dorian camp] where it's so closed you know, not as a natural you know natural but it's not as fresh." (Fay L. 1160-1161)

- "then there would always be cars parked, certainly during the day, so you sort of know that there's, well you don't assume, well I never assumed that they would belong to anybody in the camp, so you just get the idea that there is an outside connection of people who are traveling there to either work or visit, and but the most striking thing, well the first thing is there no nobody checking who you are coming in or so I suppose for intents and purposes it's an open camp. But that seems a little odd because there children everywhere. There're children running down the lane and there children playing inside and outside. There's no sense of particularly inside and outside, even though its railed enough by this very basic kind of um wire or fence. (Fay L. 1779-1787)

- "There's no trees, there's no shade, there's no contrast to this wide-open space and flat, flat, gravelly white reflecting earth." (Fay L. 1803-1804)

- "You know, I did have issues with kids coming in during class because I had to leave the gate open. And you know, I knew they just wanted to chase. That was like there a bit of excitement was, you know, Teacher chase me So I had to sort of do it in a certain way that just wasn't about chasing" (Fay L. 2144-2147)

- "there was no locks on the toilet so going to the toilets at night was a hazard for everybody because you had to cross a distance to get to these portalloos with no toilet with no locks the children couldn't reach the height of the portaloos the children would just squat and just do their poo on the floor so therefore to portaloos were disgusting" (Fay L. 293-296)

- "we kept that gate locked because we wanted to keep kids out because the kids were just, you know, could be feral." (Fay L. 2140-2141)

- "they locked the gates and they wouldn't let anybody come in, [Magnolia Aid] or [busy Bee] or anything" (Fay L. 2935)

- "I I I I tried I tried to treat everybody equally and fairly again we're gonna have different personality types some people responded to my sense of humor more than others I tried to include everybody and particularly the choir was obviously that's all just professional stuff that you do anyway and then I looked show anything favouristims obviously you know outside of camp might be more friendly you would say like with [xxx] but I could use her as an example I could say for example [xxx] son [xxx] said you know some people knew I knew her family but of course I don't obviously didn't try to show any favouritism yeah I keep things light and I think that kind of appreciated that you know sometimes it just wanting that humor for joking about stuff" (Fay L. 2740-2747)

- "like the door was open, and people like they leaving something or something. So just kind of like wait outside. And then the rest and to the left just like standing in the same space like beyond the the military security bit is the [name] buildings yes." (Gabriella L. 324-326)

- "so normally we drive up they open the gate we go in they come we give our IDs to him and they say what keys would you like, or like some various like keys da da da and then we say which ones we want some of them or they say some of them suggest them because we normally … and theatre and we are like yes err, and then they go and get the keys and bring them back. This guy yesterday we drove up he didn't open the gate and he came out to me I was on the other side and we know him he knows us." (Gabriella L. 623-628)

- "I don't know if he was just in a bad mood yesterday but he went into get it cos he was like, and then he opened the gate and it was fine it just takes like that extra time and its annoying anyway the whole exchange" (Gabriella L. 642-645)

- "I don't know they copy the five four three two one countdown though when they want people to be quiet obviously that [Busy Bee] thing not, they are always very eager to give strikes to each other. Stars…Yes kind of their like good and bad. Like but only obviously I don't know if they obviously they don't do without without us because we are the rule makers so like there is no impact beyond the [Busy Bee] kind of classroom you can't get strikes outside." (Gabriella L. 872-880)

- "we call 'open working time' and during this time our eleven working areas from traditional woodwork over metal work up to really advanced technology in our media [xxx] 3-D printing laser cutting is just open and available for people, and it might be that something that is broken that you would like fix as for example bicycle or a pair of trousers, it might be that people would like to create something that is missing that could be clothes through curtains could be furniture it might be that you would like to

learn something to follow up on a skill an interest that you have to set up an email addresses. And it might that you must might to get out of the camp and interact with people in a friendly welcoming space. So the motivations for people coming during the open working time are really diverse they are people who only show up once with a very specific problem and once they solve this problem they might not necessarily come back again any point soon. And then there are people who come for a specific [xxx] or activities and there are people who come every day because they enjoy the space and it gives them a feeling of belonging of identity of community" (Hanna L. 222-234)

- "And we were fully aware from the beginning like we could never have been the ones or would never be the ones opening the door to the Greek society because we are not Greek what we can do is offering a neutral space where people can meet basically knocking on the Greek doors together with people that we accompany. Yes so we are very aware of our position there." (Hanna L. 309-313)

- "So yes it was the whole concept of a maker's space of an open space then it was also as I said that we were foreigners we were not from Greece we did not speak the language we were not insiders. We weren't and as I said also like the fact that our target group our people who came to Greece as refugees and they came with two kinds of challenges. For some people that might have just created insecurity you know fear of the unknown people you have never actually interacted with so that might have been a reason to hesitate and and another aspect might have been that people might have perceived us as a project that is not actually for them but is really for refugees basically to this target group of people who fled their countries which is never how it we represented ourselves. But this is somehow naturally what we had become due to the first months of the emergency response. So yes I think breaking with these prejudices we are still dealing with that today to some extent." (Hanna L 336-346)

- "So we set up a community kitchen inside the camp and included people in the cooking process. And the idea was that once we had to go back after a month it would be the very people living in the camp who could then use the kitchen to provide food healthy delicious food. We cooked for about one thousand one hundred people every day." (Hanna L. 101-104)

- "there's a gate in, but the gate is. Always open. I mean, I think that they closed it when they they there had been some riots there so I that they closed it in order to prevent the police to get in." (Isabella L. 10-11)

- "yeah, I didn't mention that there was a playground for kids. Uh, in the fenced area there was a playground for kids. By the way, I say fenced area, but it was like the gate was always open. Sorry. Kids could get in." (Isabella L. 67-69)

- "I would knock on the door I would say in from [Busy Bee] I'm the English teacher about English class I would explain that they could come to class and then sometimes they would say thank you, and then they would say thank and then they would say come in, err they would say please come in my home have tea. Sometimes I would knock on the door while they were eating and then they would automatically invite me in" (Isla L. 123-127)

- "Yes but the English classes that we did here were open for technically were open for non-refugees….I think there was maybe maybe some people who weren't technically refugees but but not really but technically it was open for … Greek people especially Greek people of lower incomes but I don't think they came." (Isla L. 404-411)

- "Okay so when you first get in the gates on your right is the err, the Hangar where we have the classes now, very big space it's painted on front it's got nightmare of doors. Err, so many locks and so insecure." (Isla, L. 776-778)

- "Yes and to one side like sort of like just past the hangar on the right err, there are toilets that seems to be completely locked at the moment. I'm not quite sure why but they are err also showers I think but again I think most of those are locked as well, but like I say most people have toilets and showers in their containers I think if there was a problem [Magnolia Aid] would probably unlock one of them for them or something. I don't know" (Isla L. 794-798)

- "particularly [Minoan camp] is very isolated I mean its outside of a village like a twenty minute walk away from a village. Err, [Dorian camp] also quite quite isolated err, quite far away. It's not a lot to do in either of those places err like I even I sometimes think [Dorian camp] is kind of like even less to do there even though its maybe slightly closer to the city like there is it just doesn't feel it feels a lot more closed. Than like a lot less like, like not like a community nut a lack of stuff to do I don't know yes" (Isla, L. 515-520)

- "so you're at the gate so you just parked and you can pretty much like see everything. It has like a thin metal umm fence and the gate as always open. Then you just kind of like walk in" (Julia L 1121-1122)

- "Every Saturday they open the [Darling Crafts] building for the kids as well, so every Saturday is kids day for them. So this is also pretty nice because they only have [Young Explorers] and apart from [Young Explorers] is good that they can also use the space and create. It's like a space of creativity for them." (Kalia L. 204-207)

- "I'm sure if the borders were open like all these people would have found their ways into the countries" (Kalia L. 594-595)

- "I think it's more more boundaries than doors. Like, I would never want. Like the kids know the rules and like every time somebody comes late, I like you're not allowed into his classroom into this space and let them know the next time come, cus I don't want them, like this time you're late but next time come back because sometimes you kick a kid out and they never come back and I'm like should I have made it clear that they were allowed to come back to [Young Explorers] just because I kicked them out" (Maddy L. 836-841)

- "Like that hangar door, it gives me a lot of stress that hangar door because you have to lock it but then there's people that you're locking out, because they need it […], and then you hear banging and like yeah, it's a lot of like I'll be teaching my class and I'll be thinking about that hangar door throughout my whole lesson like oh what if someone's come in late and we've locked them out and they can't come into English. So many times, a kid has come too late and be like I was banging for 10 minutes but because the rule is the rule and even if they were at the hangar door before the 15-minute time period they still can't come into [Young Explorers], and I've got to be like next time you've got to be on time or the door will be locked like, it's difficult. But I don't think, I don't know almost sometimes I feel like the hangar is viewed as like almost a bit mysterious, like all the kids are like wanting to come to [Young Explorers] because, and [Young Explorers] is that place its inside this and were not allowed in and there's gates and there's locks and I think it yeah seen as a bit of, they were all allowed in because of all of the shopping and then it stops and all these new activities going in there and they are all like ohhh" (Maddy L. 850-862)

- "because now there are no tents, there are containers which of course is much better but but but the tents were open on the space" (Marco L. 1549-1550)

- "And you know it was clearly Greece was unprepared for that influx but also wasn't prepared by the fact that they were borders closed. So people were stuck" (Marco L. 88-90)

- "Sorry 27th September to one sixteen after huge, huge, huge political battle people were moved away from the camp […] 27th September the camp was closed. And the people were moved into hotels err, and then the camp reopened one year later. And new people moved in" (Marco L. 876-879)

- "but, bear in mind that [Darling Crafts] has survived the one year of [Minoan camp] being closed, from the December of 2016 to December 2017. They were not, it was not easy and they had people coming by bus or people" (Marco L. 1716-1718)

- "They can only come late once a week. And after 5:30 they can't come to class and they are not supposed to open the door. So, there is a big thing doors not being opened which has been like an ongoing thing for us to try to instil but I don't know if you noticed but there are notices on the outside that say you cannot open the door. Umm... and why we do this is to be 100 percent fair with all students and so they know the rules, they are aware of the rules and you now we are not treating any one student differently than another students" (Niamh L. 223-228)

- "so interesting thinking about it but as you say that of the top of my head, I think of so many different things. I don't really have it with [Young Explorers]' hat much but I know it's a huge thing in [Young Explorers]. And then with in [Minoan camp], like I go on Mondays to do outreach and spending 10 minutes unlocking the Hangar and doors and things to get into a classroom that always getting, well not always that's an exaggeration but, it's pretty much broken into all the time and then in [Dorian camp] and at the community center as well one of our rules is you cannot open the door once the class has started. And why that is is because in the past people would just like barge in and kinda take over the class talking about something or asking the teacher a question and for me at least, we want our student to have that hour of 75 minutes for them and their learning and even if they don't really want to learn o they are not, there is not lot of language accusation going on, but just having that time for themselves away from the family and children, parents of whoever. And that's why, I don't know if I should call it a safe space but like a space for them to have time for themselves and to kinda work in this little community for a different aspect of it. and um yeah so but you see it everywhere, like whenever sit in the PC Lab I always have people coming in especially the [Young Explorers]. Hello teacher and coming in and shouting to me, and it's like okay but now you go outside the door" (Nimah L. 654-669)

- "especially in [Dorian camp], since I don't teach there and only do outreach less familiar, but in [Dorian camp], this kills us but there is a library but only, and I haven't looked into it but only certain people have keys to this library, the quote on quote library has books but they are locked away so no one can use them and one of the old teachers there used to have like a library hour every week where they open, she would get the key because she was from [Busy Bee] to unlock the books and then the students would go into the library and use the books for hours for like an outside study time." (Niamh, L. 699-705)

- "walk in the gate and turn to the left, I see, there's a hangar but it's behind the gate that the other day it broke but then I go and I struggle with 20 keys on opening these like I don't know, 6 or 7 locks to get into the gate to get to the hangar to open the hangar yeah to go inside. The hangar is freezing cold when you go inside umm sometimes it's clean, most of the time it's quite messy and dirty. The last time I was in there on Monday it looked like people had been in there rummaging through thins and I saw about 4 kids come in and go through the trash umm" (Niamh L. 976-982)

- "they all make jokes about it when they invite me over because I'm like very open with the A1 students like if they don't heat our house so that they have more money activities

and teaching and things like that. There's like a running joke that their room is much warmer than our which it is." (Niamh L. 1096-1098)

- "And like if I'm late to class, which I never think that's ever happened but if I open the door to be like you cant open the door. The students will be like teacher you broke the rule. So (laughs) yeah, I don't think everyone holds to the same standards." (Niamh, L. 1206-1208)
- "If you walk straight there a theatre and a library that are locked" (Niamh, L. 1036)
- "Umm in [Minoan camp] it's a little bit better I think, in [Minoan camp] it's an open camp, I mean it's not technically, but anyone can come in" (Nora L. 288-290)
- "Umm having like [Magnolia Aid], the organisation, have been better than others, I mean the camp is open which the community doesn't like but it's better for them in a way because I mean security situation isn't terrible. Security situation is there cause of people's mental health" (Nora L. 294-296)
- "And there's like a library also like, wow, you know, and then you realize it's all these are just names. Like they're just names for things, but the access to these things is still completely closed off to the people that is supposed to be open to, and you can only be in a classroom if the teacher is there and it can only be between these and these hours then." (Nora L. 1008-1012)
- "when you go into those buildings like, it's like there you see people try to make the buildings more homey. Like they have, like, these big curtains that they have over their doors. Like they do like their privacy, especially the families with covered women. And so, they have these big long cloths that covers, that replace the door. So, in the summer or even if it's like warm enough, they have the doors open, but it's like it's supposed like you have the curtain, but you can come in and out of it. So, there are attempts at making it, you know, more homey." (Nora L. 1157-1163)
- "Like in [Minoan camp], if you yell like the whole camp is evacuated which is also not a good response but. You know, In [Dorian camp], you know they shut that gate and they lock people in." (Nora L. 1120-1122)
- "they lock everybody in. Maybe they'll evacuate their staff, but sometimes they just lock their staff into one building where they work and they and they don't let people leave it like it's just I don't understand how it works" (Nora, L. 1126-1128)
- "It's just normal for the wife to be locked in a container, religion or tradition or whatever." (Nora L. 1596-1597)
- "So anyway, people were really in solidarity with each other in improving their situation. They protested, they demanded with letters I mean with our help and eventually they all got moved out and that's how the camp closed because there was just like a lot of work that had to be done to make that camp appropriate for living. And simply dropping containers there was not the solution.so there was a year that this was closed for these purposes, only the started working on it one month before the people came so" (Nora, L. 211-216)
- "Just probably the worst place for vulnerable people because like grouping all these vulnerable people there there without a program is to have to the help them as insanity. Like everyone just ends up. It's the same problem emerged. We don't have a community to tell you don't do that, you know? And we're like, oh, I'm in my own room. I close my door and that's my business." (Nora L. 1028-1032)

Appendix 17

Domain Analysis 3 – Folk Terms

Semantic Relationship: Strict Inclusion

Form: X is a kind of Y

Cover Term (Y)   Folk Term

Semantic Relationship   is a kind of

Included Terms (X)
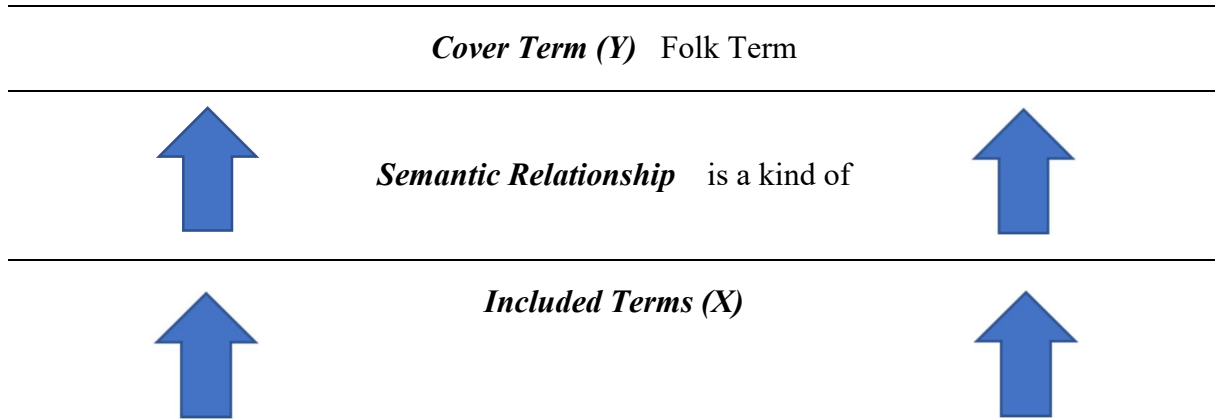
Refugees' term	BB volunteers' term	Used by both
"me no play" (14/10/2019, L. 276); (FN, 03/11/2019, L. 165)	"Team on the Ground" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 58)	"boy girl boy girl" (14/10/2019, L. 271); (FN, 07/11/2019, L. 23); (FN, 10/11/2019, L. 39); "Because I don't have any problem they sit together girl and boy girl and boy." (Salma, L. 946)
"teacher, this for baby" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 288, L. 291, L. 431); (FN, 03/11/2019, L. 165)	"BB Time" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 96)	"Responsibility, Teamwork, Kindness and Focus" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 119, 15/10/2019, L. 100, 16/10/2019, L. 31); " Kindness is like that, when somebody, somebody you friends or you teacher needs helps, you must help it, and focus is you must listen to teacher you must look teacher, and responsibility is you must take care of your backpack and your notebook, and teamwork it's for you wants help with your team, you must." (Madina & Tarik, L. 425); "She says I'm liking all the things that we do in [Young Explorers], so there are like games that we are playing, and also teamworking

		in the teams" (Hamida & Mohseena, L. 422)
"this for me" (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 234); "this is not for you" (Zinah, L. 350)	"5, 4, 3, 2, 1" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 363)	"halas" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 123); (FN, 06/11/2019, L. 29)
	"refugee food…refugee bread" (Niamh, L. 406)	"We also play cops and robbers, which they call 'Police and Ali Baba'" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 222, FN, 17/10/2019, L. 140); "*alibaba*ed my pencil case!" (FN, 17/10/2019, L. 140); "Ali Baba my fruit" (FN, 19/10/2019, L. 48)
	"the community" (Nora, L. 295); (Niamh, L. 1028)	"big problem" (FN, 16/10/2019, L. 33); "[Dandelion Aid] problem" (Faiza, L. 602); "very problem my friend" (Titti & Arjin, L. 316); "and we will talk about our problems" (Yasna, L. 717); "Because we have the same case, and the same problems." (Ali, L. 438); "during that hour and a half that we are there, it's incredible. Because we are able to forget all the problems that surround us." (Rahim. L. 358); "when you have a language you will talk about your feelings, you will talk about your problems" (Sanam & Amany, L. 468); "No problems but our neighbours not from Syria," (Abyah & Daiya, L. 328); "we have many kind of problem that we leave our country and come to the Greece." (Hazim, L. 97); "So those group, every time, they create the problems, and to make, so this give the image for the refugee to the European people" (Ali, L. 50); "So we have problem, and they are mixed together they cannot communicate." (Yusef, L. 313); "when the one have problems, they come to the

		other and he feel like the other person know that they can help to solve the problem" (Yusef, L. 593); "Because each person he like, is busy with his problems" (Murad, L. 442); "Because there are some problems maybe I get reject." (Dilara & Malik, L. 78); "now the Arab kid is trying to create more problems for us." (Sabir & Deeba, L. 265); "If we didn't have problems, we would not have come here" (Sabir & Deeba, L. 286); "we are in this country, so it's our problem, it's our need to learn Greek." (Nadeem, L. 294); "I can communication with others, I can solve my problems myself." (Bilal, L. 79); "When I read from Facebook from social media, we they talked about Afghanistan people and the African people always made problems" (Karim, L. 172); "Because I don't have any problem they sit together girl and boy girl and boy." (Salma, L. 946); "The home, it's a place to rest, to feel comfortable, to forget the problems which is happening during the days" (Sharif, L. 73); "the problem here, in the past, my friend visited me and the law here didn't allow she must go" (Suha, L. 194); "Because the problem is the government. He want to put the border between us and the local people" (Yasna, L. 583); "but the problem they just go with the refugees, they don't have any Greek. How they learn?" (Sadia, L. 308); "The situation in the camp is very bad they are fighting together they make problem in here"

		(Madina & Tarik, L. 98); "Because in prison, people have problems. And also, it's the situation in the camp that all have some problem." (Hazim, L. 35); "then give the key back. There is no problem with this" (Bilal, L. 587); "10 machines to wash the clothes for 2,000 people! So every day we have some problems there, there is conflict" (Yusef, L. 286); "this is my problem in this place. Because I can't wear anything private" (Samiya, L. 50); "Because without my husband, maybe make any problems" (Sanam & Amany, L. 415)
		"Warehouse"/ "Shopping"/ "Hangar" (FN, 22/10/2019, L. 69); (FN, 12/11/2019, L. 12); (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 43); "Shopping… nickname for the hangar" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 74); "There was an English class, inside the Shopping" (Madeha, L. 163);
		"same same" (FN, 03/11/2019, L. 73-74); (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 134-136)
		"teacher, he speak me bad" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 116); "Like I don't care what they say, like if they are going to speak bad to me, I couldn't care less, but I don't want them to think that this is a tool that they have to insert their dominance over me, especially the teenagers" (Maddy, L. 229)

Appendix 18

Domain Analysis 4 – Characteristics of 'home'

Semantic Relationship: Attribution

Form: X is a characteristic of Y

Colour Code Key:

Current home

Ideal home

Cover Term (Y) 'Home'

Semantic Relationship is a characteristic of

Verbatim from participants (X)
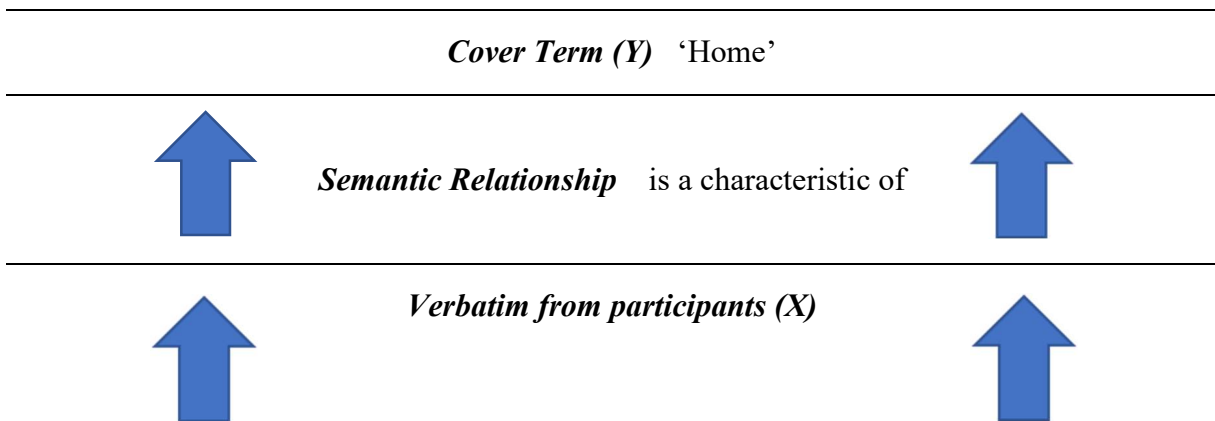
Refugee participants living in Minoan camp	Refugee participants living in Dorian camp
"I feel better than here, at home we just, when I sit at home I just take, I just take my phone." (Madina and Tarik, L. 451-453)	"The home is very ex… not expensive, important place for me….Very value, high value…. So, the home for me, the place will helps my daughter…. I said my room, because it's very small and this is the first time in my life I imagine I will live in this place." (Zulema, L. 316-320)
"I thinking the place that I live, I not living, just I using for sleeping. The place if you live in your house, you can relaxes, you can take your rest, you can learn, the place will be quiet when you go back. But this place isn't. You have just a little space, and some air conditions, to make us warm, just for the sleeping." (Amir, L. 403-406).	"I live here not forever." (Sanam and Amany, L. 142-143); "A word that mean house that not forever life…. temporary house." (Saalima, L. 76-78).
"Home… You feel like you are human." (Amir, L. 428).	"Because in the future I will have my home because my husband with me. And without other families alone with my family together." (Sanam and Amany, L. 156-157); "Home means having all of my children

	around me, my husband with me, to have proper clothes, to have multiple rooms, not just one. But at the same time, being in one room with your husband and children and being calm, this is also home." (Arezo and Ayan, L. 294-296)
"When you think you are at home, maybe you live alone, and at the same time you work and you rent, and you pay for your home, and you become able, not some organisation is help you, you are paying the tax like the other people…. That you live like the other people. Without this I'm not feeling like home." (Amir, L. 447-450)	"The home, it's a place to rest, to feel comfortable, to forget the problems which is happening during the days, the home is the place where everything have, where all corners you feel positive" (Sharif, L. 72-76); "Home means peaceful, hopeful but this is not home she said. Because I didn't take any breathe in this room." (Abyah and Daiya, L. 294-295)
In my home in Chad, like when I'm sleeping, I feel like this is my home, and no one come knock my door to ask me, 'Are you absent or not absent?'" (Amir, L. 454-455)	"it's not home, it's like an emergency situation place, where you have to live unclear… Because I don't have any control or responsibility over the situation here, and therefore, we can't say it's our home….. this place is a shelter, not a home" (Sharif, L. 72-76)
And sometimes he feel like he living in chicken house." (Ali, L. 235)	"(I): No it's not a house or home because I am not comfortable in this place. The home should be comfortable place for life, for live." (Sadia, L. 48-49)
Like he feel like, the home, is like home, like your country." (Ali, L. 239)	"you have to share everything and that makes it impossible to say 'home'… no privacy" (Ibrar, L. 340-360, L. 387)
"Not for always for living." (Hada, L. 201); "This is not like a home. It's just, just we know that we cannot live for long time in here." (Madeha, L. 65); "You can't find everything for your family. For ever. because in Syria we have the same house from childhood to be adults, we can't do the same thing here because we always move from house to house. (Saalima, L. 459-466)	"This is not my home. Because I am not free in it… It's not my home, its temporary…. Because sometimes some friends need to me to come to here. I want to help them to come to stay with me…..but I can't." (Karim, L. 411-416); "I can't call this place my home. Because when you invite someone to your home, you have space for everyone….Unfortunately here, we don't invite people over and we are not invited over, because we don't feel good, that we are at home here." (Rahim, L. 537-546); "For me, I can say simply, that the feeling of home [chez moi], is to have a house, with different rooms for the children, and a reception room for my guests, and to have the right to have guests and be able to invite people to your home throughout the night, or day. We don't have this provision here." (Sharif, L. 80-83); "when we see someone that we know in life,

	and our friends and our family, we invite them over to our home, and we go to theirs, and we don't have this possibility here. And this is very difficult indeed" (Sharif, L. 93-95); "I use the word home sometimes, but I don't really feel like it's my home. Why? Because sometimes I invite guests, here, in my home (chez moi), and I am obliged to throw them out after 10pm, and this breaks my heart. It's not my home in this regard. He says, if this was really my home, I would never let my guests leave in the night." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 123-127);
"Where I live, this is my home, this is my country. Not only Syria…. this is the word 'safe' mean for me." (Bilal, L. 540-547)	"the home is very beautiful word. … (I): the home is the pillar of the family." (Suha, L. 209, 216);
"…because we have ID from Greek and we will give passport from Greek. Now we have passport from Afghanistan, we will take Greek passport." (Madina and Tarik, L. 526-527)	"It's a place that we are obliged to live in…" (Rahim, L. 44);
"I can call it 'caravana' but I am trying to make it like to home. … Even is like container, caravana, but I am trying to make it like to home…. the house is where you live, with your children. And where you go to the walk and to come back. And I feel comfortable and relax when I have the house…. but I feel something missing. So I feel something like this. So I need home." (Murad, L. 531-549)	"The tent needs to be moved, from here, to there, to somewhere else", because this here doesn't belong to you. That's why you don't really feel at home…. From one tent to another tent. From that tent to a house. From the other house to this camp" (Rahim, L. 571-582);
"If I can go, to be with my family, and if my family come here my feel will be better." (Ghalib, L. 98); "He says, home for me is a place where all of the family are together, and they are happy together, and they are staying together and they are taking care of each other. But here, they are not having this feeling." (Nadeem, L. 81-83)	"Because here where I live, when I go to kitchen I see another people ….but if I have my house I just see my family." (Jameela, L. 366-367)
"This is a lot of means from the home, like good family, good children or…. We try to grow good children and a future." (Salma, L. 594-597)	I don't feel my home because I don't have hopeful." (Jameela, L. 400)
"This is not like, like a home but this is better than tent. Because this is more like a home because bedroom are not enough for my children." (Salma, L. 614-615)	"In the past I wanted to invite them my social worker but the rules is not to be with the refugees in our home." (Sanam and Amany, L. 544-545)

"for us the Yazidi group, even in Iraq, especially in Sinjar, we don't have place. (Hamal, L. 182-183)	"This belongs to us… We don't need keys to open, to close, nothing like that. We decide whether to come here and open or not." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 83-105)
"Because if we have a home it is in the city, this is not in the city" (Zahiya and Badia, L. 167-168)	"it's my home, I do as I like." (Rafik, L. 303)
"But, home is better than here" (Omar's Family, L. 302)	"Because the room is very small, and the family is big and when we want to move the place is very narrow." (Rabia, L. 60-61)
"Home is like, this is not like home because, this is inside the camp….we have a home that we can live for a long time, inside the city, not like this inside camp" (Omar's Family, L. 396-398),	"it's like I go in prison, not my home. You know, it's like prison." (Titti and Arjin, L. 59-65);
"Home is the place that give me comfortable feel." (Madeha, L. 75)	"(P): Because this is one room, not house, not home. When you describe a place home, you should be private… because I wear hijab, and all I... this is my problem in this place. Because I can't wear anything private. (Samiya, L. 49-52)
"Because this is the rules, when we give passport and ID we have to take a home outside the camp…if someone stay here, they take a home outside the camp in Artemopolis." (Madina and Tarik, L. 509-511)	
"Home is better than the connex, bigger than the connex…Because in here I don't have any bedroom, I want to have a bedroom, I want to have a bed. (Hada, L. 386-388);	
"Yes, we were in our country we hoped that we go to Greek to have a home, to be better than here." (Hada, L. 393-394)	
I feel like I am in Syria, in my town, in my country. Syria is the sea but I am the fish." (Dilara and Malik, L. 482-484)	
"home is a place where we can feel safe in, we have facilities. The home should be construction, not with the metal. So with the metal, we cannot say 'khuneh' (Hamida and Mohseena, L. 61-62)	
"When you travel to desert, or you are out of the city, someone wants to make a bed something, so the people use these cabins for some limit time…. Not for always, not for 2 years, 3 years… when I enter to the cabin, I always think about that. That it's not a house, it's not a home. So it's a place like a station	

when you are waiting for someone and you leave" (Nadeem, L. 71-76)	
"Here is not bad but, if we live at home that we can be free. My free mean, here is like, around all of mountains, we cannot go out for have free time" (Zahiya and Badia, L. 567-569);	
"This is not a home. This is a connex" (Zahiya and Badia, L. 149)	
"in Afghanistan all day we have to be at home, and also here I have to be at home." (Layla, L. 88-89)	
"(I): We're afraid that maybe…it's the be like fire, because it's easy" (Zahiya and Badia, L. 579	
We, refugees mean without country, without home, without future." (Ghalib, L. 520)	

NGO volunteer participants:

- "In [Dorian camp], it is more closed. There is the gate, and also they have these are more houses, are house-looking, and the place is looking more like a town. And they are more, there are things in the house, they personalise the house, and that is a good thing, there is not right and wrong […] Err and probably they feel more that place to be their house because it's more looking like that, and it's more quiet they not just one caravan after another with a number outside. And I think that is impacting how I feel inside in that place. And like, I feel very comfortable in [Dorian camp], I'm happy when I go there but I don't feel what I feel in [Minoan camp], and I think because in [Minoan camp], yes it's not, I think they feel they feel that place as 'home' I think comfortable there but it's less. I don't know, it's more like it's for everybody." (Beatrice, L. 506-518)

- "Yes I saw that the kids, most of the time, they call it 'room' when you know in [Dorian camp], but I'm not sure but I'm not sure always just yesterday, and in [Minoan camp], they don't have that. But yes I remember that I didn't know how to call them, and like I didn't know how to ask them. I didn't feel comfortable in saying, 'In which caravan you are?' So I didn't know how they would react and I still don't know unfortunately." (Beatrice, L. 542-546)

- "the thing that I love about [Minoan camp] you can tell the people who are trying to kind of make it feel more homely because those little gardens outside, the sheds attached to their to their containers to keep their bikes or something, growing tomatoes […] and some other gardens are really impressive as you walk" (Ben, L. 391-394)

- "Home for me, well home for me is where I'm living at the moment. Err but my, I have two different kinds of home like my home is like England and it's partly because of the language again maybe but England is my home it's where I'm from. But err, like at the moment I would call there home. And when I was travelling where my family was

426

would be home. It's also around the people I'm with as well. And you know I can be on holiday with my best friends and feel like I'm at home because I'm with them my best friends. And so I think reflecting on that in terms of refugees I think home for them and a lot of their identity probably is based around where they are from and also they are always quite proud of where they are from. And they like speaking about where they are from they say err like yesterday when we were […] was saying Syria also has these beautiful mountains and they I think there is always this pride in where they are from amongst the children they are proud to be Syrian, or they are proud to be Kurdish. Err, so I when I say away from home I mean away from their culture I suppose, and cos I think culture is part of your identity isn't it and yes. So away from their culture and when you have got lots of different cultures all coming together it's natural this is what I mean natural to feel more comfortable with people that share the same ideals morals as religion maybe as you." (Cassie, L. 412-427)

- "I well not like even in the ones where err where I do see the most established as families in [xxx] they are denied basic things they cannot work. It's difficult to feel at home when you cannot pursue a lively hood. And where you are also still excluded you know they don't speak Greek. One of the one of the families who are who I taught I taught the mother the father and two of the children at the community centre one of the sons has significant ongoing health problems. And they just cannot get a straight answer, they cannot get information about what they should err what like how a badly is this problem going to progress. How like oh well you know one day they go to the hospital but [xxx] doesn't send the interpreter in time so they just they are just there trying to make do in Greek. And you I don't think you can ever feel at home." (Emma, L. 607-616)

- "Like [xxx] I really feel like that that apartment is their house. They have been there a long time and it really feels like their house. Err if I was going for example to visit one of the people in the new massive tents on the side no. [xxx's] house feels like a house. Err [xxx's] house feels like a house it feels like a home. But enough sofas crammed in there to err it really I think it depends like sometimes I remember at one point I had bunch of err like weed smoking Arabs slash Kurds. Like bad boys in the class at the community centre and they were like like a biker gang. Used to bike into [name] every day like nine of erm and they would you know they were all they were lovely lovely guys err but bad boys. And I would […] watching I think it was like the world cup might have been the world cup final I can't really remember and going to their container and their container did not feel like home. Their container felt like shit hole. And like not because they were shitty people but just because they were you know families and much more I think I think that they were much more less likely to be able, like they didn't it didn't feel like they took care of themselves. It didn't feel like there was stability there and like that's like all of them have left now. None of them are here anymore err which kind of goes to show." (Emma, L. 747-761)

- "somebody might take in their own little homestead, some people go to great efforts to plant things around their their containers, their their cabins and other people just they might be a group, not just, let's say six men living in the container and they they're bit more transient. They, you know, they might be swapping in rooms as, as as you know. […] And so, they don't, they don't put down the same sort of sense of home that a family might. And you see lots of collections of things around the containers and that kind of

indicates who lives in there. In some ways, some people have put on little like canopied extensions, just home made out of maybe broken up pallets […] just to give them an extra bit of indoor-outdoor living space, like a little porch." (Fay, L. 1876-1881)

- "So like there was this a sense of community in [Minoan camp] that was more visible. I would say the [Dorian camp]. More visible, but because you know. Maybe like if there is a building you you don't see like the movement of the people inside the building if you're outside, but like if you like in [Minoan camp] like you just get out from a container and go to the other container. So like you see the interaction with like, among the people. Some of the containers were very nice. Um. Like they were all all equal, I would say so. So they weren't much, many structural differences. But then, like the way the people transform the containers to make them a home was astonishing, I would say. There was a wonderful container. I remember with a garden outside. And was one of the best containers ever. There was a container that where like the family kind of ran like a business like they sold, I think fruit and vegetables. And so it was nice, like how people reinvented themselves in the, in the camp." (Isabella, L. 73-83)

- "I do not think that they 'feel at home' just like 'they felt at home when they were home'. So I would say just to to simplify the concept at home is where you have your relations where you have the people you love where you have a sense of belonging and sense of family. I would say you know where you feel free to do what you want like if you want to burp you burp if you want to fart you fart OK something like that so as long as you feel comfortable with these very basic things it's home you know? I would say that in in a camp uh you can reach a level of comfort but it's relative you know so it's not I mean it's already a stress to leave your your your home your home to leave your country and then you try to build your, a new network, in a totally different environment so yeah maybe yeah I think they they felt their container home because it was their container yes may I yeah maybe this is interesting I know that there have been some riots in the in the camp in [Minoan camp] and maybe this is like linked somehow to the to what home means and basically the riots were the result of the government deciding to bring […] some like new families from from the the islands to the mainland especially to specifically to [Minoan camp] but the camp was already over capacity and the people that were there would be yeah that were there decided to […] said the police so they weren't against the newcomers but they were against the police because he was enforcing the thing and this was because these new people would share the containers that they were already living in so they were kind of they were like forced to divide their personal space so it's like so yeah I would say that maybe home and personal space are linked now" (Isabella, L. 836-853)

- "I always take my shoes off to go into the home always always, err, sometimes sometimes they say no it fine sometimes you can get to a certain part of the of the home the container and before you take your shoes off, like you get to where they put the rugs down and then you take your shoes off. I think a lot it depends on how they err, how many people live in, how many families live in that particular container, because if there are two families then the first area into the containers isn't necessarily like their home, their actually bedrooms are like their home" (Isla, L. 130-137)

- "Yes a lot of time when I go in and they invite me in like they say, 'my home very small my home this I'm sorry my home very small' they are very embarrassed by this their living situation. And I don't know because obviously they shouldn't be embarrassed

they have put all of this work in to come here all of this energy and everything to come here and now they have got something that they are embarrassed by. So yes." (Isla, L. 762-766)

- "In [Dorian camp] they're more permanent. Those kids stay there for longer and they really feel it as their home and also you can see it with their relationship, they have with each other. They have created friendships and enemies, to be honest, like they have created like it really looks like the vibe of a school, like primary school where you grow up with these kids and you get along with them really well and you don't get along with others and is as if, like it really reminds me of my primary school that I went, Just, this is like also their home." (Kalia, L.105-111)

- "I guess home is a place where you feel safe, you are with your family and I don't know, for me it's small things that I see that I feel, they feel like it's their home. For example they come in the classroom with their flip flops or their like, like if you can go to the camp before the classes you can see them all the kids together, they're playing. They have little pets, kittens and some of them they are all playing together and is also really amazing how the parents are really able to leave their really young kids free to play around because they are actually, I know they are coming from a different culture and maybe us we would never leave our [xxx] year old alone with like even in the garden but I think this is good because it creates a feeling of trust with the adults and the kids as well like my seven year old is gonna take care of the 2 year old or my neighbour, my neighbour's son who is 8 can take care of my son who is two. This is actually really nice to see." (Kalia, L. 125-134)

- "There is no place where I want to go because of the place, there are places I want to go to because of the people" (Marco, L. 936)

- "I don't want to speak for them, I almost feel like people don't see [Dorian camp] as home 'cause all they have is their room and there is almost no sense of community" (L. 714-716)

- "And I think, like, you know, when you go into those buildings like, it's like there you see people try to make the buildings more homey. Like they have, like, these big curtains that they have over their doors. Like they do like their privacy, especially the families with covered women. And so, they have these big long cloths that covers, that replace the door. So, in the summer or even if it's like warm enough, they have the doors open, but it's like it's supposed like you have the curtain, but you can come in and out of it. So, there are attempts at making it, you know, more homey. It's just it's a, it's a dorm style like accommodation that you like you said has shared facilities, men and women toilets." (Nora, L. 1157-1164)

- "I don't know in [Minoan camp], I don't know if feel like at home. They feel comfortable, but what do you need to feel like at home? Is not only one house, or one container... around of you, you need some…social buildings, no? Now in [Minoan camp] there is a little restaurant… This is a social space, but …. I am not sure if it is a for that that they feel like at home" (Ricardo L. 576-580)

- "So now they start to have gardens in [Minoan Camp], they build stuff around their containers, so they are trying to build themselves a home" (Flavio L. 349-350)

- "But what I see, their behaviour they're trying to make it home, with the garden, decorating their room, putting your personal things in your room already it means I want to feel more at home, I want to put my individuality in that place, what I like so,

I think they're trying, not everyone, I'm talking a little broadly, but I see some examples of people who are trying to make it a little more like home" (Flavio L. 357-361).

- "Maybe not enough, like when they destroyed [something in Dorian camp] three days ago…that's evidence like they don't feel at home because you would not steal your house your own house. If they thought that these are their computers they would not steal them… That means you don't feel it yours. When you're stealing something by definition, you don't feel it's yours." (Flavio L. 361-366).

Appendix 19

Domain Analysis 5 – 'Home' Folk Terms

Semantic Relationship: Strict Inclusion

Form: X is a kind of Y

Cover Term (Y)   Folk term for 'Home' or 'Refugees' personal living spaces'

Semantic Relationship   is a kind of

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)

Minoan refugee camp	Dorian refugee camp
"Welcome to my home!" (FN, 12/12/2019, L. 35); "it's her first time in someone's home" (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 67)	"she uses the word 'home' in reference to the kids' country of origin" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 412)
"Nesrin invites us back to her house" (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 56)	"And when he went at home, I hit him by stick and he started to kiss me on my foot. I don't repeat like this." (Suha, L. 446-448)
"Rafaella asks one of the kids who is a Young Explorers leader, "Do you know where …'s container is? … Do you know where he lives?" (FN, 15/10/2019, L. 56-57); "container" (FN, 22/10/2019, L. 54); "You want come my container for tea?" (05/11/2019, L. 76); "Do you want come with me? Come my container for tea?" (FN, 12/11/2019, L. 59-60); "containers" (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 42); "but women must meet in containers, people's homes" (Salma, L. 892); "(P): I messaged it to my friend once, I said, 'Oh I took this kid back to their container' and they were like, 'It sounds really bad you know it sounds it's like a holding space for them'." (Interview with Gabriella, L. 353-374); "I call it, 'their container'" (Cassie, L. 453); "best containers ever" (Isabella, L. 81);	"In a certain way, this is our house, this is our neighbourhood, it is familiar for us now." (Sharif, L. 62)
"So we cannot have communication with the neighbours. When they make noises, when we have someone sick at home, we cannot tell him,	"I invite them to 'our home' (chez nous), and we share with them whatever food we have…. we

we cannot make him know, don't make sounds, something like this. So we have problem" (Yusef, L. 308-321)	had a ceremony and invited people over." (Arezo and Ayan, L. 242-256)
"Yeah, 'Come to my container, or come to my house'…. Cabin it's not for living. But maybe for temporary life…. In Syria, we say another word about this, 'caravan'. That mean, like a motor-house." (Bilal, L. 503-508); "cabin" (Kala and Yusef, L. 50);	"It's because we don't have any choice, we are obliged to call it our home, it's still our home." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 142)
"I feel this way because it was given to me, and I was sent here, I sleep here, I do everything here in the house, I wash myself here, I get ready here, it's my house…I look after this house, it's my house." (Elodie, L. 67-81)	"In the past I wanted to invite them my social worker but the rules is not to be with the refugees in our home." (Sanam and Amany, L. 544-545)
"I can call it 'caravana' but I am trying to make it like to home. … Even is like container, caravana, but I am trying to make it like to home…. the house is where you live, with your children. And where you go to the walk and to come back. And I feel comfortable and relax when I have the house…. but I feel something missing. So I feel something like this. So I need home." (Murad, L. 531-549)	"I use the word home sometimes, but I don't really feel like it's my home. Why? Because sometimes I invite guests, here, in my home (chez moi), and I am obliged to throw them out after 10pm, and this breaks my heart. It's not my home in this regard. He says, if this was really my home, I would never let my guests leave in the night." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 123-127)
"for us the Yazidi group, even in Iraq, especially in Sinjar, we don't have place. (Hamal, L. 182-183)	"it's my home, I do as I like." (Rafik, L. 303)
"Just, I invite my teachers of my children. They came inside our cabin but no." (Salma, L. 284-293)	"it's like I go in prison, not my home. You know, it's like prison." (Titti and Arjin, L. 59-65);
"Inside the connex, we say like 'home'. But when I speak around like about the home we say connex." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 459-460); "Home is better than the connex, bigger than the connex…Because in here I don't have any bedroom, I want to have a bedroom, I want to have a bed. (Hada, L. 386-388); "This is not a home. This is a connex" (Zahiya and Badia, L. 149); "They invited her to their home, to their connex, and also, she invited her to her home." (Madeha, L. 117)	"Hearing about it from their siblings […] Afghanistan but they you know they still have a sense of belonging […] but I think that when we talk about […] [Dorian camp] and [Minoan camp] […] we try to see on google earth and we, I would show them [Dorian camp] little little kids like, 'my home my home' but in then in the eight or plus class older kids I would ask. 'where is your house?' and this one girl she went 'no this is not house my home'. […] A lot of kids were like some of them were getting really excited pointing to like their specific … I guess you call apartment like 'their building'. (Kathy, L. 274-283)
"Just when I see my friend, when I go like my house, like other home other her home, she doesn't think about the camp, just she thinking about the friend." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 63-64)	"what do you call the rooms in [Dorian camp]? I call them 'rooms' or 'homes' but I've been trying to listen more to what other people are saying, and I'm actually not sure, I think they say but because at [Minoan camp] obviously everybody says 'container' nobody says 'room'. Umm, but even so I have a lot of students and

	friends that live in apartments in [Artemopolis] like in the community and even to them, like I don't know if they really think of these places as home." (Niamh, L. 1051-1054)
"We know that that this is not our really home but now we are living in here we have to make it beautiful." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 444-445)	
"Come to us, welcome to us." (Jameela, L. 394)	
Come inside home for drink tea." (Almas and Jawana, L. 61); "then they would say come in, err they would say, 'please come in my home have tea'" (Isla, L. 124-126)	
"When you travel to desert, or you are out of the city, someone wants to make a bed something, so the people use these cabins for some limit time…. Not for always, not for 2 years, 3 years… when I enter to the cabin, I always think about that. That it's not a house, it's not a home. So it's a place like a station when you are waiting for someone and you leave" (Nadeem, L. 71-76)	
"I use to be at home more, more than that I go out. If I be always at home I cannot find more friends." (Hada, L. 184-185); "Most of time we don't want to go out, the most of time we are inside our home" (Madina and Tarik, L. 492-494)	
"in Afghanistan all day we have to be at home, and also here I have to be at home." (Layla, L. 88-89)	
"home is a place where we can feel safe in, we have facilities. The home should be construction, not with the metal. So with the metal, we cannot say 'khuneh' (Hamida and Mohseena, L. 61-62)	
"(P): حاوية 'Hawee'. We use this for the trash. I think the container is not good for the refugee because when the weather, when the rain come, I can't sleep. Especially here in [Artemopolis], it's raining all the time." (Bilal, L. 495-497)	
"(I): And sometimes he feel like he living in chicken house" (Ali, L. 235)	
"I don't know what is the word. But when the people die you put it into the ground, inside it" (Dilara and Malik, L. 84-85)	
"the icebox" (Omar's Family, L. 409)	

"rows upon rows of containers, and I've always struggled for a word for them because people call them that's the kind of 'camp word' for them, containers. I've always tried to introduce the word 'cabin'. 'Home', I tried to use in class sometime but people not didn't object like vocally about the word home, but I did find it was inappropriate because it's not really, I'd say it's their 'house' a bit sometimes, but their containers, but I never liked that word because again, it's very utilitarian. For me the word container means storage of […] yeah and I just didn't think it was appropriate for, to describe somebody's living space. So, I always tried to say 'your cabin', but again, people would might not understand that word. So, I'd have to say 'cabin container'" (Fay, L. 1809-1818)	
"Mobile home container sorts of things" (Gabriella, L. 330)	
"And they go home by the end of the day not only with the item that was broken or lacking in their lives but they go home with the experience of having created it themselves." (Hanna, L. 271-273); "making use to make their constructions outside their homes" (Isla, L. 538-539)	
"I just feel uncomfortable saying container, because I mean I have I have had this discussion with one of the teachers before and cos she also said like its container feels like a place where you put stuff its not for people its not and some, and the thing is like especially if they have lived there for a while it is their home, especially if they built extra things and they built a garden and these things they it is their home its not a big home and its not like an ideal home but its their home and they keep it very clean and they try very hard to make it nice, They I've one where they have painted like painted a mural on the side and on the inside in like inside and they have put like decorations inside and they have made it so beautiful. And yes so its it is a home its just yes. Small." (Isla, L. 749-757)	
"It's a family home but yes its got a huge garden outside yes" (Isla, L. 817)	
But I'd normally heard container at least when we were referring to them […] trying to remember if kids referred to them […] I think when I was speaking to the kids, depending on	

like contexts or maybe just like, like I feel like I wouldn't probably refer to it as a 'container'. I think I'd normally like say 'home', 'your house'" (Julia, L. 1092-1094)	
"I would say 'home', like my answer before I came here would be home is anywhere where my family is, but it's changed now because I sometimes think if I was in that refugee camp with my family would it feel like home? No, it wouldn't. And I don't know why it wouldn't feel like home with my family there but it just wouldn't be home. And I sometimes say to the kids like, 'you know where is your home?' instead of forgetting the word 'container', and they go 'oh Syria'. And I have to be like 'no, your container'. Like they don't view this even though they can't really, like a lot of the times I'll speak to them and they can't remember home. They can't remember what it was like 'cus they were so young but they still view that as their home and not here. Not this container. […] always 'container' because when I used to say 'home', they were like my home is not here." (Maddy, L. 723-734)	

Domain Analysis 6 – Time

Semantic Relationship: Strict inclusion

Form: X is a kind of Y

Green: verbatim from refugees

Blue: verbatim from NGO volunteers

Liminality

Approach to time-keeping

Cover Term (Y) Time

Semantic Relationship is a kind of

Field Notes and participants verbatim (X)
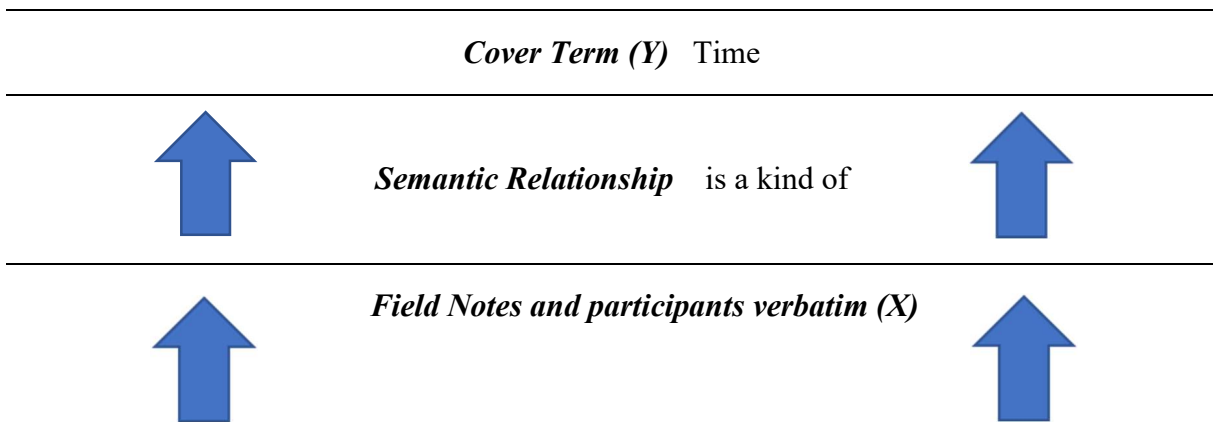
- "BB Time" (FN, 14/10/2019, L. 96)
- "trustworthy means if you say you will help us, you must come because we will expect you to be there and be on time" (FN, 03/11/2019, L. 20-21)
- "Marco says, "I don't think the Messiah will come…people are in limbo…at least getting bad news is a moving forward and they can do something new, there is some action they can take…at least they know what is going to happen…bad news but something that they can do" (FN, 06/11/2019, L. 37-42)
- "but it seems like a defeated/resigned smile, "Number 1: smoke, number 2: eat, number 3: sleep". As soon as he says this, the majority of the class nod their heads in agreement. I guess this highlights the slump refugees feel in their daily lives, mental health issues, issue of boredom, issue of no meaningful work – liminality." (FN, 13/11/2019, L. 165-169)
- "although this is supposed to be a temporary solution until people can be given a container, they seem to know that this will last longer than just a few weeks." (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 46-48)
- "I am always baffled by how we don't give them very much advance notice and they always seem to be available to help us" (FN, 09/01/2020, L. 13-15)
- "The kids want to take their clothes off and swim in the freezing water (!) whyyy? It's winter! But I guess maybe they feel like they won't get to come back, even though we tell them we will come back in summer time- I get the feeling that they have a different

conception to time, everything is fleeting and temporary, they know that they might not be here in the summer" (FN, 11/01/2020, L. 50-53)

- ❖ "when the teacher is leaving, so when the other starting with us, so it is difficult for us to be familiar with him, to know his way for teaching. So this is take time, maybe one week, two weeks, three weeks. And also this is depend for the teacher. If like teacher he have to know, and to understand very well, and to teach, so the students, they will be better. And the opposite, if the teacher don't know, this make terrible with the students also." (Murad, L. 297-302)
- ❖ "No time to make friends. You go straight to class and home? (I): Yeah. She just go there to learn and come back. There is no friends." (Dilara and Malik, L. 378-379)
- ❖ English class I feel friendship with the people there where I become friends, it's more comfortable, because I spend a lot of time there with them in the same class. But now in [Darling Crafts], it's a short time." (Hazim, L. 259-261)
- ❖ "He says that we have been here for a long time. When we pass people in the camp, we immediately know what race they are, we know which buildings they live in and the different buildings between the Kurds, the Persians" (Sharif, L. 165-171)
- ❖ "We had a guest here once, and I don't know if you know, but here, after 22:00, guests must leave this camp, and we had a guest with his kids, and he had to wait at the bus stop from 21:00 until 23:00 to wait for the bus. Now his kids are ill. And it was not in our power to keep them here with us. We were forced to tell them, 'you have to leave because these are the rules here'. After 22:00, no one can stay here. And you don't have the right to be responsible for your own time. To stay overnight or not, it's not you that decides. It is decided by others." (Rahim, L. 537-546)
- ❖ "He says it's like a real tent. So I have this experience in Iran, when you travel to desert, or you are out of the city, someone wants to make a bed something, so the people use these cabins for some limit time. Not for always, not for 2 years, 3 years. So, always when I enter to the cabin, I always think about that. That it's not a house, it's not a home. So it's a place like a station when you are waiting for someone and you leave. But for us it's not clear when we are leaving this cabin and where will be or home." (Nadeem, L. 71-76)
- ❖ "This is not like a home. It's just, just we know that we cannot live for long time in here." (Madeha, L. 65)
- ❖ "Here is not bad but, if we live at home that we can be free. My free mean, here is like, around all of mountains, we cannot go out for have free time have free time. But it's better that we have home." (Zahiya and Badia, L. 567-569)
- ❖ "He says, I feel very good in the lunch time. They put the sheets, and we are all sitting around together with the [Darling Crafts] team, so we are all eating together, we are talking together, so I am enjoying a lot. It's a good time for me, the lunch time at [Darling Crafts], we are all sitting together, the African guys, different nationalities, it's good for me, and I am happy when I see this action." (Nadeem, L. 147-151)
- ❖ "This very problem. 8 months we waiting. You wait, no give you passport. It's very problem my friend." (Titti and Arjin, L. 316-317)
- ❖ "Yes the people here has the same equal but some people have the residence and others no. They have been waiting for two years and take refuge and some people the

[Dandelion Aid] take them to houses and others they left them here” (Sadia, L. 351-355)

❖ “It's not a house, it's not a home. So it's a place like a station when you are waiting for someone and you leave. But for us it's not clear when we are leaving this cabin and where will be or home.” (Nadeem, L. 71-76)

❖ “And we don't think that, we are belong here because we thought that we, arrive at Greece we can go to Germany or France we didn't know that we stuck here. We didn't know about the rules of the government in Greece.” (Omar's Family, L. 414-416)

❖ “No because I count the days to go out this camp.” (Jameela, L. 344)

❖ “Yes, every Friday we are going for pray in the mosque, for 'Jumma'.” (Yusef, L. 436-438)

❖ “the first time, when we entered to the camp and we went to the cabins, I didn't come out with the children for 3 days, from the cabin, because I was afraid of the place. So after the 3 days, when we came out for the walking, and we were under the tree, when I see her that she start to speaking like Farsi, and also the special accent, because we were speaking Farsi, Dari, so I became happy and it was so interesting for me to find a good person to communicate with.” (Hamida and Mohseena, L. 316-320)

❖ “And it's Sunday is day for women to go play football.” (Madeha, L. 341);

❖ “We have been in exile since I was born. One day here, the next day in another country” (Rahim. L. 195-196);

❖ “I am at home, I am mother. I have three children and also, I have normal life in here. Every day I clean home, I take care of my children.” (Madeha, L. 31-32)

❖ “Cabin it's not for living. But maybe for temporary life, yeah, it's perfect. But not, I living 2 years here, in this cabin. I don't feel I stand in the land. Cabin. In Syria, we say another word about this, 'caravan'. That mean, like a motor-house. Here, I talk to my mother, I say, 'I live in cabin', she say, 'You live in the same place all the day or you move it?' [He laughs] 'No, it's constant'. Because we didn't see this cabin in my country. Only the motor-house.'” (Bilal, L. 503-508)

❖ “I live here not forever.” (Sanam and Amany, L. 142-143),

❖ “(I): Because in the future I will have my home because my husband with me. And without other families alone with my family together.” (Sanam and Amany, L. 156-157);

❖ “(I): Not for always for living.” (Hada, L. 201)

❖ “Because sometimes some friends need to me to come to here. I want to help them to come to stay with me for 1 day, 2 day, 3 days but I can't. I couldn't still offer, go to the hotel, because the organisation here doesn't allow to us to stay, to invite some friends to sit together with us. So it's not my home.” (Karim, L. 411-416),

❖ “Because in this camp, day after day, they slowly withdraw all the aid we are given. They cut the cars to take us to the hospitals, they cut the materials for children, and today they cut social services. He is completely right in what he is saying.” (Rahim, L. 137-146)

❖ “Not a mosque, but we can use it as a mosque. Because it's a public place here in the camp. Like in the Friday, you know the Muslim people, it's a specific day for them, we can go to the organisation, to have the key, and pray in the public space, and then give the key back. There is no problem with this.” (Bilal, L. 585-588)

❖ "and one day per week, for the women, which is living in the camp, there are 2 Greek women, and they are asking the women who are living in the camp, that day, I think it's Friday, they are going there for activities for 2 hours. And also Tuesday for the men." (Yusef, L. 179-184)

❖ "I prefer to walk during the day in the camp, because when I walk during the day I can see you, see other people in the camp, at night I, it's not the looks, the look is not good for me." (Zahiya and Badia, L. 610-611)

❖ "The day 24 hours for me 12 hours in the kitchen." (Zinah, L. 507)

❖ "always like we have lessons at four forty five and since we arrive at three forty five […] are there waiting for us to let them in" (Beatrice L. 414-415)

❖ "it makes me feel that having time like maybe feels being left […], I really don't know they know that the next day […] [Young Explorers]. So some from with different people doing different things and I think it helped them if they have this feelings (Beatrice L. 467-469)

❖ "I think yes I think it's it's for sure a way to make them feel less stuck. Because I think that they the best way to feel […] enjoy the [….] and think that you are there you can do nothing about that so so I think there is a lot about this and also important they give them another space to meet. They could have a chat or meet other people have a […] in a place that is not begin one caravan and another." (Beatrice L. 570-574)

❖ "And in [Dorian camp] obviously well people stay there longer in [Dorian camp] anyway but I think it's probably interesting to know and feel as a refugee that you have that is it temporary …. Well for a lot of them where they live on their journey is a temporary place for them I think that must be a very interesting and difficult feeling like it lacks security and that you have when you have a permanent home yes and I think the time of ….the longer you spend in a place. Obviously … more permanent a lot of the families the adults there children there it won't ever be it can't be their permanent home they have got to move on so no matter how comfortable they feel there be weird having this constant feeling probably of the fact that you have got to move on at some point then you have got to make another place feel like home" (Cassie, L. 551-559)

❖ "Well they keep to time well they love knowing what the time is they always go time time what does the clock say I don't really know why but they do love the time is err, and they all seems to be quite good at time keeping mostly I don't think I've let one person in late so far. I think yes like when I went round the containers with [Maddy] like there are a few people had missed the bus one had turned up fifteen minutes late and stuff like that." (Cassie, L. 563-567)

❖ "Well time is a weird thing in these camps…. It's it's something that I don't know if they …. or how they deal with it seems like every day is kind of the same and it's just monotonous and really difficult to stay hopeful ….. err so the way they deal with that …. Temporary …. Is quite interesting now always be looking for different things to do ….. skills. Speak to people about ….. difficulties err but I think once you get into the cycle of just like every day is the same then the idea of it being a temporary place is quite difficult because time moves very slowly …. If you are constantly kind of trying to meet new people learn new thing, experience different cultures err even this going to the city explore erm I feel like you can kind of make a bad situation and make it still like err chapter in your life" (Ben, L. 86-94)

- "Especially at the beginning so the ones that typically the ones that are more extroverted, the ones that kind of err, have more social interactive more like spend all the time outside" (Ben, L. 273-275)
- "then sometimes I do have the lessons in my lunch break I probably smoke cigarette with about five of them just relaxing" (Ben L, 281-282)
- "that people really like being around people and just sharing stuff and ..offer you some tea water or whatever sometimes when I sit in silence for ten minutes and someone and just drinking tea and make stupid faces at their kid something like that, it doesn't have to be back and forth conversation all the time." (Ben L, 309-312)
- "maybe their children are friends or they have to drop their kids off at the same time and they kind of have a chat then English gives them a means of talking it gives them a way to talk" (Ben L, 715-717)
- "Like I am able to say 'Oh I want to spend time with you and I can spend time with you. I would love to come to our house and meet your son." (Emma L. 105-106)
- "The nicest time is early in the morning in summer. And is really nice because it's cool" (Emma, L. 421)
- "and it's very quiet and the dogs are kind of, it seems like it's their time of day. Err, the other really nice time is during the summer in the evenings when everybody is outside the ground is dry. The kids are playing err, there is lots of food. There are lots of barbecues." (Emma, L. 423-426)
- "I think it demolishes hope. Sometimes I think that by the time that people have got their passports it's almost like the damage is done. And it stunts people. Like in some ways it stunts and in some ways it helps them grow. Like you know there are, [xxx] is a much more worldly person for being here." (Emma L. 631-636)
- "Lovely you know that market probably before the refugees were here would have closed 11.00am you know cos the Greeks go early in the morning probably would have closed at 11.00 am and now like a fleet of refugees I would say at least fifty percent of the camp go there every Saturday morning." (Emma, L. 561-564)
- "I would not say that that balances the you know obviously the benefits that came with that are greatly outweighed by the trauma of living in limbo". (Emma, L. 651-653)
- "One of them especially he like he drove my entire project he was just so … yes like so giving you know like he just didn't mind giving up his time to help me at all." (Gabriella L. 34-35)
- "They go to Greek school really early in the morning, but then like seven or something crazy err, but then before they have only been going to school for like the last few months or so. Err and before they just run around the camp. We just see if you go to [Minoan camp] they are just out running round the camp. They were all go, always come to [Young Explorers] early. We always have to say doesn't start for another hour and a half its not even like ten minutes early we tell them because obviously my whole life has been governed by time. We say like you come at quarter to six in half an hour they are like Teacher Teacher what's the time because they have most of them have phones but they just I don't know. Something strange things they just aren't aware of the time as much as" (Gabriella L. 260-268)
- "when I was younger we would like camping we would wake up in when the sun and go to sleep when the sun. And the kids in the summer they would always come to [Young Explorers] and now it's a bit later it is later anyway the timing is later but its also dark so the parents so the parents do not want their kids to go to [Young Explorer]. So maybe they are more governed by the sun as well I don't know I just don't know" (Gabriella L. 273-277)

- ❖ "So kids playing outside at night-time just because we finish at quarter to nine. So its quite late for especially we have like our lower limit is eight years old but most of the ones like ….. their ID cards don't match their age. So they could be like you know kind of five to eight really. As long as it says eight on their cards so yes. So just thinking of a five year old wandering round camp trying to get home at night. Some of the parents do come and pick them up obviously if they care they will so they do so yes." (Gabriella L. 287-292)
- ❖ "So I went in and they wanted me to sit down and have tea, I went in I had a really like time pressure because I needed to do classes soon […] so I went in and I was really stressed for time" (Gabriella L. 434-438)
- ❖ "we call open working time and during this time our eleven working areas from traditional woodwork over metal work up to really advanced technology in our media […] 3-D printing laser cutting is just open and available for people…. So the motivations for people coming during the open working time are really diverse they are people who only show up once with a very specific problem and once they solve this problem they might not necessarily come back again any point soon. And then there are people who come for a specific […] or activities and there are people who come every day because they enjoy the space and it gives them a feeling of belonging of identity of community….the workshop time as we call it. We have noticed during November and December last that most of the people who had been working with us or as members of our target group had been with us for already twelve eighteen months, some for even longer and there was this general or very natural cycle that we observed that came to a close because after twelve to eighteen moths you kind of made use of all the workshops that are relevant for you you have built everything that you need to improve your living conditions you have fixed everything that was broken for the moment." (Hanna L. 221-241)
- ❖ "you actually want to move on somehow but the problem is the process is the legal process take incredibly long so people are stuck in camps for years and years most of them don't find work because finding work in Greece is really difficult due to the economic situation so being stuck and not having the option to move on with their lives led to the fact that most of the people who have been with us for a long time wanted to invest in education they wanted to make sure that it was not a lost time they could learn skills also maybe the work that they had been doing with us had improved" (Hanna, L. 241-247)
- ❖ "you also have this cycle that imagine twelve to eighteen months that people realise nothing is moving I have been here for such a long time people arrive here they have the feeling well I got off the islands or I was allocated a space in the camp this is the moment my new life begins and then they look back twelve years twelve months later a child has been born they have lost somebody everybody is a year older and nothing has changed at all and these are things that lie really heavy on people's minds" (Hannah, L. 634-640)
- ❖ "I think time is an incredibly big factor probably bigger than I can tell when the first group of people was moved into the camp in March 2016 they recreated […] there is a tower with a clock in the top. And they created this […] [Busy Bee] told you about. So they recreated it they built this clock tower and they wrote a sign at the bottom and this sign said time stopped when we entered camp" (Hannah, L. 656-660)
- ❖ "I'm sure people from the very beginning were aware of the fact that their life was suddenly on hold and that they were stuck in a limbo in which every day looks the same and I actually believe that this is torture. If you if you are at the same time in the huge uncertainty what is going to happen with your life and you have no news and every day

is the same its incredibly hard to not actually see your mental health decreasing" (Hannah L. 664-668)

❖ "That […] situation without knowing what is going to happen tomorrow you can't deal with you can't start healing so time is one of the biggest things like in every in […] I hear ever speech I say like like we as Europe are creating a lost generation here we are losing item while people are losing hope. And with the time we allow to go by we provoke families to break apart to fall apart we we are preventing families from being together because the process takes so long the child grows up without the mother in another European country. We are not allowing people to access education. We are not including them in the labour market so the time is really is one of the most crucial factors and the longer Europe continues to close their eyes or look away or pretend this is is limited or a short period. The less we can do justice to the fact that this is a long term phenomenon we need immediate dignified responses. I really believe that time is incredibly important, is crucial." (Hannah, L. 669-679)

❖ "this brings a completely different feeling about the time spent in camp because it is for now everything people know will happen to them there is not this is not a transition there is no future awaiting them in another European country so also this is something we had to understand like we had to understand you know like in the very beginning it was emergency response so our focus was fully on the camp but also nobody wanted to set up a life in Greece so we didn't really speak about integration but then suddenly we had to realise integration has to be one of our biggest focusses now" (Hannah, L. 701-707)

❖ "Are we really still doing what we said we would do and I can tell you honestly after three and a half years it's very easy to become blind to your own flaws or to get stuck in a routine just because it's the easiest way to go about something. But it might not actually what is needed anymore" (Hannah, L. 444-447)

❖ "you can see how people during their first couple of days and some take longer some take weeks really move in the space as observers some of them might not move at all they might be sitting there with a cup of tea just looking and it took us a while to understand that this is just what is needed after a period of your life in which you have been stuck in a camp" (Hannah L. 591-594)

❖ "I mean like after three years in in the country you should be supposed to speak to people like I feel very ashamed because after five months in Greece I just know I don't even know how to introduce themselves myself I don't know like very easy word that's usually you you learn when you are in a new country like to survive like body parts or foods or like how to say house or car I have no idea" (Isabella, L. 226-231)

❖ "concept of time so like if you tell somebody you need to be in time you need to come here at three, they would come later like they wouldn't respect it that I mean that that time I know" (Isabella L. 880-882)

❖ "so they would always be late for the for the kids was a bit difficult at the beginning I would say especially for the new kids because we we told them you need to have a clock or a watch and you need to pay attention to to to them because at four at 4:45 when it was you need to be here you need to be outside the class and you need to queue up to lineup so and you just said 15 minutes so that before giving them exact times and for them sometimes was was a bit difficult to to understand" (Isabella, L. 884-888)

❖ "I think that time is uh it is like being punctual is not a big deal […] because like if things have to be done they might be done during that day […] I think it's more than a mindset so like 'if God wants' so like we we do not have pressure so like if God wants it will be done and we'll get it done so it doesn't matter like if we have an appointment

or if if we have a exact time so that that's it, this is more or less the the approach" (Isabella L. 893-897)

- ❖ "I would tell them what time to come to class and give them a copy of the err, timetable in their language. Err, and then I would go onto the next house and and ask somebody new err, it always entailed many people approaching me and saying when do I come to class. And I say not today. Or you are on the list or you need to do a placement test come Monday twelve o' clock or something like this" (Isla, L. 67-71)

- ❖ "I think a lot of it is you can tell that they are so lonely they are so bored especially like the mothers who spend all their time in the containers" (Isla. L. 104-105)

- ❖ "I guess it's only one family its generally quite a big family but they have manage they have been able to make the space their own if they have been there for a long time they tend to have done some maybe building work around the container, they have built significant structures around maybe some extensions maybe a seating area outside a private area something like this" (Isla, L. 177-180)

- ❖ "I think a lot of it is the people who have built stuff are people who have been there for longer time, people who have been there for maybe two years maybe even three years like from what I can tell from talking people its people who have been there for a least longer than a year like the brand new people haven't done that yet they are just in their container" (Isla L. 202-205)

- ❖ "the problem is if they tested a long time ago and they have only just made it to the top of the waiting list their numbers might be different they might not their numbers might not work. They might not have paid their their credits so they can't answer phone calls they are just using it for internet maybe Wi-Fi. So they so sometimes you can go through and make four of five phone calls and not get a single person answer the phone." (Isla, L. 354-359)

- ❖ "So community centre outreach is completely different it would mean I would go sit in the community centre and I would make phone calls to people who are who are the waiting list at the top of the waiting list" (Isla, L. 343-345)

- ❖ "It ends up being you can't necessarily go through the waiting lists systematically" (Isla, L. 360)

- ❖ "I mean being inviting in for tea or something […] has always been my favourite just because it's just such a better way to get to know somebody like just to spend time with them even if you can't communicate very well" (Julia, L. 183-186)

- ❖ "These kids need stability…. (P): like three months is such a short period of time. You just kind of go in, like be with them and just like leave their lives forever" (Julia L. 735-737)

- ❖ "I think like time's like just such an interesting thing in the camps cause it's just like what brings about that place of limbo at least that […] limbo that they feel umm case I feel like whether it be like culture shock or just feeling the lack of being able to have their culture and […] when you were just kind of in that limbo again cause when you have it being stuck in a refugee camp." (Julia L. 1665-1668)

- ❖ "like you could see the effects on time in the fact that they were, or you know the little kids or students were staying up to like 3, 4 in the morning or whatever and just like now even like I'll just like following that on social media and seeing like posts or stories in like 6am in like Greek time and like really early I don't think. Like why were you up to 6 am" (Julia L. 1671-1675)

- "like the lack of schedule or routine…when all they had was English class in [Minoan camp] like that was the only routine they had in the day was an hour of sitting in the chair or an hour of playing in the dusty field" (Julia, L. 1677-1679)
- "I kind of started to see as soon as quarantine kind of started coming about and I first thought of the camps" (Julia L. 1681-1682)
- "what a lot of people experience everyday you're stuck in a small room not really we live in a massive house but you know it's not a container 4 by 4" (Julia, L. 1724-1726)
- "going back to time, like I feel like I've started to see like you know people well you know mixing up the days and like not knowing what time it is and like staying up late and stuff and like especially people who are working early or in school and their schedule like shifted and stuff and I was like that's what the refugees are dealing with every single day" (Julia L. 1740-1744)
- "not having any routine or sense of like purpose of time you know it just like all of that" (Julia L. 1746-1747)
- "cus it's exactly that limbo like how can you belong to somewhere that you're not staying or you know all these unknowns" (Julia L. 782-783)
- "they're experiences was just completely you know like they left home and once again in limbo so I feel like it was probably like cognition of that like limboness. And sadness" (Julia, L. 1659-1661)
- "like can you imagine like if you were in this kind of confusion state, once again limbo" (Julia L. 1737-1738)
- "people don't get to choose to be here they're just stuck" (Julia L. 756-757)
- "They're more permanent. Those kids stay there for longer and they really feel it as their home and also you can see it with their relationship they have with each other. They have created friendships and enemies, to be honest, like they have created like it really looks like the vibe of a school, like primary school where you grow up with these kids and you get along with them really well and you don't get along with others (Kalia L. 105-110)
- "In [Dorian camp] [the supermarket] is close, there are buses, you can also walk to the center in 25 minutes, I guess. it's not something too big in a matter of time. In [Minoan camp] it's like, it's a proper refugee hot spot. [Dorian camp] doesn't feel like a refugee hot spot." (Kalia L. 152-154)
- "I know a lot of people that they are here for a long time and I think from time to time they are getting more and more integrated" (Kalia L. 329-330)
- "overall I don't think that there is also enough time for the Busy Bee staff to integrate them into the Greek community" (Kalia L. 349-350)
- "There is a lot of volunteers in Busy Bee especially for English classes that are staying here for a long time so I think the students and the teachers they are getting very attached with each other and like after one point they kind of become friends" (Kalia L. 358-360)
- "Used to get there hour earlier so start preparing you do some …. Teacher what time is class teacher what …. like they don't have any sense of time realise that or like teacher …… So yes they are already there book bags, the kids that two hours" (Kathy L. 180-182)
- That is … where I think about the [Young Explorers] that is where I'm at like every day I don't have time to feel ….every day is [Young Explorers]. (Kathy L. 391-393)

- "talking to people that have just come or even just been here for 6 months which is a long time and yet it's not and they sound hopeful and then you talk to people who have been here for so much longer and it's just soul destroying." (Maddy L. 767-769)

- "I think it's more more boundaries than doors. Like, I would never want. Like the kids know the rules and like every time somebody comes late, I like you're not allowed into his classroom into this space and let them know the next time come, cus I don't want them, like this time you're late but next time come back because sometimes you kick a kid out and they never come back and I'm like should I have made it clear that they were allowed to come back to [Young Explorers] just because I kicked them out" (Maddy L. 836-841)

- "I'll be teaching my class and I'll be thinking about that hangar door throughout my whole lesson like oh what if someone's come in late and we've locked them out and they can't come into English. So many times, a kid has come too late and be like I was banging for 10 minutes but because the rule is the rule and even if they were at the hangar door before the 15-minute time period they still can't come into [Young Explorers], and I've got to be like next time you've got to be on time or the door will be locked like, it's difficult" (Maddy L. 851-857)

- "And the kids associate with seeing me with having [Young Explorers]. So, I walk around the camp and if they see me on a day that's not [Young Explorers], they don't know, they say oh todays [Young Explorers] today are [Young Explorers] and I'm like no not today just cus I'm here. It's almost like they don't have a concept of time and they associate time with seeing the people as opposed to oh [Young Explorers] are on a Tuesday and a Wednesday, or Tuesday and Thursday, Monday Wednesday." (Maddy L 882-886)

- "also kind of things like going to the beach. They'll presume the beach is, they have been to the beach in the past, but they'll presume that the beach is something that you go to all the time. They don't have the concept oh you go to the beach in the summer and the summer is a few months away. Or like oh I'm staying for a year and a half; they'll be like oh we will have a new teacher soon like no a year and a half not soon like. Long time." (Maddy L. 928-932)

- "Refugees time it's a complete different. It's a completely different thing." (Maddy, 935)

- "yeah, it's like limbo. Like their time is their experiences so like, they associate time with an experience more than actual concept oh ah yeah that time. "(Maddy, L. 937-938)

- "It's just we have so many rules about like fairness with them so obviously you come late after 15 minutes you're not allowed in, and before I was like oh, I don't really see how that has, surely if its one-minute past I can let this kid in, but from being in the camps and seeing the way the people from different nationalities interact I can see now why we have to do this" (Maddy, L.92-95)

- "This is one and a half year ago, something like this so there was this guy, [xxx], who was one of our students of English. He had a like lets say some light drugs related issues. And often times he wouldn't wake up, or he would enter the class. He was once in which he entered the class, like a 4:30, say the class started at 4. And the teacher was [xxx], and told him, look leave you cannot enter now, not in a mean way… in a strict way" (Marco L. 1329-13835)

- ❖ "that I get offered to go for tea thousands of times and the vast majority of the times I say no, otherwise I wouldn't not have time in my day for do anything, anything else, or or even even then I would not be" (Marco. L. 1430-1432)
- ❖ "but the vast majority of the people that are here didn't want to come in Greece in the first place and so the the role that time has is time until they realize that they cannot go or they find a creative way to go that can be legal that can be you know like and then just be trying trying your luck so there are all these things that are quite important and often they are nonverbal you know like like what do we have a quite a privileged viewpoint because we've taught English and Greek so a lot of people would come to English class so you know I don't want to learn Greek, and then after a few months, they would say you know what I'll I'll I'll go to Greek or they wouldn't say but they would subscribe after but that means it clearly is a realization that the trip is over" (Marco L. 1611-1619)
- ❖ "with the eviction what what's gonna what what's happening is that people were hoping to get residency the soonest the better, now they see time as time until they're left sentence comes" (Marco L. 1624-1627)
- ❖ "And you know it was clearly Greece was unprepared for that influx but also wasn't prepared by the fact that they were borders closed. So people were stuck" (Marco L. 88-90)
- ❖ "because like in [Minoan camp] a lot of people are outside all the time, but if you walk around [Dorian camp] at least winter this time of the year you never see people so I don't know" (Niamh L. 165-167)
- ❖ "I think it was challenging because I don't know if they had a teacher before. They didn't have a teacher for a long time, like about two months" (Niamh L. 203-204)
- ❖ "okay so we run on a very strict time schedule". (Niamh. L. 216)
- ❖ "our classes start at a certain time. Like for A1 it's at 5:15 and then for A0 it's at 6:30 and the students have like a 5-minute grace period where they can come to class and not be considered late. But then after that 5-minute period they are late up until the end of the 15-minute period. In the A1 class, 5:15 to 5:20 they are fine, from 5:20 to 5:30 they are considered late but they can still come to class. They can only come late once a week. And after 5:30 they can't come to class and they are not supposed to open the door. So, there is a big thing doors not being opened which has been like an ongoing thing for us to try to instil but I don't know if you noticed but there are notices on the outside that say you cannot open the door. Umm... and why we do this is to be 100 percent fair with all students and so they know the rules, they are aware of the rules and you now we are not treating any one student differently than another student" (Niamh L. 219-228)
- ❖ "it's like a huge juxtaposition because, this was the hardest thing I think for us about getting students to come to class on time because there is no sense of time in the camp. Like you go in and days warp together, time warps together people sometimes don't know what day of the week it is. Which I don't either sometimes (laughs). Like when you're working 5 or 6 days a week, 6 or 7 days a week they all blend together but yeah there is really what I've seen no sense of time." (Niamh L. 237-241)
- ❖ "it's because they have like I don't want to say nothing to do, but they see it as having nothing to do so to them […] Every time I say it, they go it all the same to us. Every day of the week is the same there is nothing special about one particular day of the week

and I think that relates to time as in they, they usually don't have somewhere where they need to be at a <mark>certain time so time kind of runs together</mark>" (Niamh, L. 243-248)

- <mark>"the hardest thing for my students is that they think they don't have anything to do, I think there are things that they could be doing, but for them it's all waiting and they all see this waiting</mark>….like a lot of them are waiting to get their passports to go…for example I know two students in [Dorian camp] and for, I mean since I've been here in November, they've been waiting for like 6 months for their passports and Friday is the day every week they find out if they get it. And every Friday they are so disappointed because they don't get it. They feel like their entire lives depend on getting first asylum and then getting the passports and them being free. And so, it all it all just feels like they are waiting." (Niamh L. 263-271)

- "a lot of them act like a really nice community of young 20 afghani friends and they always tell me like I've been in Greece for 2 years and it's all the same and nothing <mark>happened and I'm so sick of waiting and talking about waiting and having nothing to do</mark>." (Niamh L. 271-274)

- <mark style="background:magenta">"one of our rules is you cannot open the door once the class has started. And why that is is because in the past people would just like barge in and kinda take over the class talking about something or asking the teacher a question and for me at least, we want our student to have that hour of 75 minutes for them and their learning and even if they don't really want to learn o they are not, there is not lot of language accusation going on, but just having that time for themselves away from the family and children, parents of whoever</mark>" (Niamh, L. 659-664)

- <mark>"like what we were talking about about time and people not having anything to do I think it gives them a sense of purpose to like build something or to go to class to learn</mark> something and then to have that, that space as well like just outside of the camp" (Niamh, L. 756-759)

- "he made a point to me saying Syria we have this nice home, bigger home and made a point to say it was bigger and it had rooms and it had a nice life and now look at where we are, and we can't go and they're waiting, there asylum been approved and their residence but they are waiting on their passports" (Niamh, L. 1072-1074)

- <mark style="background:magenta">"And like if I'm late to class, which I never think that's ever happened but if I open the door to be like you can't open the door. The students will be like teacher you broke the rule"</mark> (Niamh, L. 1206-1208)

- "throughout 2017, they were slowly being moved to Athens, cause that was the next step, and then from Athens you get sent to your, the country that accepted you. there were a few people who were unlucky in their timeline, their interview was late, their timing to Athens was complicated by some other procedure, who were in a hotel that then evacuated or evicted because of, I don't know, financial reasons, and then they tried to put them back to the camp in [xxx]. But there was a lot of like protests and like no you cannot do this; you cannot move people from a hotel back into a camp. A container camps. So that never actually happened in the end if I remember correctly , but the majority of the people had moved on. Or it was, the people who stayed are the Afghans, they were put into a hotel." (Nora L. 321-330)

- "So we invested a lot of time in this, you know, we helped them make a schedule, we put a team together, like it was really, I was awesome, it was an awesome project. It kicked off in march kids were going to the classes. There was a full programme of

activities, they had science they had math's they had English they had mother tongue, they had arts and crafts." (Nora L, 329-363)

❖ "there the other day, I was like in in the market and I was going to the to get catch the free bus to catch the free bus to [Minoan camp] and I bumped into somebody I can't remember who it was [xxx] one of our students and I'm like to him, oh what time does the bus leave? He's like, oh, there's one at 12 and one at 2, I was like oh 2, and he's like, yeah, but maybe the one at 12 was late. So, it was like 12:15. He's, like, should just go up there." (Nora L. 538-588)

❖ "There are restrictions, there are things they're there for people safety, which are just totally like. dehumanising in some way like you know, there are times you can't enter. Why? Oh, because your name isn't on some list. What list? Like, I've been coming from last two years. What list are you now reading? What list did you create? And it's just this mismanagement, miscommunication, misunderstanding that happen between this organisation and the security and the ministry, and no one knows anything" (Nora L. 986-992)

❖ "All the everything that ever that people say in these organizations just doesn't end up happening and so it's like as if they're always having these meetings to me are like a waste of my time and also like energy, because we're going to go there, we're going to present what we do, we're going to offer our recommendations, we're going to find the workshops, we will speak to the community, will get everything in place and then it will fall through because they didn't send their translators or because they decided last minute scrap it, like they always do, not even thinking" (Nora L. 1078-1085)

❖ "There is that the only way we can demonstrate that we're not, we don't use favouritism. Otherwise, people come into a class full of Arabs and they think, oh well, the Arabs have everything and we don't have anything. But no, the Arabs have this because they were here earlier, but they will, if they lose their place. You get a spot. It's not saved for the people who came here first. Just like when you get a thought. If you don't follow the rules, you lose that somehow comes in like it's not. It's, you know, it took a long time to reinforce this because we didn't have a support system" (Nora L. 1190-1196)

❖ "This is the waiting list and you want me to push up this person because they are slightly more vulnerable like. Either either we change the system, we say the most vulnerable, including first. Or are we? Sticking to the rules? And how do we decide who is more vulnerable? and they did it all the time. So, you didn't have, you know, you don't have a system there that. Yeah, it's just all over the place." (Nora L. 1201-1205)

❖ "like you said, after you move from emergency to protracted or integration, the needs that come more like long term. So, in the beginning, yes, having an hour of English chit chat is nice because it gets people out of their tent. Then as time passes and they stop also expressing their frustrations, you realize, Okay. They need to move forward in this limbo and if that means them learning a language that they can access opportunities and so be it, let's now change our program to reflect that" (Nora L. 2339-2343)

❖ "in 2016 it was really easy in the sense that, OK, people were really pissed because they were just dropped off in this camp. [...] became the border like they were in limbo. Like, they didn't understand what was happening. So that made everything a lot worse, you know. And so, when we got there, we could explain. I mean, not just me, but in general. When they had access to information, to understand and look, these are this is how this works and this is why you're here. Even though they weren't happy about it,

you could at least tell them with ==some level of certainty that they will leave Greece and they will leave this camp== and they will not stay here because we knew they were the people that arrived at March 19th. They were the last to have access to the relocation scheme and all the Syrians or Afghan, well no Afghans, all the Syrians and the Kurds. All the people coming from like refugee producing countries as Europe calls them, where we're going to be taking care of. The Afghans unfortunately would not be able to leave but they would get asylum. And this is before we knew what asylum really meant in Greece. So, you know, you could tell people that you will be alright like just. Just bear with this shit for. Hopefully not too long. Unfortunately, there were all in camps were like between six, and nine and ten months. And this is intense." (Nora L. 2424-2438).

❖ "Like for us, time went by like crazy, like from minute to minute. Something happened. Like literally every minute. I've never felt time so intensely as I did in that camp. And at the same time, it flew by. So, your nine to nine, your 12-hour shift in there was suddenly over. But in the day there was like 1000 things that happened." (Nora L. 2439-2443)

❖ "==It was an experience of time than for refugees. For them, it seemed like it was, you know, there was this like, they built this monument to this like clock tower In [Minoan camp] that was a replica of the homes club tower. And on it they had, like, the time was stuck on or like positioned at the hour when they arrived in that camp. And then they had to sign that said, you know. On this day of this time, time stood still or like life stood still or something and it was really symbolic because for them they had.==" (Nora L. 2443-2448)

❖ "You treating the time as in different ways. There was people who some people didn't come out of their tent for months, like months. There was kids whose parents I had never seen. Like, I didn't. I thought half of them didn't have parents there. And then as as things started, like, you know, also there's nothing for them to come out of the tents for. So, it was obvious, you know, when humanitarian emergencies in humanitarian response, it's always like, basic needs are met first, so shelter, food, like a health. OK, but those three things. Cannot exist alone like. Once those three things are met, even partially, people need something else. Education always has to come in parallel and or it […] sort of activities that get people like their minds off of the shit that they're in because being fed and being housed doesn't take you out of your own head, you know. And so, creating activities, creating opportunities for people to engage. Giving them a reason to come out of their tents was kind of are, you know, […] volunteers mission in a way" (Nora L. 2448-2459)

❖ "the beginning it was just a matter of getting people out of their tents. For an hour and then you said OK, let's make classes fun. Let's make them want to be here. Let's make it engaging. Let's make them like us, so that they want to spend that time with us. And so, this also, you know, took time" (Nora L. 2459-2462)

❖ "There's a bunch of teachers in this in this camp. Why don't we start a school? Because your kids are are missing education. They've been out of school for X amount of years. They're not gonna go to school in Greece because you don't have any papers. It's obvious that nothing's gonna be done quickly. They're wasting like their development is is being like obstacle by all of this. So now that we know that you guys are all teachers and you're interested in doing something, why don't we build a school? And then there

was uproar built, build a school? So, we're staying here forever? Is this what you mean? We don't want a school and I'm like guys like, you're not staying here forever. But you are here for a while and you're here right now. And the kids are outside throwing rocks at each other. And like cause, you know, rolling around in shit. Why not have a school where you can teach them and they have something to do with the day? And this was like, you know, it's like reasonable people. They were like, no, this this just means this means permanent." (Nora L. 2466-2477)

- ❖ "We started a school I left in like mid-May and then for a month at school didn't start because people were like, no, no, we're not having a school. This is not a place where we live. This is not where our children will go to school. And you're like, OK, fine. So, you don't wanna school, then no school. And then after, like a month and a half or two like all obvious like me, these kids were going wild like wild. It was like somebody said something at Giovanni tells the story better cause he was there that month. But then the community came together and we're like guys, we need a school. Like these, kids need something. And so, then the community came out and said OK, we need a school and so then it evolved from there. But you know, it's like people really refused to accept. And then I kept going back and forth in terms of acceptance of their situation. And it was really. Umm an ongoing discussion like and it was from day to day. It's different. You know, some days you will be really like, yeah, we have all this time we might as well use it productively. And then the next day, they'll be, like […] It was, it was interesting, but it was what I always tried to tell them was like you will not regret using this time to learn English. Like you will not. This will not be a regret ever. Like trust me. And so then later it was nice to see like months later, like even years later when people like I asked them like oh, what are you up to? How sweet. And they're like Oh yeah, I got a job and you know it was really easy because I could speak English and everyone here speaks English. See, I told you, so I tried to use these as incentives for, the thing is now" (Nora L. 2478-2496)

- ❖ "they don't want to accept it, that they're here now for, for their asylum there asylum claim is for Greece. They will get it, they might leave and try and get it somewhere else, like they're always trying to. They're almost wasting time. But I can't. I can't judge if it's wasting time or not because it's true. Also, you spend two years here, you finally get your asylum and then you have no Social Security, on your own like now, there's people like there's families like with no cash assistance, they're they're digging around in bins, you know, like [xxx] sees them like, it's. There is, it's really hard for me to tell it to stay here because, would I? like under what conditions. Like there's no opportunity to build a dignified life." (Nora L. 2498-2505)

- ❖ "Everyone I think treats time here as something that's temporary, now that's like this limbo they're in while they're waiting, just waiting, waiting, waiting and then something will happen afterwards. But it's. Again, is this dream like this utopia that comes afterwards? Or maybe it's not even utopia anymore. I think now it's more like. We have to, like we have, we have to find something else somewhere else because there's no jobs here. There's no jobs for Greeks like they understand the situation better. So. It's an ongoing it's a really tough conversation to have when they bring that up. Like I, I never know what to say. I'm just like. Yeah, go like probably would go to like I just good luck and be smart and. Use this time to learn English if you're gonna go like." (Nora L, 2506-2513)

- "they know that the system is rigged towards the loud and crazy, the more louder and crazier you are. The more you'll be heard and the faster you'll advance through this through this limbo that you're in." (Nora L. 2409-2411)
- "Community I believe, I don't know, it is, you know when we live in the same place, a place where you share time, experience, knowledge, food" (Tommaso L. 150-151)
- "like English class is a space where they feel empowered, they feel happy. Everybody saying that they are really happy. It's like a moment outside of time do something different." (Tommaso L. 249-251)
- "so in the morning sometimes it's really gloomy, really sad…On the other hand, in the afternoon when it finish especially or during break, especially in sunny days is very lively. You know, you have kids playing around and all the time you have people chatting, people waiting for the bus, a complete different picture" (Tommasso L. 272-279)
- "We have to say that refugees like [xxx] and [xxx], are very few so they […] what they have now is time so they have to use this time to be productive, they have to be patient to wait for ID's, wait for passport, and do something with the time they have. Use the time to learn the language, get a degree, get certificate, and I keep telling my student that "Guys, you have time, use this time to do something for yourselves" (Tommasso, L. 411-415)
- "They see it as, I don't know, because […] really long, I don't know, I wake up on Monday, and for me it's already Friday" (Tommasso L. 418-419)
- "say "what the heck" we had a recent meeting an hours ago and now is already Friday. For them a day is like probably a week. But is also their fault." (Tomasso L. 421-422)
- "students that are on the waiting list that come everyday asking, "hey teacher, where am I on the waiting list?" and I say "wait be patient". "three months, teacher". "four months teacher" "six months teacher", "I know guys but it's a very long waiting list and there is only one teacher. Unless you want me to die?" and so they would be "no teacher" (Tomasso L. 109-112)
- "Once in the past, you know, camps were created to, it's more like a temporary place, now is a 2 years, 3 years, place so basically there are children who are born, a generation. So if you have to stay in a camp for 6 months, you might be patient and say "ok. I'll wait and get my ID's" then then I can get to Germany but if you have to wait 2 years, 3 years, honestly, [Minoan camp], there is not much to do. Apart from English classes. So after a while people get mad, they are being abused they are rejected one time, they are rejected a 2nd time, they get scared they can be deported back to Afghanistan or back to Syria, so they go." (Tomasso L. 206-212).
- Then we have for grownups time around fun, around English class and workshops, switch yes that´s a good word. One time in English another time another class. Then we have 4 hours one hour per team. So it´s full time, we don´t have time for rest. Like a five minutes break. Because from the first hour to the last group all time is so intense (Ricardo L. 281-285).
- There isn't right or regular roles. You wake up late, for tea, maybe you eat something, you can eat more times in a day maybe you eat not in the right rules and go to sleep late 3 or 4 am is not good rules. Of course children is other things but they also sometimes go to sleep so late. You are tired but of course you need to wake up at 7 to go to school you start with right regular rules. But the adults don't have that rules. They don't go to

university or they don't have access or maybe they don't find a way and in the end you spend time or less (Ricardo, L. 600-605).

- ❖ I don't spoke about that. But in the end if you look one person in the face of one person from two years ago to now and is still more sad, a bit more sad, like in the beginning he don't feel like that, hope … start a second time in the beginning of 2017, they are from that time… but in the same time you can see this piece of sadness in his face… Because he stops, his life is stop (Ricardo, L. 586-594).
- ❖ Well, nothing would get done. Like, I need to send this budget at 12, we miss our deadline and If I don't we don't meet our budget. We have to make a decision at 10 today, everyone has to be on time, we have one hour to discuss it, if you come at 9:40 we have 10 minutes to discuss it. So the decision will be less good (Flavio L. 228-231).

Taxonomy Chart 3 - 'Home'

Home

Physical

Fire hazard | **Metal**
Small | Shelter
Cabin | **Connex**

Geographic

Rural | *Urban*

Social

No privacy | *Family unit*

Able to engage in hospitality practices

Not related

Tension for gender norms

Living/sharing with multiple families

Emotional

Feel like human | *Feel safe*

Temporal dimensions

Past | Present | Future

Remembered past

Liminality

Homeland is dangerous

Return to homeland

Metaphorical

Rubbish bin | **Chicken coop**
Prison | Coffin
Ice box | **Tent**
Station | **Caravan**

Imagined future

Remembered future

Return to homeland

Stay in Greece

Go to other (EU) countries

Reclaiming of (professional) identity

Family

Reunited with family

Better future for kids

Normal text: Researcher's analytical term (derived from interviews)

Bold text: Verbatim (from interviews)

Underlined: current personal living in spaces in camps

Underlined Italics: ideal of home

Appendix 22

Domain Analysis 7 – Actions/Activities at 'Home'

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Location for Action/Activity

<u>Form:</u> X is a place for doing Y

Cover Term (X) 'Home'

Semantic Relationship is a place for doing

Verbatim from participants (Y)
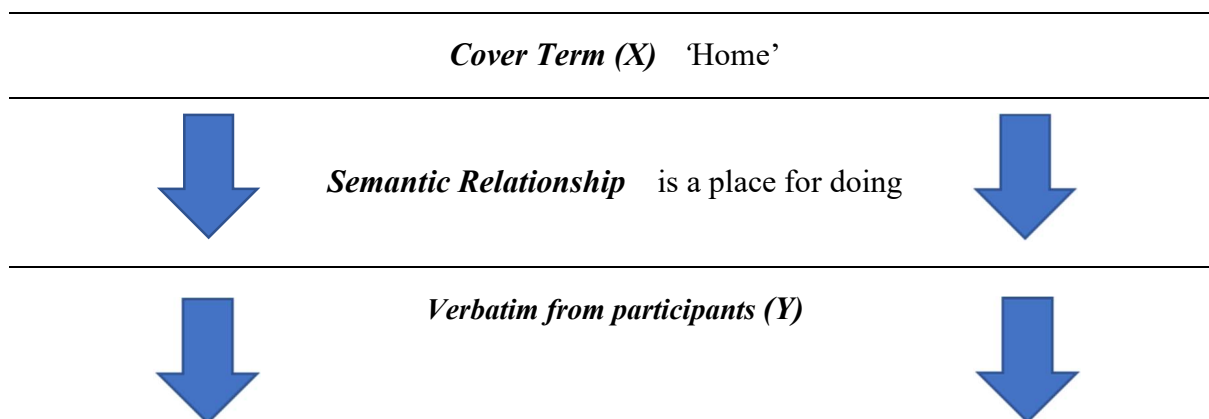
Refugee participants:

- "I am at home, I am mother. I have three children and also, I have normal life in here. Every day I clean home, I take care of my children." (Madeha, L. 31-32)
- "My praying." (Inaya, L. 636-639)
- "the day after he invite me to his home, and one night I go with my son in his home. And he told me that, 'I am going to make a lot of food for you'…So now he is in the friends…Sometimes he come to my cabin and we study the lessons and we drinking coffees and we talk." (Hazim, L. 208-217)
- "I feel this way because it was given to me, and I was sent here, I sleep here, I do everything here in the house, I wash myself here, I get ready here, it's my house…I look after this house, it's my house." (Elodie, L. 67-81)
- "Yes of course when I wake up the morning, I clean the home, I wash the clothes this is like our home." (Madina and Tarik, L. 501-502)
- "they are coming to our home, and maybe drinking tea, maybe lunch, so we are talking and sharing this experience, the way we are come here" (Yusef, L. 110-113)
- "I can call it 'caravana' but I am trying to make it like to home. … Even is like container, caravana, but I am trying to make it like to home…. the house is where you live, with your children. And where you go to the walk and to come back. And I feel comfortable and relax when I have the house…. but I feel something missing. So I feel something like this. So I need home." (Murad, L. 531-549)
- "Because of the culture, because of the culture in Afghanistan we invite our family because we know their husband, their sons and in here we don't know, just say hello." (Salma, L. 336-337)
- "I invite them to 'our home' (chez nous), and we share with them whatever food we have…. we had a ceremony and invited people over." (Arezo and Ayan, L. 242-256)

- "Just when I see my friend, when I go like my house, like other home other her home, she doesn't think about the camp, just she thinking about the friend." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 63-64)
- "We know that that this is not our really home but now we are living in here we have to make it beautiful." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 444-445)
- "She like to other people come to her home, and drink coffee and talk…and she forget." (Titti and Arjin, L. 414-415)
- "it's my home, I do as I like." (Rafik, L. 303)
- Come inside home for drink tea." (Almas and Jawana, L. 61)
- "They invited her to their home, to their connex, and also, she invited her to her home." (Madeha, L. 117)

NGO volunteer participants:

- "Okay err at [xxx] and [xxx] you go in you drink tea. You often say I don't want to eat and then they feed you anyway. Err talk about class. Talk about things that you can't talk about in class. Like with [xxx] it's always like […] have you been to the hospital recently? They sometimes use it as an opportunity to vent about a lack of work. Sometimes people want to like tell you about how not good it is. And sometimes not because I like I will always use it as an opportunity to find out about like their likes […] basic things like where are the rest of the family what job did you do. What is the name of your city? What's it like there. Err just to have more context because often they are just people with no background they you know you see an African person here you have no idea which country they are from. No idea and even when they say Cameroon like oh I know what the situation is in Cameroon. Oh know exactly what is going on there. You know Syria kind of you know have a decent idea but when you know we were having dinner at [xxx] the other day and I didn't realise before that that the were [xxx] and they were there all of the awful things that happened in [xxx] and so I would say I ask I try and find out about them, and these are often things that I mean in class I don't tend to shy away from difficult topics that maybe people but what, so in class it's kind of a 'we', we address the difficult topic and if you don't want to share you don't share. But at home it's much more you know if you have been invited to somebody's container it's often a time when you might learn about a difficult thing that happened. Err and you can pursue it in an way that you pursue it in in an open class environment." (Emma, L. 722-740)
- "but she had it immaculate and then [xxx] and [xxx] was the more I'm not saying possessions but I think they had more resources and behind them to be able to purchase things and and make it more like a once you cross that threshold you're actually in my take pride in my home so we sat with them and played with children and took our time with their doing well their starting Middle Eastern time formalities [xxx] [woman] did all the cooking and then they set-up one of the bedrooms with everything pushed back and forth on the floor and had the massive spread of food add this at around just the four of us and maybe the eldest child and the second child came in and out but it was basically kind of for us for adults and we just ate and chatted […] had a cigarette and came back in and then our boss was coming so that that was cut that off but across the board so they were there. I've been in other people's houses then yeah again the 'sit', the 'your time to have the tea', 'have this' insisting, insisting and very much pride in

'you're now in my space' and you know slapping the kids to get up and get you something" (Fay, L. 2500-2511)

- "she wears the headscarf sometimes at home little less" (Marco, L. 1505)
- "My [Dorian camp] students are always like 'Teacher why would we pay for coffee, like come to my house we will make you coffee'. They don't want to go out for coffee they want to play football." (Niamh, L. 737-739)
- "all the kids like they're never like they don't spend the day at home but the adults kind of do. If you want to talk to an adult, you can just kind of go to container and they will be there." (Rafaella, L. 148-150)

Domain Analysis 8 – Being a Guest

Semantic Relationship: Means-End

Form: X is a way to do Y

Cover Term (Y) being a guest

Semantic Relationship is a way to do

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)
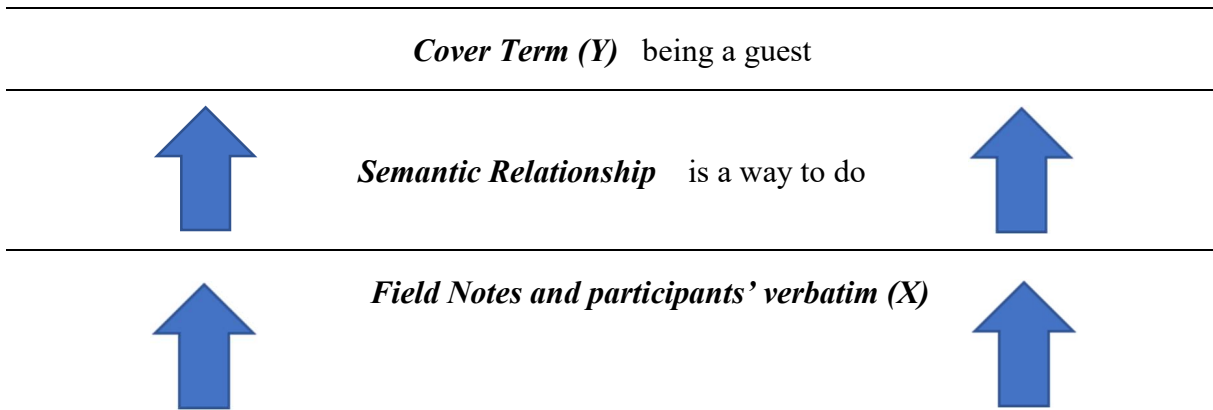
- "As the meal finishes, two of the volunteers offer to take the trays in the kitchen and start washing them up." (FN, 20/10/2019, L. 166-167)
- "Ben takes off his shoes outside the container before he enters. I follow suit." (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 41); "I take off my shoes again outside" (FN, 12/12/2019, L. 76, 91); "We all take off our shoes outside and go in and sit down" (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 58)
- "Compliments start flying around and everyone is really impressed with the food." (FN, 20/10/2019, L. 161)
- "She asked us if we wanted food, and both Ben and I replied, 'No' but we accepted a cup of tea." (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 71-72)
- "At this point, it seemed rude not to eat the food and decline their hospitality so we accepted and began eating." (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 82-83)
- "When we were visibly enjoying our food and told her how delicious everything was" (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 84-85)
- "This feels monumentally disrespectful now as Kadijah was preparing the tea and we would be leaving before drinking it, which feels like a denial of their hospitality; leaving half-way, after eating their food but not finishing the meal with tea, as they wish to offer it, feels even worse than having declined the invitation to stay for food altogether." (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 107-110)
- "I eat all of it because I feel like it would be rude to leave it, and try not to think of the taste and consistency as I swallow." (FN, 12/12/2019. L. 84-85)
- "After half an hour, I can smell the mom making dinner so I start signalling that we should leave to not impose on dinner time, and so that they don't feel obliged to invite us to stay for dinner… And Nesrin is asking us to stay longer, so we stay another 10 mins, and each take some fruit pieces." (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 75-76)
- "So, a guy from Africa, from Congo, he come and he see that I am making a table. He ask me to make a chair for him. So I became agree with him, and after I finish the table, I start making the chair for him. When I finish the chair, so the day after he invite me to his home, and one night I go with my son in his home. And he told me that, 'I am

going to make a lot of food for you'. And also that he make, he cooked chicken for me which was very delicious. So now he is in the friends." (Hazim, L. 208-215)

- "(I): They invited her to their home, to their connex, and also, she invited her to her home." (Madeha, L. 117)

- "Yes, I send them a message on mobile phone. Can you come to me to have some food after you finish their work in [Young Explorers]? They said yes because they wanted her to be happy. So they accept the invitation." (Sanam and Amany, L. 277-279).

- "we were […] we are fine they were super hospitality, err very like they they have a different kind of [….] with more rules maybe that you have say hi in some way and you to take off your shoes and sit and err and its more sharing their way of being […]. We just[…] actually the women they […] not the girl was not speaking because she was too err […] [making us feeling home?] We couldn't [finish our tea?] and we had another one. […] [….] and its very little and you know like […] when we were there I was thinking basically […]they was not much life. And so like err yes at the end I didn't know to say goodbye and I just let you go before. I thought I will see what [Tommasso] is doing and I will just copy it. […] That's what I did. And then they were thinking maybe I'm doing something wrong and I don't know, also I felt comfortable because I think they understand. […]you don't know their culture is something wrong, insulting them. But it's just because you don't know. And you cannot know to make you how to make them feel comfortable. They don't feel offended the just feel uncomfortable if you do something […] in a certain way or you yes, and there is I'm not sure about this but the other day I was thinking about something I see that I […] and I always hide. Because the first thing is I don't want the kids to see me thinking I don't know how they feel about women's smoking so I don't think I am offending them but if I can avoid it." (Beatrice, L. 610-630)

- "like I said as I made the example just sitting in a container with someone it still creates some sort of bond with someone just through exchanging niceties exchanging what you have to offer err, whether that be class or some food tea or game of chess or yes." (Ben L. 328-331)

- "Yes I think because personally they know [...] because I do there so often. Err and like I really don't think they would be offended because I eat all their other stuff" (Ben L. 255-256)

- "you go in you drink tea. You often say I don't want to eat and then they feed you anyway. Err talk about class. Talk about things that you can't talk about in class. Like with [xxx] and [xxx] it's always like how is err [name] not [name] leg. Like have you been to the hospital recently? They sometimes use it as a an opportunity to vent about a lack of work. Sometimes people want to like tell you about how not good it is. And sometimes not because I like I will always use it as an opportunity to find out about like their likes […] basic things like where are the rest of the family what job did you do. What is the name of your city? What's it like there. Err just to have more context because often they are just people with no background they you know you see an African African person here you have no idea which country they are from. No idea and even when they say Cameroon like oh I know what the situation is in Cameroon. Oh know exactly what is going on there. You know Syria kind of you know have a decent idea but when you know we were having dinner at [name] the other day and I didn't realise before that that the were […] and they were there all of the awful things that happened in [name] and so I would say I ask I try and find out about them, and these are often things that I mean in class I don't tend to shy away from difficult topics that maybe

people but what, so in class its kind of a we we address the difficult topic and if you don't want to share you don't share. But at home it's much more you know if you have been invited to somebody's container its often a time when you might learn about a difficult thing that happened. Err and you can pursue it in an way that you pursue it in in an open class environment." (Emma L. 722-741)

- "so one would be a [xxx] would invite me over lunch to come and spend the hour with her which I loved doing but I was always under pressure because I've never really had much time. There was always somebody after class wanted to talk to me she'd been waiting, she'd send her little boy actually which is really cute to collect me and so I'd always be sort of five or 10 minutes behind schedule" (Fay L. 2446-2450)

- "I kind of have a general sense of protocol you know the shoes shoes off and sit down and more than anything anything she just loved the company she loved the anticipation and the company and she hated me having to leave why was I leaving early but I had to and I just had to [...] I couldn't stay because I just I everything would be behind schedule and if I stay to the rhythm that she wanted me to stay which was which was the natural rhythm for her obviously kinda beautiful rhythm but I'm just so she got used to the idea that I would just sort of flit in and I used to say I then said to them no food I'll only come if you don't do food yeah and I just have a coffee and I'll have a biscuit and then I'm gone" (Fay. L. 2463-2473)

- "and we have a little you know on her English you know isn't stronger so we just sort of sort of make it you know as I play with little [xxx] and all that kind of thing and so it was it was meant a huge meant to hurt it was great for me 'cause it just got me out of the warehouse, and I i just sat on on her couch and or on her bed and just great have a coffee yeah great have a biscuit you know so it was hopefully beneficial but culturally worlds apart because I'm just rushing rushing rushing, bye bye, you know troll back the coffee. Eat as many biscuits as I can, and I her pace what would she would have preferred if it was much slower and much more elaborate you know in terms of going through all the motions of the food but anyway we we just found out common or sort of a medium ground and then the the other was going to [xxx] house where we were invited [xxx] and I were invited for dinner" (Fay L. 2475-2486)

- "yeah well I have to actually on many occasions because I have a serious issue with chicken only because not that I'm gonna die from it but I was food poisoned by it so to this day I just physically turns my stomach. so I just thought you know I'm gonna do my culture thing and it'll might clash with your culture thing but both are valid so I would say now [xxx] was generally with me after the meal times and so for the more elaborate meals and I would just say they would hand me chicken I think I I I can't I don't eat chicken or I can't eat chicken something that. I never felt it I felt bad because they'd gone to all the effort and they were generally chicken. but I felt that but there was no way I could eat it so I couldn't pretend to eat it or I couldn't force myself to eat it because you know so I just thought look this is my issue sorry that you got to the trouble and sometimes I would tell them in advance or if you're cooking don't cook me chicken 'cause I don't eat chicken......and I generally made a big deal about enjoying everything else" (Fay L. 2555-2573)

- "I probably knocked on two or three doors in the whole time up people I didn't know for some reason and I wasn't invited you know maybe they might just say come in you know step step off the step you know just and I said no no it's only to ask this and it generally was just something really quickly and quick and needed one answer and if

mine was if people people would always say come in again I think it's a Middle Eastern thing but obviously come in and if I had time I would respond to that if I had time and the inclination to have tea and I wanted a cup of tea and they offered it I'd say yeah OK I'll put down my bag and I'd sit there and but yeah I was aware of that sort of awkwardness you know if there's nothing really to talk about" (Fay L. 2630-2637)

- "a little bit mean spirited but there's a little bit of sense of thrill that I think some people get I was in their container I was ta ta ta you know I I got inside and I was chatting…III witnessed both sides eyewitness sides of side no no no no I'm not going in you know 'cause you know I I don't want to be in your house and I don't know you and I don't I'd be uncomfortable in there but I also got the other extreme which was Oh my gosh I'm sitting in a refugee house you know almost like a snapshot you know like Instagram thing you know" (Fay L. 2641-2649)

- "I always loved being inside somebody's home" (Fay L. 2655)

- "even if it came across rude, sorry I'd love to but I have to go or yeah I sit down for five minutes have a quick tea which isn't just the protocol, throwback and I'm gone you know and I know that's probably ruder than say they're not coming in at all" (Fay L. 2658-2662)

- "So I went in and they wanted me to sit down and have tea, I went in I had a really like time pressure because I needed to do classes soon, and it was absolutely chucking it down but I had gone with [xxx] to see a family a few weeks before and they had invited me in for tea and I was like oh no I've got classes, no no don't worry about it, and as we left I was is that rude. She was like yes. So I did not want to say no. Err, so I went in and I was really stressed for time but I sat down and had tea they give you glass not a cup with sugar in the bottom fill it up with tea make sure you mix it round so you get all the nice sugar and they gave me a plate, really still know what they are like sunflower seeds or something, but I just started eating because that's what you do. So I had about five and they were really chewy and I was a bit like obviously the outside had like salt on it so I was like, and then err then like I didn't really they were looking at me strangely at all and [xxx] is like no [xxx] you are supposed to bit the end top off and really like peel them and I was still eating the other ones and my mouth just wouldn't like….they wouldn't go down at all. I just went with it cos I think like I wouldn't, maybe like a year I would have been mortified by this but you know what I am in this situation. So I just I was like oh okay. And then I did it a couple of times this whole time I was like drinking tea trying to finish my tea so that I could go and I pulled my phone out of my pocket so I could see the time and they thought I was opening my pocket so I could have more seeds in my pocket and they were like take them take them, I was like okay. So I did. Put them in my coat pocket." (Gabriella L. 434-459)

- "I went with [xxx] we were invited in, tea we always take our shoes off when you go in always take your shoes off.. I think it's like a cultural thing like cleanliness…there are always shoes by the door always so you look at it and think, maybe I should take my shoes off….When you go into these situations and you know that its a different culture you are super aware of who is doing what and it's how because you are like I don't want to do this wrong" (Gabriella L. 484-499)

- "I went to a Greek family on this weekend and it was the same thing they said we will make you dinner and I said okay and I got there and they like set me up on the counter at their house they put like bowl of meatballs slice of cheese some bread in front of me

like two forks one on my side one on their side and I was like okay, and I got some wine and I was just like right okay I do not do anything until this my landlady like till she does something then she was she didn't have a meatball I couldn't have a meat ball." (Gabriella L. 504-509)

- "It wouldn't matter actually I don't think, especially because like all the people that invite you for tea like the Greek people or the refugees like they won't mind and that's exactly what happened when it did go wrong because they didn't mind, they know you didn't know, they smiled at me they might think 'strange little English girl' they can't tell me that anyway so that was kind of fine." (Gabriella L. 517-521)

- "we were invited in we took our shoes off. And we sat down around like like just like a tablecloth on the floor and then cushions that you sit on and invited us in and there was bread this was my favourite thing I've ever had. So we were given tea and I was handed a plate a carton of cream and a knife, and they were like obviously I was the visitor so like you do and I'm like I don't know what I'm doing, I don't know what you want me to […] because no English, nobody has done this and like I need like cut the corner off the carton and I gave it back that was the right thing to do…..Yes it's like a yes you do first just like I just and then they poured the cream into a plate and then then they let [xxx] scatter sugar on top of it. So I did the cream [xxx] did the sugar and the we dipped bread into cream and sugar and oh it was so good. Yes I was very happy with that interaction…I didn't do anything to embarrass myself. I enjoyed the food and I enjoyed the tea and we had a nice time and yes we learned (Gabriella L. 902-920)

- "We kind of talked me and [xxx] so […] when I was by myself I tried like and I drank the tea and I just smiled like cos I had been to like yes I had been to people's house where I don't understand where I don't understand the language I have been to places so I just like I'm kind of used to it by now. Err, I smile and I just kind of look around err, and then speak to [name] obviously she speaks English and then yes at the …. we are in [Dorian camp] that was the [xxx] family so obviously they have got four children in [Young Explorers] and so they know us quite well and there was another family in there but I don't know if they live there or not just …. but err, yes we spoke to [xxx] who is in [Young Explorers]" (Gabriella L. 924-930)

- "I think it's a first time thing as well because I'm really bad at my small talk I like going into social situations and then coming up with stuff to say it's just not a thing that I do. Sorry to say. But [xxx] oh she's so good at it she will always be able to say something like she's asked questions and just like how on earth [...] do come with stuff but that's just a personality thing like it just" (Gabriella L. 936-940)

- "Just smiling and like eating and drinking the things that they give you is kind of important because like how they are really hospitable they really want you to eat and drink. So if you don't they are like what's wrong. What are you doing what's wrong with this stuff?" (Gabriella L. 948-950)

- "I really like not being picky with food or drink especially if it's a rudeness I like will eat I will eat it. But I also haven't had anything terrible" (Gabriella L. 954-955)

- "But when I went for tea the other day (xxx) was translating between us, and her mom wanted to see a picture of my grandmother and then she was showing me pictures, a lot of what we do is showing pictures and pointing umm and things like that" (Maddy L. 453-455)

- "I went to the container, I took off my shoes…because usually in the Middle Eastern cultures as well as in Russia and in Ukraine, I mean the Soviet countries yeah you have to take off your shoes so I asked them…should I take off my shoes and I said yes and I

took off yeah or maybe I didn't ask I don't remember, maybe I just took off my shoes or I I see that there was already like shoes outside" (Isabella L. 623-631)

- "um took off my shoes went in and sat down I don't remember if there were chairs or they were just carpets I don't remember I don't know but like I sat somewhere yeah so maybe maybe I sat somewhere on a couch and then they were eating they offered me food and I refused you know It was meat so I refused" (Isabella L. 635-638)

- "I was offered some chicken once but I said no no sorry" (Isabella L. 642)
- "in fact the word like the word vegan like doesn't exist in Arabic like aah well then it's kind of difficult for them to understand why a person is the doesn't eat meat and then like if you eat if you don't eat meat so they suppose you eat chicken because chicken is not meat which is what happened to me also in in Turkey" (Isabella L. 645-648)
- "I have my way you know like I say no I'm sorry really I I just ate no I don't feel well thank you yeah sometimes you have to bluff" (Isabella L. 653-654)
- "I don't want to speak about like the fact that I am vegan I I tried once with some kids because they want it like they were I told them that like in one week it would be my my my birthday OK my mom would prepare chicken and I said umm no darling (speaking Arabic) aaa OK so you can eat cheese uh no I don't eat cheese cheese no" (Isabella L. 656-660)
- "as for like this refusing food I refuse food but like I mean it was I wasn't invited like that time it it wasn't even a dinner so it was just you know a casual time when I went in to speak to the parents and I just got like cup of tea maybe like two or three cups of tea because like every time you finish they fill it in. oh no. I don't want. I need to pee. stop putting me tea and then yeah yeah you become a teapot yeah after the 4th cup yeah so yeah" (Isabella L. 711-716)
- "sometimes there would be times when I would say no but most of the time I would say yes. Usually I'm working yes like it would be like if I'm like actually I've got loads of work to do today I would say no. Sometimes it was like a just a young man who sees err single young girl walking around and I'm like I'm not an idiot […] but most of the time it would be families and they would invite me in and err, and yes so I would be invited in." (Isla L. 77-85)
- "so I would families would invite me in I would come in I would have cup of tea sometimes they would give me food or sweets it was always very nice and I learnt to be very not English about it and very comfortable." (Isla L. 86-88)
- "Not English. I just would relax a lot more because the difference is I knew that like if you go into an English persons home last minute and they offer you something they don't necessary mean that they want you to have it, the homes in [Minoan camp] if they invite me in they really want me to be eating this food that they prepared only for me. Err like sometimes they would prepare me an entire meal and it's just for me and they would sit and watch me eat it. Like okay got to eat all of this now and I've got two other houses that might invite me in. Towards then end as I made more friends […] There would be people I would know would feed me right, I get like two meals in a day." (Isla L. 92-99)

- "I always take my shoes off to go into the home always always, err, sometimes sometimes they say no it fine sometimes you can get to a certain part of the of the home the container and before you take your shoes off, like you get to where they put the rugs down and then you take your shoes off. I think a lot it depends on how they err, how many people live in, how many families live in that particular container, because if

there are two families then the first area into the containers isn't necessarily like their home, their actually bedrooms are like their home" (Isla L. 131-136)

- "I've make friends mostly from being invited in for tea" (Isla L. 218)

- "I mean I am someone who tends to like everything given to me […] but also I'm somebody who is like extremely polite like I will always eat things or even just try. But like yes I don't know I'm always going to be extremely polite in those sorts of situations. But yes. (Isla L. 311-313)
- "so like I say they want me to eat they will maybe wave towards the food. And and and maybe towards their mouths very like really like obvious things like err and err on the nonverbal communication like I'm somebody who doesn't always notice when I'm understanding nonverbal communication like because I, I've always had I got like an audio processing issue of my own so I my whole life been someone who focusses a lot on nonverbal communication to understand what people are saying to me. Err, so I don't always notice any more like I'm just kind of like aware of it like I understand what people are saying to me of course." (Isla L. 333-340)
- "I've been to some where there is one like big quite extended family, I've been to one where there is like there is just two single men living there and they will often invite like a bunch of other people to come in and they cook for lots of other people. err, but I it it's not it's not, I don't think it's that common to just have it just like a couple of single men. But then like I guess they don't want to necessarily put them with families I don't know" (Isla L. 170-175)
- "I just remember one of my first nights with like a couple of the other volunteers we were at [Minoan Camp] and after English classes and we were just kind of hanging out with them and we were sitting with [xxx] families like outside and you now where they had that like bed kind of thing that was used as a couch and sitting out there and they made us tea and we were just like talking and then we played volleyball all together and it was just like one of my first nights where I was like okay. This is it. It was just to get that kind of experience there and see what like was like it wasn't just like going in and out but just spending time with them and like and sitting down with them and like yeah just like having a conversation in broken English and [xxx] dad sitting there even though he couldn't say anything to each other and it was so sweet. Yeah, these moments." (Julia L. 155-163)
- "I mean being inviting in for tea or something [xxx] has always been my favourite just because it's just such a better way to get to know somebody like just to spend time with them even if you can't communicate very well with…I feel like it's just kind of umm like an eternal idea of like bringing people together umm even if you can't communicate or speak the same language you are just like sharing a moment together or like your sharing tea or food or whatever and just like smiling at one another and kind of like that agreed moment where like it's kind of awkward funny but like you now like we can't communicate but we are going to like smile and nod like it's a really nice time in a way. It's like you can be a form of communication even if like our languages are different." (Julia L. 184-192)
- "I would say I would probably try or like eat, I would just I'm a vegetarian so I wouldn't eat meat but if it was something that I could eat I would definitely you know try it or probably eat it….I feel like could be a problem than just eating like a dessert that you don't like or something" (Julia L. 1788-1793)
- "I don't think there's been any context that I have had to do that. I think the main thing is just maybe like, with [xxx] family, I would just like confirm with her, you know if there's meat in this or something […] and she was like yeah there's meat in it like or

like no you can eat that. But like you now we were really close with her family so I feel like it was different than like being invited to like someone's home where they are trying to like offer you something…. I think I would probably either be like oh like no no later I take, or something like I'd be like, cause I know it can be rude to like say no to things …Like you know if they offer it to you, no no I'm okay and your like no no please please and they keep offering and wait. I think you're supposed to refuse the first time, maybe the first and second, I think I've heard some kind of rule like that but I don't like really understand it. So, I kind of refused the first time and then they went, when they would like insist, then I would take it cause I didn't want to like be insulting to them, I just didn't really know exactly how that worked." (Julia L. 1794-1813)

- "(R): In that situation, if they would have offered you something that you didn't like to drink or eat, would you still eat it? (P): No, I don't think so. (R): You would behave the same way that you would have behaved if a friend from [Artemopolis] offered you? (P): I would be more polite but it would be same kind of politeness as if I was in parent's friend's house." (Kalia L. 501-504)

- "We just saw the shoes as we went into the doors, we took them out" (Kalia L. 508-509)

- "it's more when I go to take her to outreach I'd be invited over for tea and it started from there and I got to know her brothers now, not just through tea but being generally in the camp like they come for tea. They come for tea when I'm there cus it's a family event but like I don't know them through having tea it's like a separate entity. And I think knowing the whole family as a separate entity has made me close with them in their own right." (Maddy L. 484-488)

- "I don't know why but I'm guessing from the beginning I just saw (xxx), and (xxx) taking their shoes off so I took my shoes off. Umm you kind of stand there. I've learnt now how to greet, it's like 3 kisses on the cheek and then a hug. But at the beginning its just awkward, like how many do I do but now I know what she does. Umm, and then your kind of they just say of oh sit sit sit. And then they put a mat on the floor and a massive tray comes out" (Maddy L. 506-510)

- "Loads of food on this tray and they don't start eating they'll like eat eat and once you start, they will start. A lot of the conversation you have as well are about the food. Like the food at the beginning of having tea, like before you're really really comfortable with people you talk about food, and you're like what is this and they love showing you their food from their country. And they find it funny when you tell them about English food, they're like what fish in a batter they'll like wooooah!" (Maddy L.,513-518)

- "then the more times I go for tea the more you share about your family umm and the more they want to share the more they want to know about your family" (Maddy L. 520-521)

- "(R): Would you behave differently in someone's place that you been let's say once than you behave with this family? (P): yeah, umm yeah, I act differently… so, I'm much more comfortable with this family, so I joke around and I'm a bit more silly than with other families I'm a bit more proper like not that I'm not, like I still try to keep the respect of their container and everything but I'm a bit more maybe I think I'm just focused about other people but sometimes at (xxx) I'll start a conversation about something else, cus you know… and ill joke about myself and well joke like with (xxx) brothers they actually have banter and they joke around and I don't, it's just much more I feel like I'm with my family, and with other containers I'm visiting some else's family, but with (xxx) family, they have fast become like my family." (Maddy L. 525-536)

- "oh, eat it. oh, eat it 100 percent eat it eat it… yeah anywhere 100 percent 100 percent. But I would say that if someone in England didn't like food they were offered, like I

would say to someone you need to make an extra effort in this environment because for someone it's their culture like if I didn't like it, I would make more of an effort in their culture because its I've heard that its rude… so maybe in England I would pick at it a bit if didn't like it and kind of just eat a bit but no I'd say to people coming in you need to make an effort." (Maddy L. 538-550)

- "(xxx) and (xxx) would say that you're not respecting them as a human being by treating them differently you're belittling them by saying 'I'm sorry I don't like beetroot'. That's what they would say." (Maddy L. 568-569)

- "Go back to the reason that the main reason that we realised why we don't don't go for tea is because, it has a lot to do with the rest of the things that we've said, which is. We don't want to be patronising. We don't want to be arrogant. We don't want to have this approach. That. In which your whole interaction with a person, albeit a person that has had a troubled past, s protective approach. Of course there is an aspect of that that is inevitable in the fact that people are refugees, but if. Being a refugee becomes the whole interaction. That is a problem, and inevitably when you go and tell someone look, I cannot enter your home even if you invited me to protect you" (Marco L. 1403-1409)

- "So you go to camp, and someone tells you, your name [xxx], We won't buy. Do you want to come for tea? Like there? I'm. I'm. I'm presented with two options, one is telling them what I think so. Being transparent in my, my thoughts, and my thoughts would be I really don't want to, which you know, like we're not advocating for people always going for tea. The other option is, you know, reverting to organisation policy or something like that. But even when you revert to an organisation policy, you either do it with honesty or not. No, you can say, oh, look, this is their rules, the policy of the organisation, but I don't agree with it. Which is sort of a cop out, you know, like, of course, if you risk your job doing that, that's a different thing, but it's a little bit of a cop out in terms of, you know, not not not getting ownership of your actions" (Marco L. 1416-1424)

- "And this is something that the refugees really, really, really know, you know, like indoor syndrome mistake like not saying no, it's. You know, it's my boss. So it's my, it's our donor. So you know this is so. In in that situation, when we say actually we we give our honest answers. We're not saying that you have to go for tea, just that you can, you know, like the fact that I know everyone. That means that I get offered to go for tea thousands of times and the vast majority of the times I say no, otherwise I wouldn't not have time in my day for do anything, anything else, or or even even then I would not be .. You have to be brutal" (Marco L. 1426-1435)

- "I think that I've seen in, especially in 2016, people going in for tea the first time that just just you know that I did not approve of, you know, like I I wasn't. What? Why do you do like you know like well, what is the value in going in the tent, you have no way to communicate it, just for the experience of doing it and that's not really what what what you want to do? But in terms of the, But, I mean, I would say this, this is kind of like the explanation of why, if we want we are going for them. I'm not saying that, you know I have, I have consideration, I say, well actually I was I had lunch with this family maybe I should have a lunch at this other family before going back to the same time and of course you know like being aware of all these things it's it's difficult then" (Marco L. 1461-1469)

- "that's that's easy I take off my shoes at home no but, umm you know I wouldn't have a problem in adapting as long as people know you know the the thing with well first of all well first of all I think that I have an unfair advantage on this that is not only because I've been here for a long time, but also that I have kind of a character like you know the sort of clown character you know like when I tell you have to help your wife they look

they look like they they they they they wink and they say Oh yeah of course this is [xxx]". (Marco L. 1576-1581)

- "so on the food, what I don't I don't have a problem you know I can imagine a situation in which I would eat like you know food that I I don't like because not to offend [xxx], who is 60 year old and will not understand. But what I imagine, when something like that happens you know like this is a discussion that happened many times with volunteers were vegetarian and they ask me, should I tell him?, My answer is do whatever you would do if you want my opinion think of what that person would think if they know that they against their will they would be deeply offended" (Marco L. 1589-1594)

- "so you know like the problem is that you cannot say oh look I don't like this but if you want I eat this because they will say no but that you know like that that is what you food and, clearly, the message off offering you food is not your jaws have to chunk this message is it is a symbol and you can clearly accept the symbol of that offer without" (Marco L. 1596-1599)

- "I go there the most out of anyone's and so in the beginning his children were a little stand-offish now whenever I come over they'll come running downstairs and out into the hallway to give me hugs and it's this big huge thing, I don't know, it's this big fun thing, like what (xxx) has said is they really look forward to it when I come over and to me it's like one of the highlight so my week, so usually what will happen If it's like a special meal, (xxx) will usually ask me in advice and he knows I have meetings, but sometimes hell just say, oh are you free now do you want to come for tea and coffee. And food and then ill get there hug the children and then usually, I mean (xxx) is famous around [Dorian camp] for asking questions, so he'll, we will either chat or he'll like write down some words in English, but I send most of the time playing with his 3 children and also, I really like talking to his wife (xxx), she doesn't speak very much English cus she doesn't go to any English class, I've been trying to encourage (xxx) to let her go and have him stay home but yeah. So I go usually I sit I always offer to help but (xxx) will near let me help, (xxx) says (xxx) cooks, occasional (xxx) will turn on the water heater to make tea, and I make it a point to ask (xxx) o you help (xxx) around the house and (xxx) will say yes yes, but (xxx) understands what I ask and she'll say no no no. umm and then (xxx) will make a point when I come over sometimes to bring the dishes out and umm but it's like mostly (xxx) serving and setting thing down for the children as well and I spend most of my time there just chitchatting and playing with the children like they have different games that we like to play." (Niamh L. 1118-1135)

- "Also think that this comes over from my Thai thing. It was a really hard habit for me to break wearing shoes in the house because I now find it disgusting mm but I, do it […] because that's what they do so I think its two-fold. I don't take my shoes of at dodo? Because its frigid I do I put on my slipper but sometimes I wear shoes around the house. But I also think it's a respect thing. They are taking theirs, and a lot of the time they tell me to not take my shoes of especially if I'm doing outreach and I'm only going to be there for 5 minutes but I don't feel comfortable if I don't take my shoes off." (Niamh L. 1139-1145)

- "(R): Do you take your shoes off outside? (P): yes. Always." (Niamh L. 1136-1137)

- "So on Friday, on Wednesday or Thursday last week (xxx) asked me that I go home on a later bus, like stay for a long time because they will prepare a really nice meal and of course […] and I was going to seek a later bus but the last bus is at like 10 so (xxx) offered to pick me up so I can stay about 10:30 and you know he made this big point that it was going to be a really nice meal and I was so excited because they make me

such amazing food and then I got there and it was stomach lining stuffed with rice and sheep skull that we cracked open and ate the brain…so, as an American, but the funniest part was that I came into the door and they showed it to me and said do you like this, and I was like yeah sure, I've never tried it before, I told them I've never had it before so I don't know if I like it but I'm excited to try it, but they made a huge joke about it, teacher we spoke to our friends in Germany and they told us Americans don't like this and we told them you like all food… Because a part of it, because I've travelled so extensively like I always try food, I do try to not eat a lot of meat for environmental reasons but when people serve me meat like I've always said that half of the reason why I travel is to try different food and like a huge part to e is like okay I can't travel to Syria, but I can eat Syrian food and kind experience Syrian culture through food and tea and spending time with each other in people's homes so yeah I told them I was excited to try it. It was fine. There were a few times when I thought about what I was eating and it grossed me out a little bit but the taste was not that bad. We cracked the skull open and it was a brain and there were bones in the brain and they told me how to eat it properly cus on my first bite I got brain and skull. The brain wasn't my favorite, (laughs) the brain was my favourite but I told them it's okay but I like the stomach lining more so I ate more of that, it wasn't bad though. If it would have made me vomit, I wouldn't have eaten it. I have gotten really sick from a [xxx] house before. In April, 2 days before I left, I went to someone's house and I was violently ill. I'm prepared for everything." (Niamh L. 1149- 1174)

- "it was something […] then I would say no. like if I was really grossed out by it but to me it not even like, it's how I kind of, like in Thailand I've eaten really weird, like in Thailand a delicacy some delicacies are like raw […], which […] is like pork minced with different Thai spices and its raw and you get it like north eastern timing which is very rural so I eat a lot of raw meat there. So yeah, I've always been trying different food so I'll always tell people I'll try it I might not have a second bite but I'll try it" (Niamh L. 1176-1181)

- "yeah, if it like made me feel sick. For example, the stomach lining and the brain wasn't my favorite but I told them that liked it I didn't tell them it was my favorite but yeah" (Niamh L. 1183-1184)

- "so we went because we needed something with [xxx] consent form so we went her mother wasn't his mother wasn't there so we spoke to the uncle he said like yeah so everything OK and then he said like do you wanted to come for tea? So, we went in, we were with [xxx] brother [xxx] he was translating for us and we went like it was [xxx], [xxx], and me. We went inside there were like [xxx] and his uncle and we sat" (Rafella L. 201-205)

- "so outside we were like do we have to take our shoes off? and he said like it's OK we don't have like a because most most of the containers they have how do you? A carpet the carpet or like some sort of thing in the floor is that like it's OK anyway I took my because I had already taken them off, [xxx] didn't, like they didn't have carpet so it's okay. we sat and we were talking about the uncle. First he offered us a cigarette. like yeah like they they put kind of like I've been offered a lot of cigarettes like I don't know why" (Rafaella L. 207-212)

- "yeah sometimes I do smoke but like I I didn't want to smoke inside a container like then he like he started smoking and I could see that [xxx] was like a bit like uncomfortable with the smoke like yeah because we were inside of a container like I understand if you don't smoke and you don't like smoke so yeah he offered us" (Rafaella L. 218-221)

- "we said we said a little bit I chose the the glass with them like with the less sugar and then yes for sure like (R): you drank the tea. (P): yeah" (Rafaella L. 248-251)
- "when he said like we said like just a bit of sugar like not a lot he was like OK like if I don't know the person I wouldn't say anything.. I think it's like how to u say it? Polite? (Rafaella L. 254-257)
- "like being polite like if I'm in a house of a people person I don't know I would do the same but if I'm on a friend's house I would say like **** you give me another drink (Rafaeella L. 259-260)
- "I think it's politeness with people you don't know like if you go to a house where they like put your broccoli and you don't like broccoli you eat the broccoli" (Rafaella L. 262-263)
- "OK so yeah if I went to a house and they offered me meat I wouldn't eat it yeah because I'm a vegetarian" (Rafaella L. 270-271)
- "like I would say like don't worry about me you don't have to give me anything else but I won't eat it um and it's not like OK so this smoking I feel like it's and non-mandatory not like mandatory but like it's not unpolite to say no I don't want to cigarette" (Rafaella L. 273-275)
- "I would feel like maybe if we would have been outside I would have accepted but I feel like it's like smoking in a closed room I feel like it's unpolite to the other people that don't smoke for example if [xxx] had been there, he would have left like [xxx] cannot be in a room where they are smoking I don't know if you didn't knew that Okay so when we go out [xxx] always has like do they smoke inside because if they do he is not coming" (Rafaella L. 279-283)
- "like we were a bit in the hurry because like it was like 4:20 when they offered us and we were like OK yeah quick tea and it was like 4:30 and the tea wasn't ready so we're like yeah so yeah we left the container at 4:41 yeah so we have to" (Rafaella L. 295-297)
- "I remember for example [xxx] was talking to [xxx] like they were talking about how is Greek school and we were like just kind of listening and maybe intervening and also like I talked to [xxx] but I don't know about what I like yeah I don't know like the language he's spoke like I don't know like chit chat" (Rafaella L. 299-302)
- "nothing like we me and [xxx] were like petty shocked but they were talking about that so naturally but also like I don't feel like we should make like a big deal out of something they are not because like otherwise like you you could make it worse yeah so" (Rafaella L. 468-470)
- "I saw her the other day and she was like "oh, teacher, why you no drink my tea? "Oh my God, you remember that I didn't drink your tea, I'm so sorry. Next time I will drink your tea" (Tomasso L. 123-125)
- "Aaaaaah. It depends. Probably, I mean so far, I liked everything that they offered. Generally, I'm a savory person. Salty […] sweets mostly, if they offer me a cake, I'll eat it." (Tomasso L. 662-663)
- "Oh My God! [xxx] bring me tea every day. It's very good tea. They put cinnamon, […] sweet, so sweet, I don't need to eat, I just drink this for energy for the whole day" (Tomasso L. 665-666)
- "I felt like I shouldn't go and drink tea or eat with people because I felt like they don't even have enough for themselves. Like for me to go in and drink their stuff like no." (Nora L. 2017-2018)
- "And so then at one point, I was like. OK. Well, clearly like they had like, it wasn't even about them not having enough. It was more like, look, they want like they this is

their way of interacting. They don't want me to just be there giving them a one-hour classes and leaving they don't want to be there asking for things they want a bit of normalcy and that normalcy is me coming in. Coming and hanging out with them in their tent for a little bit, why not, you know? And that I don't even know. The moment there wasn't even, you know, there wasn't even this, like, big thought process around should I or shouldn't I be more like, no, I will like this is how they're living. This is their life. The food they're giving is shit, but I should try it. I should I should be able to comment on this. And so yeah. Like I don't even know how it began but it was just like. Every like the whole day was spent. Like if you're you know you're in camp all day like there was times where I wouldn't leave the camps like 4 in the morning because I've been working like a seven-hour back-to-back shift, classes, yoga, private English class kids English Class Afghan English class. And then in between your being said like everyone just bringing you things. And then at night it'll be like OK, now you finish work. Go to a [xxx] container. We play Uno for like 5 hours. They feed you Tea. It was just really like a normal kind of like it was. It was the flow of of of the camp. Like you'll be walking out of the camp like 9 at night starving and something you like. There's suddenly there like a little kid who runs over to you and is like Teacher, Teacher, Teacher and you're like yeah, but come, come, come teacher come. They drag you to the parents in the moms there just cook this huge feast and they are like come eat. Please eat, you were teaching all day so you couldn't avoid food. It was being shoved down your throat at every that was amazing, you know. It was really a way for people to be like, look, if you were at our house, if you were in our country, if you were in our, you know, if you came to visit us, this is how we would. This is the way we we would welcome you and yeah, sure. Here where, you know, cooking outside on a fire between Rocks but like we we want you to eat, you know and. God, I ate well. And in those moments, you also get to like, you know, sometimes you don't even know when anyone speaks English or I don't speak. Sometimes it'll be. There's no way to communicate. But they they they, they want. They'll do their best to to have some kind of interaction that they're showing you photos from back back home the kids are bringing out all their toys or they want to, I don't know, play with you or they call a family member who speaks English. That's living in Germany or living in Syria or living in Afghanistan and you have to talk with them, you know. Or they tried to teach you stuff, but it's always like the interactions are always so rich. It was never like they never wanted you to leave. It was never like, OK, come have a tea and then like, when you gonna go? It's always like, no, don't go here. Have another tea oh but the dinners just been pulled out and you're like, no, like it's ten. I have to go sleep oh but sleep here. You know, like the hospitality was just. And I think this was something that, like, really made me this is where the love for all of this comes from." (Nora L. 2025-2059)

- "I I've said no loads of time." (Nora L. 2182)
- "I feel like it depends on how well I knew them. But that applies even outside of like. Yeah, I guess I was [xxx]. The one who like discussed about lesbians. He's like, I can't eat this. Like, I hate this, you know. But usually, people like. I'm also really not picky person. I do know people who have said we have eaten meat even though they were vegetarians because they felt bad. Because they just put this whole like meal. Also, I know [xxx]. That we were invited, like for dinner at this couple's house and [xxx] remember sent me, pasta?" (Nora L. 2187-2192)
- "They invited for this this couple like invited us to their house. Like we're friends with them and stuff, and they like for dinner. And so, we didn't eat because we were like, OK, well, it's it's it's an Iranian couple. They're going to stuff us like we will not eat. So, I was starving. he was starving. We got there and then they served us like, I guess,

like this girl. Like poor thing. Like, I don't think she's ever cooked in her life. Like there's super young couple. They're quite western. Like they're not. They haven't learned how to cook from their parents. So, she made this meal and and they're also like recently like converted to Christian or atheist or whatever. So, they're kind of like, you know, they're experimenting and they made pasta with, like, you know, that meat from the, from the cans, like the spam and like, and mayonnaise. And so like, she would be like, OK, here's the pasta with this spam, which already I **** hate spam. And then she had brought this mayonnaise out and she was just plopping like spoonful's of mayonnaise to the pasta, mixing and giving it to me and I'm just like, oh my God, I'm like, OK, and so I ate it because I just, I felt bad. [xxx] was like, yeah. And I I know him, he's too honest like, he can't he can't eat" (Nora L. 2197-2209)

- "he basically lied. He can't eat. He's like he had. He had a few spoonsful, but he ate already. Like he's full from his other meal, so he can't finish this. And I'm like, and then he's putting into my plate because like, of course, he feels bad. And I'm there like I'm going to kill you. This is like a jar of mayo with spam it's disgusting, but like we didn't say it, I don't know if I would have said it even if they weren't refugees because it's like a dinner party. So, she tried or sincere like little glass of wine for me. And I'm like, Oh my God, never again. But it's a good question. I don't know if this is like I don't. I think I would be less honest in general like unless you're really close friend like like. This is disgusting. I don't think I would. I think I would still try and maintain level of politeness like" (Nora L. 2212-2219)

- "would say it's probably the one thing that kept us alive because we were always able to have these discussions and engage with the community in a way where they like, you know, like like like us and wanted to be part of it, which we didn't even try like to be liked, it was just by being present, being interested. Going in for tea, you know, accepting invitations, listening to people's problems, you know, just kind of being responsive, being reactive and not just like, Oh yeah, yeah. And then walking away or whatever." (Nora L. 2119-2124)

- "Either, but like some people were almost like, Oh my God. Like I'm in a refugee container like ohhhh or like somebody invited me in. Oh my God. I have to go. Because second tree is, like, really friendly or, oh, somebody invited me in. Oh my God. Like, what do I do? Do I drink this thing? Do I not? That could just be like normal awkwardness as well f, like, just being around new people or people of different cultures. But I also I did get the sense that a little bit of it was almost like. I don't know like, but it was like this prize to be able to be invited in for tea and like that almost kind of undermines the whole idea of being like normal. Right?" (Nora L. 2169-2176)

- "And I think overtime I've learned. I mean, I for sure. Now if I go, if I can't physically eat something like I'm allergic to it, I think that I will explain. And I'm like, look, guys, you eat it like, yeah, it's there to be eaten. I can't eat it. I'm really like, I don't like this. I I wouldn't need it anywhere. So, I'm sorry, you know, like, I feel I don't feel. I I don't feel like I. Yeah, I think I would now would react the same way. But I know, yeah, people. I feel that and said, oh, you cooked it for me, but then you could just remember well actually they will eat it anyways so you know" (Nora L. 2253-2258)

- "It's so funny. Like, even with this power we ate this like pasta. Like they had already eaten. So, for some reason it was just a meal for me and Thomas. The was like a whole pot of it. and was like, oh God, you know, it was worse because there's no one else. Like, maybe they maybe they'll never eaten. Maybe that's what we eat." (Nora L. 2260-2263)

- "I mean like food like again I I start with 2016 because that's where this whole journey started and that's actually really what shaped how we as an organization work because

you know we none of us, okay, I study human rights, I study humanitarianism in my masters like it was a topic, it was interesting. But I never thought I was going go down the route of humanitarian work. Actually, I was quite critical of it. Because there's a lot of like back and forth around how you know the principles of humanitarian and the values of it and the implementation, it just seemed like it was always a disaster. And so, I mean, it just, I'm just, I'm just making a note of this because it was never the intended career path for me. I knew human rights, maybe education. So, when I went, when I went to the camps. Like when I came to respond, I was responding as an individual who was a refugee. Okay, a child. So, I don't remember the the shit my parents went through. But like, as Bosnians from Europe, seeing Europe that, you know, respond the way that it did to refugees was just, like completely unacceptable. Like, I couldn't be Okay and stand by me like, OK, you know. with that so like I think I told you the beginning like I went took time off work and I went there like super informed like super clear on what how it worked who the people that go there are like it was obvious there was an individual response and I felt like if I go there I need to at least know how people communicate with each other, so that I'm not just like dropped into the middle of something I don't understand. But I went as me like as [Nora], you know? So, I went there with my attitude and my character and my kind of like inquisitiveness. Like, I went to learn, I went to understand. And so that meant that I was in there, like, as an equal person. And there's, like, [Nora] who met [xxx] or [xxx] or [xxx] as other people and not as refugees. It wasn't like, oh. How can I the white saviour help you like what is going on here? Guys like, why are you here? Who brought you here? Did you think you were gonna come here? Like, what is your understanding of the situation? And then how how then should I you know; how do I don't understand it better. It was very clear that there was nobody else to talk to. It's not like you could go over to UNHCR and asked them thankfully. Honestly if they were there I think. None of this would have happened the way it did, but because no one was there, we went straight to the people and you met. You met people by name, and so, you know, initially, like we served tea so we serve tea out of like a little tea caravan thing in the camp. And this was the one thing that was a consistent of source of like operation because it was the one thing that everybody like connected everybody all the different, like the Kurds, the Palestinians, everybody loved tea. And it was funny because they like different kinds of teas. So that was another point of discussion. We were making Syrian tea, which was like, I didn't know. I didn't realize what kind of tea they drank until I got there and I was in shock cause. I was just living in the UK before that. Where you don't put sugar in your tea. And then you go here and it's literally liquid sugar. Was like this is disgusting. But you're in that caravan for so long, you start drinking it as well and you go to tents and it's all that. So, it was interesting because we discovered through these Afghans like different kind of teas too Syrians because there was Syrians, we made more Syrian and we have to make these huge like. Industrial pots of tea you couldn't just you couldn't give people spoonful's of sugar cause they wanted like 5, so you had to put two kilos of sugar per pot and then basically, yeah. Basically, the Afghans guys just have to drink. […] so tea from the beginning was a connector or something that everybody came, people hugged around the tea caravan. That's how you got to meet people and through that, you know, like at the beginning I had this like. Thing where I felt like I shouldn't go and drink tea or eat with people because I felt like they don't even have enough for themselves. Like for me to go in and drink their stuff like no. And then and I didn't even think I didn't even eat while I was in camp because we were there from like 9:00 AM till 9:00 PM. I didn't even know there was food being cooked in the Warehouse cause I was outside the whole time I would literally starve. I didn't

even go to the bathroom in the first few days because like, there was nowhere to ****
go, like all the toilets were covered in shit and there's 1000 people using these five
toilets. So, I just. I didn't even function normally in those first few days and then at one
point, people were like, no, come on, just come either bring me sandwiches like they
would feed us. And so then at one point, I was like. OK. Well, clearly like they had
like, it wasn't even about them not having enough. It was more like, look, they want
like they this is their way of interacting. They don't want me to just be there giving them
a one-hour classes and leaving they don't want to be there asking for things they want
a bit of normalcy and that normalcy is me coming in. Coming and hanging out with
them in their tent for a little bit, why not, you know? And that I don't even know. The
moment there wasn't even, you know, there wasn't even this, like, big thought process
around should I or shouldn't I be more like, no, I will like this is how they're living.
This is their life. The food they're giving is shit, but I should try it. I should I should be
able to comment on this. And so yeah. Like I don't even know how it began but it was
just like. Every like the whole day was spent. Like if you're you know you're in camp
all day like there was times where I wouldn't leave the camps like 4 in the morning
because I've been working like a seven-hour back-to-back shift, classes, yoga, private
English class kids English Class Afghan English class. And then in between your being
said like everyone just bringing you things. And then at night it'll be like OK, now you
finish work. Go to a [xxx] container. We play Uno for like 5 hours. They feed you Tea.
It was just really like a normal kind of like it was. It was the flow of of of the camp.
Like you'll be walking out of the camp like 9 at night starving and something you like.
There's suddenly there like a little kid who runs over to you and is like teacher, teacher,
teacher and you're like yeah, but come, come, come teacher come. They drag you to the
parents in the moms there just cook this huge feast and they are like come eat. Please
eat, you were teaching all day so you couldn't avoid food. It was being shoved down
your throat at every that was amazing, you know. It was really a way for people to be
like, look, if you were at our house, if you were in our country, if you were in our, you
know, if you came to visit us, this is how we would. This is the way we we would
welcome you and yeah, sure. Here where, you know, cooking outside on a fire between
rocks but like we we want you to eat, you know and. God, I ate well. And in those
moments, you also get to like, you know, sometimes you don't even know when anyone
speaks English or I don't speak. Sometimes it'll be. There's no way to communicate.
But they they they, they want. They'll do their best to to have some kind of interaction
that they're showing you photos from back back home the kids are bringing out all their
toys or they want to, I don't know, play with you or they call a family member who
speaks English. That's living in Germany or living in Syria or living in Afghanistan and
you have to talk with them, you know. Or they tried to teach you stuff, but it's always
like the interactions are always so rich. It was never like they never wanted you to leave.
It was never like, OK, come have a tea and then like, when you gonna go? It's always
like, no, don't go here. Have another tea oh but the dinners just been pulled out and
you're like, no, like it's ten. I have to go sleep oh but sleep here. You know, like the
hospitality was just. And I think this was something that, like, really made me this is
where the love for all of this comes from. Is is the fact that like despite, you know, I
was there like. Upset. Angry. Sad. Like I was working because I felt like, you know,
this has to be done. But I I thought it was, you know, I I didn't process all the emotions
I felt because I didn't. I didn't feel like, well, in the camp, there was no time on the
phone to, you know, who? My friends who don't understand who's like. Oh yeah, that's
really like, you know, we couldn't deal with our own emotions. And then when you're
in camp. That everyone showing you videos of them on the rubber thingies crossing the

ocean like laughing and you're just like, OK, this is like for, you know, for the young people, this is like a journey. This is like, this is their life. Like, they're not gonna sit here and cry. And I I should really respect that. And the resilient they have in the hospitality; they show despite all like they shit they are living in. You know, and it's like if they can be this strong and this happy and this like full of life is in in circumstances that no human should should, should exist and then this is just magic, you know, like, I hope I'm this person if this ever happens to me. You know, because of course there's a variety. There's some people who never got to know. There's some people who were. Very angry. There's some people who did everything to try and get a little bit more than the others. But that was still a minority. And a lot of food was had. Yeah. And so like, I guess this also fed, you know, because we came out of this, we were born out of this kind of interaction with people like a real, like human level like meeting people, building relationships as if you lived there kind of thing. It's like a new community. You just moved into. This is how you know, even second tree, initially that was born with with a group of refugees that were, you know, teachers and [Young Explorers] and stuff they just left because they were luckily relocated. So that changed everything. But for us it was. Really like a community or like, even though me and [xxx] didn't even know each other, like at all. And I did. It was by chance that we got to work together through [xxx], and we had the same approach in in different ways. Like we we framed it differently, you know, like so. But ultimately it was like we were equal. And the people that we work with ae people. (Nora L 1975-2090)

Appendix 24

Domain Analysis 9 – Being a Host

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Means-End

<u>Form</u>: X is a way to do Y

Cover Term (Y)   being a host

Semantic Relationship   is a way to do

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)
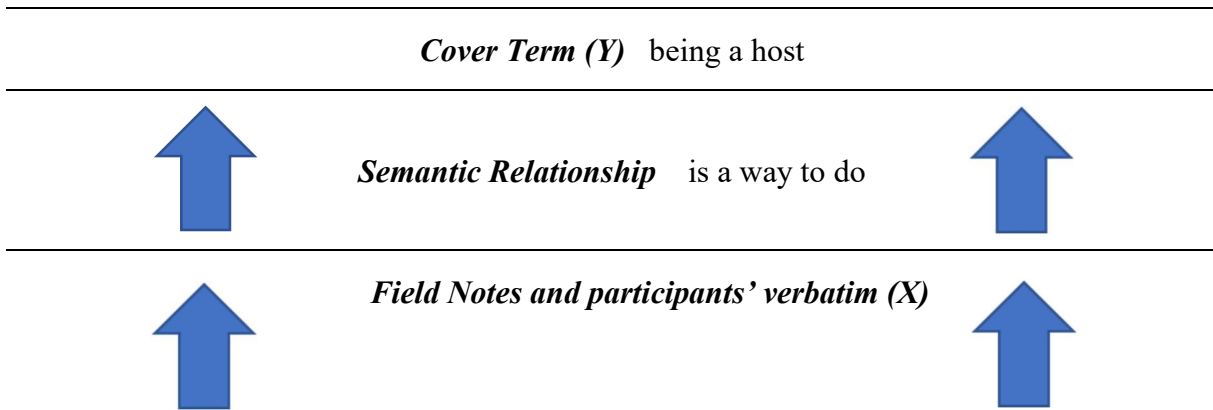
- "Again, the family protests, but the volunteers win this and finally they let them help with the washing" (FN, 20/10/2019, L. 169)
- ""Come in, come in!" and gestures us to huddle inside" (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 40)
- "But then she insisted that we should eat and she stood, hovering over the table, filling our plates making sure that we and the men ate."
- "Rahil's mom was beaming with pride and kept trying to put more food on our plate" (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 85-86)
- "Kadijah begins to prepare the tea now… Kadijah's face seems contorted now and she looks confused about why we are moving." (FN, 28/10/2019, L. 101-108)
- "The girl kind of blushed and said they didn't have any but offered Nancy some juice, which she accepted." (FN, 11/11/2019, L. 43-44)
- "She comes over to me and meticulously places the beetroot on a plate in front of me, with a big smile, waiting for me to eat it." (FN, 12/12/2019, L. 82-84)
- "asked me if I would like tea or coffee" (FN, 12/12/2019, L. 45)
- "She placed a big plate of halva in front of me" (FN, 12/12/2019, L. 64)
- "One man who does not have kids has just baked a cake and he offers us a piece." (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 28)
- "Her mom makes tea, and Nesrin serves it, adding sugar when people say yes, rather than just putting it in each cup. She also offers us pretzels and cookies." (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 63-64)
- "Nevertheless, they say that we should stay longer, and the brothers explain that their mom is now cutting fruit for us" (FN, 08/01/2020, L. 73-74)

- "Yes, some of our neighbours and countrymates, they are coming to our home, and maybe drinking tea, maybe lunch, so we are talking and sharing this experience, the way we are come here… So we are sharing the experience with each other. If someone have a problem, we are discussing together how to find a solution to the problem." (Yusef, L. 110-113)

- "(I): It's true… He is saying that in our culture, when we see someone that we know in life, and our friends and our family, we invite them over to our home, and we go to theirs, and we don't have this possibility here. And this is very difficult indeed." (Sharif, L. 93-95)
- "(I): Sometimes when they come to my room to tell me anything, I invite them to maybe take juice, take tea, but I come here to invite them, no." (Sanam and Amany, L. 536-537)
- "(I): Come inside home for drink tea." (Almas and Jawana, L. 61)
- "But in general my husband has a lot of friends and every night I make to them tea or coffee or something just I make and don't sit with them." (Jameela, L. 430-433)
- "And some of them, I invite them here, like [xxx] and [xxx] and [xxx], this is like French speaking, so they come here and they drink coffee." (Ali, L. 426-429)
- "And also after that we became classmates in the English class. So, his English was very good than me, so we became classmates and after the class he, sometimes he come to my cabin and we study the lessons and we drinking coffees and we talk." (Hazim, L. 208-217)
- "She like to other people come to her home, and drink coffee and talk, like this today, and she forget." (Titti and Arjin, L. 414-415)
- "Yes, I send them a message on mobile phone. Can you come to me to have some food after you finish their work in [Young Explorers]? They said yes because they wanted her to be happy. So they accept the invitation." (Sanam and Amany, L. 277-279).
- "Just, I invite my teachers of my children. They came inside our cabin but no." (Salma, L. 297-298)
- "Because of the culture, because of the culture in Afghanistan we invite our family because we know their husband, their sons and in here we don't know, just say hello." (Salma, L. 343-344)
- "(I): And also because of situation, because the government give us not enough money to invite our friends to give a party." (Salma, L. 358-359)
- "(I): She says firstly, all the people that arrive here for the first time, I invite them to 'our home' (chez nous), and we share with them whatever food we have. [X] I invited them over, and [xxx]. Then her husband's mother passed away, and we had a ceremony and invited people over. And then, [xxx] wife had a baby and we invited them over, then [xxx] also had a baby and we invited them. Then they invited us over too, 3 times." (Arezo and Ayan, L. 242-256)
- "Unfortunately here, we don't invite people over and we are not invited over, because we don't feel good, that we are at home here. (P/F): (I): We had a guest here once, and I don't know if you know, but here, after 22:00, guests must leave this camp, and we had a guest with his kids, and he had to wait at the bus stop from 21:00 until 23:00 to wait for the bus. Now his kids are ill. And it was not in our power to keep them here with us. We were forced to tell them, 'you have to leave because these are the rules here'. After 22:00, no one can stay here. And you don't have the right to be responsible for your own time. To stay overnight or not, it's not you that decides. It is decided by others." (Rahim, L. 537-546)
- "In the past I wanted to invite them my social worker but she like this idea but she refused because the rules is not to be with the refugees in our home." (Sanam and Amany, L. 544-545)
- "Yes I have friends in Greek and last Sunday they came into the gate and brought us clothes for me and for my children, and if you, if they know we had special event they came to us to invite us to go out and have fun together." (Zinah, L. 172-175)

- "I understand the rules, because the rules used for refugees because they didn't want to cost of the refugees to make food and invite them every day or everything." (Sanam and Amany, L. 555-556)
- "This building yes, and those that want to come to our home [chez vous], we invite them over. Yes, if they prefer to be with us, we invite them to come." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 83-105)
- "So even sometimes, even if you want to invite some your friends to drink something in your house, it's difficult to invite them. Because the situation for the camp look like jail" (Amir, L. 219-221)
- "(R): Do you ever invite people over? (P): I feel shy. Because this is like box." (Amir, L. 476-479)
- "(I): They invited her to their home, to their connex, and also, she invited her to her home." (Madeha, L. 117)
- "And also after that we became classmates in the English class. So, his English was very good than me, so we became classmates and after the class he, sometimes he come to my cabin and we study the lessons and we drinking coffees and we talk. So he was my friend, we became friend in [Darling Crafts] that I made for him a chair." (Hazim, L. 208-217)
- "But because we can't speak I get the sense I might be wrong that people really like being around people and just sharing stuff and […] offer you some tea water or whatever sometimes when I sit in silence for ten minutes and someone and just drinking tea and make stupid faces at their kid something like that, it doesn't have to be back and forth conversation all the time." (Ben L. 308-312)
- "(R): How would you get invited like after class or something? (P): It will be really informal, yes (R): Come today? Or? (P): Yes I mean sometimes I will be like, oh… next week but yes usually super informal it might even be I'm planning to go home, and […] And then talk about its not err, its not like you go in instantly err, hear about their stories because maybe they don't want to tell me, but happens very organically maybe they will talk about some lead to it. Err, but also where we talk about things like football and err, […] camp then we gossip a little bit about other people, they tell me about funny stories how they met each other parties they used to go to. How how their lives had changed since they got there. Yes like say we talked probably 75% about the way you and I would talk general things then it's funny […] about deeper about what they feel truly about the camp or what they truly about their journeys and things like that. But yes they are a really lovely couple I like going to theirs a lot." (Ben. L. 176-191)
- "I always like going to theirs because it feels like like he really…. her and family you can the wife has been married very young forced to come there for safety and other options go. Whereas they have a lot of jokes with each other and yes they seem like a really genuine lovely husband and wife. And go there and … put some food" (Ben, L. 170-174)
- "They are extremely hospitable err; they I think its very much kind of middle eastern culture to be like this that is one thing about I think their culture is better than ours. Err, that like they won't let me leave until I [name] will give me tips on how to eat more throughout the dinner… we often take … maybe I a little bed stretch out …. and then we will go back for more food. So like they love to like feed me really well. Err, and they won't let me leave until, until I've I'm full and also like I never its always me saying I have to get back its never feel like I'm overstaying my welcome or anything just like super hospitable is the only word to an extreme level" (Ben, L. 226-236)

- "so it really only was half an hour and 35 minutes but I will get there and I did this I went I went to lots of times and so a couple of things about it was always come in come in come in, she always had something cooked for me which I've never had time to eat and because it was always you know the formality of have your tea first and then and then and this and then then food and then I'll give you the coffee and then the biscuits on the certain biscuits went through the tea and other biscuits went through the coffee and all the process. Sso very funny but I was very very comfortable for a lot of reasons one I've been in you know I've been visiting people before it I have no problem with visiting across the board it you know refugee" (Fay L. 2454-2461)

- "so we sat with them and played with children and took our time with their doing well their starting Middle Eastern time formalities [xxx] did all the cooking and then they set-up one of the bedrooms with everything pushed back and forth on the floor and had the massive spread of food add this at around just the four of us and maybe the eldest child and the second child came in and out but it was basically kind of for us for adult and we just ate and chated [xxx] had a cigarette and came back in and then our boss was coming so that that was cut that off but across the board so they were there I've been in other peoples houses then yeah again the sit, the you're your time to have the tea, have this insisting insisting and very much pride in you're now in my space and you know slapping the kids to get up and get you something" (Fay L. 2500-2511)

- "you know they maintained their cultural identity in terms of their generosity and kind of graciousness […] these circumstances and then the formalities were very much maintained and and the the generosity the no end of food" (Fay L. 2513-2515)

- "you know and anything you wanted and continuous tea, continuous coffee and to sit and smoke you know I was in people's containers and you know that they they were probably smokers and there was some smoke smoke here smoke you know sometimes they did sometimes I didn't um another guy you know often go to him at lunchtime not often a few times again same sort of thing there'd be food ready for me and I kept saying I've only got half an hour you know so I put he then we just whittled it down then to coffee and a cigarette and he hold me cigarettes and I have cigarettes ready for me when I come but again you know I think there was pride in having not just teacher and I don't think it was that kind of authority figure teacher I think it was pride in having a visitor and a visitor probably but they had respect for you know that" (Fay L. 2517-2525)

- "within their own family they did elaborate party preparations you know cake and buns and biscuits and spread of food and decorations and all for happy new year [xxx] with the children all dressed up, and shoes, all done up in makeup and her dress on, and her husbands all dressed up. And they are all just sitting together over this new year's feast and there was nobody else in it, they may have invited people but it seemed to me that they had just prepared it for themselves. So ceremony of that was never lost and maintaining all of that and I just never went into any of the African ones and I think it's because they were generally individual people that lived with other people so they weren't really in a position to say oh come in because the roommates were sitting around partly with the shirt off or maybe you know smoking or whatever so the couple times I went to peoples containers for one reason or another they they didn't say it at plus I don't think it's quite the tradition that that you would have in the Middle East and of if you come to my house you must come in and I must feed you and the Afghans what more to person would close it save just a sec, close the door put a shirt on come out if

it's not you know and talk to you outside not hide and never got the feeling that we're hiding anything but it might have been you know I don't know or the place might have been a bit of a state or it was their space to entertain" (Fay L. 2527-2551)

- "I've been in for tea a couple of times and and it's warm" (Gabriella L. 425)

- "they gave me tea and then like I've been a couple of times since … so yes yes cos I've been to quite a few houses they always offer you tea." (Gabriella L. 475-476)

- "like I'm went to [Minoan camp] I think I got there later than the others the rest of the team was already in in [Minoan camp] and they were sitting outside the containers speaking to it like a family I think they were Kurds I guess and they offered us tea, so like they were already drinking tea and then when we arrived they like when I arrived they offer me tea as well yeah outside the container whereas but they didn't even know me they just said OK OK grab a cup of tea just because it's you" (Isabella L. 613-617)

- "then another time I'm uh went to [xxx] because I want you to speak to their to his family asking the permission for him to go on Young Explorers Leaders' workshops so like if I could take the the kid and while I yeah when I was there they offered me tea" (Isabella L. 618-620)

- "Well a lot of it is they say thank you when I eat stuff and they like say thank you from me coming in and I think a lot of it is you can tell that they are so lonely they are so bored especially like the mothers who spend all their time in the containers. They don't see other people and they don't necessarily, there aren't necessarily people who are willing to come in and speak with them and learn about their lives and listen to them as they try to explain what's happened. And just the, like seeing a friendly face they are so grateful and 1 can understand that completely especially as someone who has been lonely in the past I completely understand why they would want me to come in, yes." (Isla L. 104-111)

- "I would knock on the door I would say in from [Busy Bee] I'm the English teacher about English class I would explain that they could come to class and then sometimes they would say thank you, and then they would say thank and then they would say come in, err they would say please come in my home have tea. Sometimes I would knock on the door while they were eating and then they would automatically invite me in err," (Isla L. 123-127)

- "I mean they keep giving you more […] yes they do give you more and keep saying and they also tell you even when they don't have much English they will like motion towards you and be like yes try like eat eat like or like they tell you." (Isla L. 325-328)

- "and a lot of the, a lot of them the people who would invite me in are people who do speak some English not necessarily a lot, but some" (Isla L. 240-243)

- "Yes and even when I'm with a family there is usually one person in the family who speaks a little more than the others and they can help, and they always are trying to communicate with me because they would invite me in if they didn't want to say something to me. Err, but I err, very aware that it's difficult for them, and I'm very aware that I'm the one who doesn't know their language." (Isla L. 247-251)

- "I mean when [xxx] was there, and I don't remember if her sister was there, but like that [xxx] we could talk with him and I think his dad was like kind of trying to communicate a little bit or I don't remember if it was the same time or another one but he was kind of showing us a video from back home and umm you know just kind of using technology you know like a video or something is a good way to communicate too. You know the video was in Arabic so we couldn't understand but you know just like being in like yeah so just like finding ways to communicate or to get to know one another beyond language but then you know when [xxx] was there or some of the other kids would come up, then we would be talking and we would play volleyball like afterwards and other kids' kind of joined in and that was like a good way to like kind of communicate without words" (Julia L. 195-204)

- "I feel like, the main one was with ... family. Or just like another time when [xxx] wasn't feeling well and I just remember [xxx] said 'ah I make her tea' and like made her tea for her headache whatever." (Julia L. 294-296)

- "then you go to their houses and the only thing that they can give to you is like food and tea. To be honest sometimes I feel like this is so much better than what I give them. I think they're happy to be social. In cases like this you think that I might be teaching them Greek or English but in cases like this you really don't need the language like you always find a way to communicate with each other" (Kalia L. 471-475)

- "I think first of all it's that and secondly is if they like you as a person, they're also like "I have food in my house, you're here, you don't have food like you're in the camp, you're in my space so come and I will give you what I have". Like they're, It has happened to me, like, I was just walking around the campus with a friend of mine from [Darling Crafts] and we came up to this couple that she knew them so we just said "Hi" and they were like "come into the house for tea" so we came into their house for tea we started talking and then without us understanding when, we understood that the woman and the guy they were trying to cook as fast as they could for us. They were like "No, no, no. You'll stay to eat as well". They were like "we're sorry that we don't have enough. Like we don't have so many stuff but here's for you" and we were like "this is great, thank you, we were just passing by your house"" (Kalia L. 482-485)

- "We went to the door, we saw the girls and "Hi, what's up?" We were like "good" and she was like "come, come inside if you want" because it was kind of cold, we came and she brought us tea, like her boyfriend came, we sat, we played music, they were amazing like" (Kalia L. 495-497)
- "only good thing that I've realized in [Minoan camp], in houses that I've been invited in, they're really, like the heating is really well. So this is really good for them, they're not cold" (Kalia L. 157-159).
- "Busy Bee has the really good relationship with the people that they work with. There's a lot of times for example like they invite people for food like, they invite like students that are closer to us and this is kind of integrating them into our small community" (Kalia L. 342-344)
- "going in for tea is like, it's almost like a whole routine the kid will like invite you. Either during [Young Explorers] or after [Young Explorers] in which case your like I don't think so but their persistent or you range beforehand. But then, if you arranged beforehand you have to just go on each other word but that's hard cus you don't know if the kids fully understood you so then cus there's no, like you can't text them so it's

like going back to the older days, so you make a plan and have to fulfil it. And sometimes like I've turned up and they've been like, obviously forgot, and I'm like tea. But then sometimes you go like I went the other day, and they have like a whole feast and like, oh shed made all her kids stay for this feast and we all ate it together and we were showing pictures and she facetimed some family member she had in Birmingham, another refugee that was in Birmingham from her family and we spoke. And she was like whenever you come to Birmingham, now you know that we have family, Syrian family in Birmingham.so it's like they want you to know all their family, see all their pictures, eat all their food do no talking whatsoever" (Maddy L. 460-471)

- "it's like I can tell that they have places to be but there not allowed to go like as soon as we finish eating the boys are like oh, I'm sorry I have to go to Red Cross to get this money now, and I'm like omg yes please go, but like sit I walk in and then we all talk and chat and then when were finished and packed away they'll like okay I need to go to Red Cross. Sort of thing, so it's like a proper event which is amazing" (Maddy L. 491-495)

- "I think it's the mom, interestingly the dad has never joined sometimes when I go to their container he's sat outside, he's there and then I go in for tea but he doesn't ever join in so I don't know where he goes, or whether he's allowed to but I'm not sure, but he disappears when I go. Yeah" (Maddy L. 497-500)

- "I don't know why but I'm guessing from the beginning I just saw [xxx], and [xxx] taking their shoes off so I took my shoes off. Umm you kind of stand there. I've learnt now how to greet, it's like 3 kisses on the cheek and then a hug. But at the beginning its just awkward, like how many do I do but now I know what she does. Umm, and then your kind of they just say of oh sit sit sit. And then they put a mat on the floor and a massive tray comes out" (Maddy L. 506-510)

- "Loads of food on this tray and they don't start eating they'll like eat eat and once you start, they will start. A lot of the conversation you have as well are about the food. Like the food at the beginning of having tea, like before you're really really comfortable with people you talk about food, and you're like what is this and they love showing you their food from their country. And they find it funny when you tell them about English food, they're like what fish in a batter they'll like wooooah!" (Maddy L.,513-518)

- "they normally say, come for Tsai" (Maddy L. 746)

- "they don't say come to me, it's more like you come for the object, not for. Like come for food come for chai don't come to my home space container. They don't say that, they say come for this as opposed to come and see" (Maddy L. 748-750)

- "It's a practice that is typified, typified in in this aspect of going in for tea, because generally speaking, international organizations have a rule that they cannot do that. And a smaller organizations have the reputation of doing that and by doing that screwing things up, because of course it's more risky if you're risk averted, you don't. you don't do that" (Marco L. 1390-1394)

- "they say 'teacher, food? Or teacher coffee? Or like come to my house, maybe they say home? At [Minoan camp] they say come to my container. It's always container in [Minoan camp] (Niamh L. 1078-1080)

- "I go there the most out of anyone's and so in the beginning his children were a little stand-offish now whenever I come over they'll come running downstairs and out into the hallway to give me hugs and it's this big huge thing, I don't know, it's this big fun thing, like what [xxx] has said is they really look forward to it when I come over and to me it's like one of the highlight so my week, so usually what will happen If it's like a special meal, [xxx] will usually ask me in advice and he knows I have meetings, but sometimes hell just say, oh are you free now do you want to come for tea and coffee.

And food and then ill get there hug the children and then usually, I mean [xxx] is famous around [Dorian camp] for asking questions, so he'll, we will either chat or he'll like write down some words in English, but I send most of the time playing with his 3 children and also, I really like talking to his wife [xxx], she doesn't speak very much English cus she doesn't go to any English class, I've been trying to encourage [xxx] to let her go and have him stay home but yeah. So I go usually I sit I always offer to help but [xxx] will near let me help, [xxx] says [xxx] cooks, occasional [xxx] will turn on the water heater to make tea, and I make it a point to ask [xxx] to you help [xxx] around the house and [xxx] will say yes yes, but [xxx] understands what I ask and she'll say no no no. umm and then [xxx] will make a point when I come over sometimes to bring the dishes out and umm but tis like mostly [xxx] serving and setting thing down for the children as well and I spend most of my time there just chitchatting and playing with the children like they have different games that we like to play." (Niamh L. 1118-1135)

- "And yeah, they have invited me to tea. Uh, once I went for tea with [xxx] and [xxx], and their parents were not there. So, like, they just invited us for tea, and we sat on the floor because they didn't have like, chairs. Last week, [xxx] uncle invited us and they had, like we sat in some kind of not sofas, but like, yeah. They do the tea really sweet? Oh my god, he was like sugar and we were like little, little, little. And he would like the glasses are tiny. They put like, this off sugar. Wow. And yeah, like the other time we have tea outside, like, yeah" (Rafaella L. 193-198)

- "doing the tea and then he asks do you want sugar with it a little bit that was not a little bit of sugar" (Rafaella L. 235-236)… not a lot but like yeah maybe that's a little bit for them like they really sweet tea so he put like they put sugar in every glass and the glasses are like this tiny so of course even if you like that's a lot so" (Rafaella L. 238-240)

- "we have like nothing like even later and you were already sitting there there was like a family that said like come sit and we were sitting outside… I don't know if from [Young Explorers] or from English classes. Yeah I didn't know them nothing like they keep like bringing cups of tea and cups of tea and cups of tea really sweet and and there's not like not much to tell" (Rafaella L. 434-439)

- "another time I was we were we went to tell [xxx], if she wanted to be a [Young Explorer] Leader [xxx] and I and only like only [xxx] and [xxx] were there not their parents they said like come come come for tea so we came and it was really really nice I loved it and we were talking with them a lot about how they came and they're they're trip like not trip like they're traveling yeah the journey" (Rafaella L. 441-446)

- "and they they like one thing that really really surprised me is like how they talk about everything like if it was nothing for example [xxx] told us that when she was one day walking to school and a bomb like explode next to her next to her she was like yeah then about like literally she was like like if I tell you I run into someone so I bomb exploded next to me (R): wow yeah (P): yeah and also like they told us that they had a sister but like she died of a heart attack or something like something of the heart and they were like telling it like really normally" (Rafaella L. 452-458)

- "you get easily invited to their containers to have tea to have cakes and to have lunch and to have dinner and you know and I think that, of course it's easier to get along with A2, A1 and A2 students because they have a good level of English what is more complicated with the zeros but you know A0's they just bring in to the classroom cakes and they're sweet" (Tomasso L. 119-122)

- "There are different experiences. There weren't very good. For example: When I went to [xxx] was good. 'Cause you know, I know also his wife is also a student of mine, generally ok, of course, they're Muslim so you sit with the man in the room and the

ladies they bring you tea they bring you biscuits, they bring you cookies, and fruit and of course they're not joining in, they would sit in another room. It's something I don't like" (Tomasso L 169-173)

- "But I think the worst experience I've had was with [xxx]. He's a very decent guy, his English is very good. But I thought that he treated his wife so badly. So I went to his house, his container, he invited me for coffee together with [xxx] and before we entered the container, his wife and the wife of his brother has to leave to another room so that I couldn't see them at all. Then we entered to another room and then we have been served by his children, brought us coffee then when we finish eating the cake, biscuits and the coffee the ladies went back into the room we went out into the room and we left the container without seeing the wife at all. I was kind of 'I thought you were a decent person'" (Tomassso L. 173-180)

- "Come for tea" (Tomasso L. 333)

- "None of this would have happened the way it did, but because no one was there, we went straight to the people and you met. You met people by name, and so, you know, initially, like we served tea so we serve tea out of like a little tea caravan thing in the camp. And this was the one thing that was a consistent of source of like operation because it was the one thing that everybody like connected everybody all the different, like the Kurds, the Palestinians, everybody loved tea. And it was funny because they like different kinds of teas. So that was another point of discussion. We were making Syrian tea, which was like, I didn't know. I didn't realize what kind of tea they drank until I got there and I was in shock cause. I was just living in the UK before that. Where you don't put sugar in your tea. And then you go here and it's literally liquid sugar. Was like this is disgusting. But you're in that caravan for so long, you start drinking it as well and you go to tents and it's all that. So, it was interesting because we discovered through these Afghans like different kind of teas too Syrians because there was Syrians, we made more Syrian and we have to make these huge like. Industrial pots of tea you couldn't just you couldn't give people spoonful's of sugar cause they wanted like 5, so you had to put two kilos of sugar per pot and then basically, yeah. Basically, the Afghans guys just have to drink. […] so tea from the beginning was a connector or something that everybody came, people hugged around the tea caravan. That's how you got to meet people and through that, you know, like at the beginning I had this like" (Nora L. 2000-2016)

- "Think whatever the hell they want, but they should know that I'm like this with men and women like this isn't. I'm not flirting, you know, and neither are the other like girls. You know, maybe some of them are but like, so remember that I started doing, like, yoga classes for women in the female friendly space. And I went for tea with them. And so, like, you know, people just got to know you as a person. You were 'Teacher', but you were also [xxx], you know? (Nora L. 2644-2648)

- "So, like, yes, you become friends. You're a teacher. They trust you, they become, you know, they invite you for tea, blah, blah, blah. You go. And in that you develop a personal relationship" (Nora L. 2687-2689)

- "Then obviously like as you walk through the camp like there is life, you know, there's people hanging outside. You're always being invited in for something." (Nora L. 873-875)

- "Like the [Young Explorers team] get to know the kids. You don't get to know the adults, and so you know, you're not gonna go and necessary. Like, unless a kid invites you to their house. And the parents also say, yeah, that's fine. You wouldn't necessarily go into their container, maybe [xxx] and stuff, but it's like you go hang out with [xxx] in this container" (Nora L. 2139-2142).

Domain Analysis 10 – Explicit Rules

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Strict Inclusion

<u>Form</u>: X is a kind of Y

In relation to Busy Bee

In relation to the camp

In relation to groups

In relation to legalities

Cover Term (Y)   Explicit Rule

Semantic Relationship   is a kind of

Verbatim from participants (X)
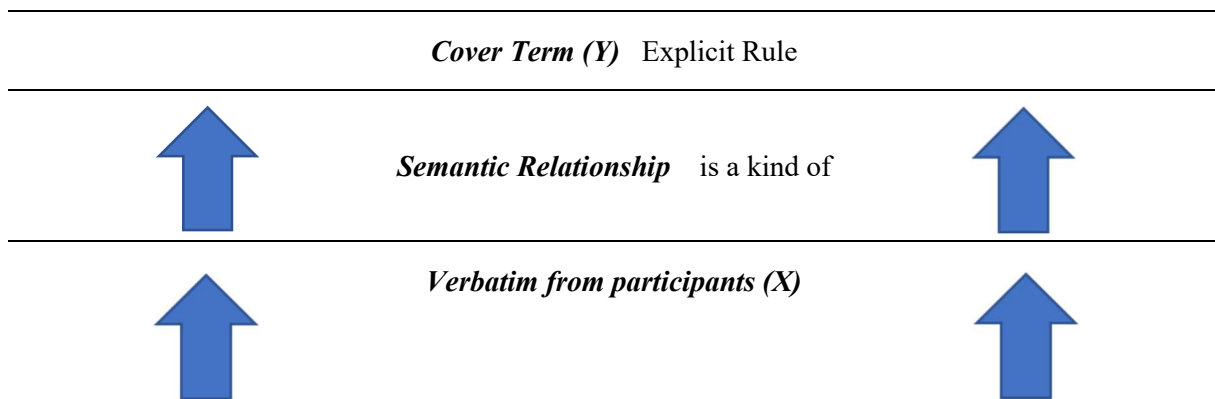
- "He says, I explain to they are new and they don't know the rules that when someone eat in [Darling Crafts], when he finish he have to wash his plate. And also sometimes it happens that the one was new and he sit beside me, and he ate his plate and it wasn't enough for him. So he stand up and decided to go and take some more food, and I told him, 'This is all the thing that you have to eat, there is no other choice to have extra food, like more'." (Hazim, L. 499-503)
- "Because we made a meeting, we take rules together and for the cleaning and when our neighbours sick, we will help her. And we don't make our children noise others." (Jameela, L. 345-347)
- "(I): This is not my home. Because I am not free in it. (P/A): (I): It's not my home, its temporary. Because sometimes some friends need to me to come to here. I want to help them to come to stay with me for 1 day, 2 day, 3 days but I can't. I couldn't still offer, go to the hotel, because the organisation here doesn't allow to us to stay, to invite some friends to sit together with us. So it's not my home." (Karim, L. 411-416)
- "(I): We had a guest here once, and I don't know if you know, but here, after 22:00, guests must leave this camp, and we had a guest with his kids, and he had to wait at the bus stop from 21:00 until 23:00 to wait for the bus. Now his kids are ill. And it was not in our power to keep them here with us. We were forced to tell them, 'you have to leave because these are the rules here'. After 22:00, no one can stay here. And you don't have the right to be responsible for your own time. To stay overnight or not, it's not you that decides. It is decided by others." (Rahim, L. 537-546)
- "(I): For me, I can say simply, that the feeling of home [chez moi], is to have a house, with different rooms for the children, and a reception room for my guests, and to have

the right to have guests and be able to invite people to your home throughout the night, or day. We don't have this provision here." (Sharif, L. 80-83)

- "(I): Because this is the rules, when we give passport and ID we have to take a home outside the camp. If someone wants to go to another country they go, if someone stay here, they take a home outside the camp in [Artemopolis]." (Madina and Tarik, L. 509-511)

- "(I): And we don't think that, we are belong here because we thought that we, arrive at Greece we can go to Germany or France we didn't know that we stuck here. We didn't know about the rules of the government in Greece." (Omar's Family, L. 414-416)

- "(I): In the past I wanted to invite them my social worker but she like this idea but she refused because the rules is not to be with the refugees in our home." (Sanam and Amany, L. 544-545)

- "(I): I understand the rules, because the rules used for refugees because they didn't want to cost of the refugees to make food and invite them every day or everything." (Sanam and Amany, L. 555-556)

- "(I): Yes, but just I go in [Darling Crafts] on Saturday because it's not allowed for the kids, for the children. Not problem for her, bigger than, older than 5 years." (Madeha, L. 366-367)

- "(I): For example, in different camps, you are in tents, and the mayor comes and says, "Come on! The tent needs to be moved, from here, to there, to somewhere else", because this here doesn't belong to you. That's why you don't really feel at home. (P/F): (I): As you have lived this situation and you have become this way, since I've been here in Greece, I had to move 4 times. From one tent to another tent. From that tent to a house. From the other house to this camp. And that's why you can't realise that this place belongs to you, that it's your home. (P/F): (I): It's like a car. You have to move it. Even if you have no power, you yourself to decide to stay. For example, if you're here, to go over there. It's them who decide if you have the right to or not. Everything in the camp, tents…" (Rahim, L. 571-582)

- "(I): In Iran, the child is not allowed to study to go to school, this was a big problem for me and for my child. So the first and important thing for Greek is that I can send my daughter to school to study and this is the best thing when I think about this." (Nadeem, L. 341-343)

- And are they weren't happy with the rules they said they are unfair and what we did is we went to them and we said, look here you have two options we can do …. classes there would be no structure to them that means that you can come whenever you want err, and you can miss them and you don't have to tell the teacher when you can't come, or you can have we can get good teachers we can have a syllabus that we can follow and have to stick by the strict rules if you don't come for X amount of lessons then you are kicked out and we presented it to them and they kind of argued with each other you have one side and one side. And then eventually we got to the stage where I think one person was still like I want informal classes but the other thirty were saying they wanted formal classes. Err, so we kind of the same you decide because we generally don't know […] Don't know err, and then also sometimes we will just say okay these are the rules you are angry with them but give us better ones and they won't be able to and I think that kind makes them realise that we kind of we are trying to make the best of what we can so in this context." (Ben L. 628-638)

- "it can sometime be quite exhausting you are like spending like five minutes at the beginning of the class getting them to go boy girl boy girl and almost like forcing them

to that can be quite tiring and sometimes then I'm like aaarggh it's fine, but I think it's worth definitely worth doing yes" (Cassie L. 112-115)

- "I had two kinds of outreach, outreach at [Minoan camp] and the outreach in the community centre. In [Minoan camp] it meant err walking around the camp knocking on doors I would have a list of people who needed to join class. Err, and I would knock on their door I would have them read the rules in their language make sure they understand it." (Isla L. 55-59)

- "[Busy Bee] doing it and doing it with under very strict rules I think they came to appreciate you know they came to appreciate that but more than anything they came to protect they appreciated the fact that they hadn't had a place in the classroom that they knew other people were desperate to get not that not that people were not mentioned but that it made them value their place because if they didn't show up whatever the criteria was, that they didn't show up more than three times, that they were out and they lost their place you need to go back to the end of the queue so in the structure that the [Busy Bee] came up with was effective in in in reenforcing the value people put on the class" (Fay L. 875-882)

- "I had spoken about that before in the in May and the main part where they refused to come to class with women and [xxx] did run into that that issue in in the Community Centre somewhere in [Dorian camp], but he made an executive decision in terms of [Busy Bee] that we won't do single sex classes so that's a separate thing I think that's completely different" (Fay L. 1471-1476)

- "You might go in and have to share it with you know you know people playing video games, kids talking and you know it's. Undefined, even though I think there were rules about be quiet and not eating" (Fay L. 1988-1990)

- "let them know on a regular basis how many absences they have how many excused excused absence or something they had, umm they had two different names you know let them know 'cause […] was on every day […] so let them know how many you know just let them certainly warn them if one more class you miss, you are gone so I used to do that regularly and they're all very clear they all pretty much new sometimes they ask me how many […] teacher but they know" (Fay L. 3109-3114)

- "you weren't allowed send a family member or a friend to give an absence in your in your place you know what I mean to inform the teacher that you're going to be absent so I had some days I had a wife come and say my husband went to the hospital last night with the baby she has to staying for two days so he's not gonna be here today or tomorrow I couldn't dictate that" (Fay L. 3119-3123)

- "so now that that to me is unfair because it doesn't fit into the life situation the real life on the ground situation that people face and that day I was telling you about where they got word that morning you can't leave your cabin because we're going to be doing fingerprinting or whatever it was we're going to be doing photo IDs they couldn't leave the cabin to come and tell me they're not coming to class today" (Fay L. 3127-3131)

- "another guy missed class because the he was supposed to he asked me for an absence on the Tuesday but showed up which means you could give the absence anyway which I didn't agree with and he said no they didn't come from me for the hospital and I said

well it's the rules blah blah that was just ridiculous to be honest you've come to class and the reason he asked for an absence was because he knew he was going to be going to the hospital but he said they didn't come for me and I said well OK I have to put you down as absence anyway even though you're in class and the next day he wasn't at class" (Fay L. 3136-3142)

- "and of course I know he's going to the hospital and so he comes in the following day and I have to give him another absence comes in the following day and he said he came from 8:30 in the morning, You weren't here till 9 I had to go on the bus they had the bus ready for me to go to the hospital so I couldn't send somebody so that's two absences for no just stupid for no reason you know he had informed me he got the wrong day because the bus at like the administration told him it would be Tuesday and it wasn't it was Wednesday and they change you know I mean so that's how precarious their life is" (Fay L. 3144-3150)

- "and a lot of times their doctor's appointments were changed at the last minute and so they might have been going by our rules but they had but I totally out of their control something was changed for them by somebody else and they had to go along with that so they had to miss the class and we had no leeway that was it" (Fay L. 3152-3155)

- "so I stand at the door without the card and go I high five what you want they know so they just do it.. Err there was one [xxx] didn't want to do it yesterday, but all of the older boys like they give me a fist bump or they just go in for a hug it's yes. Lots of hugs from the little girls but the older boys as well they hug" (Gabriella L. 226-233)
- "We have a seating plan in [Minoan camp] which is doing quite well" (Gabriella L. 237-239)
- "always come to [Young Explorers] early. We always have to say doesn't start for another hour and a half its not even like ten minutes early we tell them because obviously my whole life has been governed by time. We say like you come at quarter to six in half an hour they are like teacher teacher what's the time because they have most of them have phones but they just I don't know. Something strange things they just aren't aware of the time as much as" (Gabriella L. 263-268)
- "So then I say I say to them if you say teacher I no do this this is one strike. And they understand that. Even though it makes no sense in English actually when I think about it. Well it does make sense like yes" (Gabriella L. 866-868)
- "I don't know they copy the five four three two one countdown though when they want people to be quiet obviously that [Busy Bee] thing not, they are always very eager to give strikes to each other. Stars…Yes kind of their like good and bad. Like but only obviously I don't know if they obviously they don't do without without us because we are the rule makers so like there is no impact beyond the [Busy Bee] kind of classroom you can't get strikes outside." (Gabriella L. 872-880)
- "We don't allow people to hit people like obviously have to speak to the parents as well because someone is misbehaving" (Gabriella L. 150-151)
- "So everything was decided by a consent discussing. Err, so trying to have very flat hierarchies and every voice to be heard and including people in the process was something I learned in Argentina something that impressed me and impacted me a lot and something that I thought was a really good method somehow to improve or to construct equality. We are really working at eye level with people we never call ourselves teachers and other people students. Err so I think a lot of it has its roots there, and then obviously also the maker movement and the idea of open […] and that you

always gain if you share things and work in community is a beautiful different route that came into this place err it's a really interesting the question you ask about what about people who think differently what about people who perceive things a different way or prefer things a different way." (Hanna L. 431-441)

- "so in [Darling Crafts] after food everybody has to stand up and clean their own plate, and for a lot of the gentlemen coming here this is not what they are used to because the women are the ones being responsible in the household they are the ones who are in charge of the task. So what happens on many occasions is that if I guy comes here for the first time he will automatically hand the plate to a female family member which might be the wife. Or the daughter or the mother and then with a lot of humour we make clear that in [Darling Crafts] if a person responsible for their own plate and to clean up after themselves and usually that goes quite well. Sometimes we have a bit of a negotiation but with humour everything can be solved like really people agree to give it a try and there was just moments when if people have come here for longer observe these negotiations or the discussion going on with a new person its actually the men who have come here for longer jumping in putting a hand on the new guys shoulder and be like fun come on I show you where the sponge is. I'm going to like I'm going to do it together with you. So this is a small thing but it's it's for some it might be a huge thing you know because it breaks with paradigms that they have like within which they have moved all their lives and I'm not saying that one thing is the right thing or one thing is the other thing it's just that this is the way we do things here and people feel respect […] open up to the idea that other ways of doing things might actually be possible." (Hanna L. 392-408)

- "So this was the second big lesson that we learned we have to be sustainable we have to empower people or we have to offer structures where people can get empowered. But we have to be independent […] why should people be able to like decide what they need in their house err furniture wise or clothes wise. And then come up and be the ones creating it themselves we really really didn't want to be the ones offering readymade solutions we wanted to be we wanted to offer people the opportunity to create solutions themselves because we believe people are the experts of their daily lives. They know best what need so we are trying to provide the materials the equipment the know how and the space. So they can be come up with solutions can be the experts" (Hanna, L. 140-158)

- "People who fled their counties displaced people who came…refugees because then you put the people in the focus of the sentence one aspect of biography that limits them you know this is temporary this is not like person…this is not who they are this is not what should define them. We don't actually use the word refugees we don't use the word 'help' because it creates a hierarchy between helping subject and helpless object and it's not what we do here we don't believe people are helpless we don't believe they are victims. But yes if you say refugee in the reopen context…means helpless victim or a dangerous threat and in reality people are neither. (Hanna Darling Crafts, L.730-738)

- "When I started to work with [Busy Bee] it was already enforced. There is the explanation given was like since the kids are in in Europe they have to learn the habits of Europeans and they also have to like to learn like the values that we have so like also like um the value of gender equality um the like if you are a girl, there's no problem you can be as like you have the same dignity as a as a boy so there is no no no problem with that uhm I know that the thing is not applied to the adults and I I mean I don't know like I I question myself about this. I would say that like it's not applied on adults because

as I said like they already they already like socially constructed like so like there there's a very very slim chance that they would change their habits so uh I think it's already a big goal the fact that they are like the the classes are not gender segregated so like women and and men like study together" (Isabella L. 314-323)

- "so if we are talking about parents uh I would say that like they are not involved in the in what the kids do. So I did just clear just involving the very very first steps so like when they sign in the kids and they sign the consent form because consent form that's all and then they we we don't see the parents at all unless there is a big issue with the kids so that they doesn't respect the rules so we go to the parents and the parents will fix the situation with the kids definitely we know" (Isabella L. 789-794)

- "so they would always be late for the for the kids was a bit difficult at the beginning I would say especially for the new kids because we we told them you need to have a clock or a watch and you need to pay attention to to to them because at four at 4:45 when it was you need to be here you need to be outside the class and you need to queue up to lineup so and you just said 15 minutes so that before giving them exact times and for them sometimes was was a bit difficult to to understand you know like" (Isabella L. 884-889)

- "I would have have the printed yes copy of the rules which they would then get to keep. And I would make sure that they understood it, if they understood it I would have them sign something saying they have understood the rules. If they didn't understand it I had some videos that I could show them. Or I just wouldn't make the sign in the rules and we would just not hold them to the rules of the class. I would tell them what time to come to class and give them a copy of the err, timetable in their language. Err, and then I would go onto the next house and and ask somebody new err, it always entailed many people approaching me and saying when do I come to class. And I say not today. Or you are on the list or you need to do a placement test come Monday twelve o' clock or something like this" (Isla L. 63-71)

- "it's [Young Explorers] and [Young Explorers] are supposed to treat everybody equally in things like this it's like a certain level of like these are the values that we have that we are, err and we just trying to encourage them to grow up understanding that men and women can be friends and it's fine …… it's not bad. Err, but but when people are adults it's kind of they I mean not too late but also like you are a grownup we are not going dictate this to you" (Isla L. 703-709)

- "interaction with are the the people who work for the organisation who aren't allowed to have it's like significant interaction with them because of working with the organisations." (Isla L. 502-504)

- "I think that overall, I definitely allowed for, like there umm, kind of like there's, I don't know, protocol or whatever, umm, just being like not having barriers but just treating everyone equally. Like there's no like, umm, what do you call it, there's no like favouritism and there's no like accusation or favouritisms 'cus it's just like we give everyone the same quality of care" (Julia L. 614-618)

- "even though they are, there is no hierarchy they say, there is a hierarchy, which I think needs, there needs to be a hierarchy so that's not a bad thing. But it's definitely everything about this organisation is, what I like is that we have all these cultures and these rules and these values but everything can be explained. Oh, we're like this for this reason, it's not this because you know we like people. We say it how it is so that nothing bad can happen in this context. So, everything has an explanation which is fine" (Maddy L. 44-49)

- "I think it's like better than I thought I think, I show things when I need to how them so I know that a lot of people have said oh you've not done this, you've done that, and

I always say that when I need to adapt I can, but I'm not going to adapt unnecessarily before I need to. I found it okay. There's sometimes when things happen, people say things and I'm like this is just yeah, to far it doesn't have to be I know we have these rules but we don't have to go this, sometimes we can chill" (Maddy L. 68-71)

- "I mean I guess within the dynamic of the team, rules have just, you're expected to just, people should never have to ask about anything because you should have already told them I should never, like an example not in relation to the rules but I can explain it is, say I would never, say [xxx] is cooking, I should never ever ask him if he needs help because he should have already made it clear to me if he needs help or not if that, so like it's to set out the parameters before so no one is assuming. So, oh I know that [xxx] doesn't need help today." (Maddy L. 82-85)

- "I guess with the refugees it's just we have so many rules about like fairness with them so obviously you come late after 15 minutes you're not allowed in, and before I was like oh, I don't really see how that has, surely if its one-minute past I can let this kid in, but from being in the camps and seeing the way the people from different nationalities interact I can see now why we have to do this. Because they will accuse you of preferring Syrians over you know people from the Congo." (Maddy L. 91-95)

- "recently it's been difficult because they oh he said this to you in his language, you know in another language and you don't know what they've said but you have to just address the whole class and say 'in [Young Explorers] we have kindness' and it's just so flippy floppy because they're just like 'okay cool well done I've said this awful thing to you and you're just addressing the whole class saying in [YE] we are all kind' of course they'll going do it again, but we have come up with a new rule this time for like bad behaviour management. If they speak to you in their own language, this is a strike, cause we don't want to have a negative connotation for their own language at all, so they can speak to each other that's fine, but if they address you in their own language, it's a, we are saying it, because we don't know what's going on. It's disrespect to the teacher. So that's how were kind of playing it now, so whether they say something a bad thing or not" (Maddy L. 209-218)

- "And it almost gives the class a slight level of power over the teacher so now whether it's a really kind thing or not this is what we're trying to just nip in the bud, to each other obviously its fine. We are not saying you cannot speak your own language, but in English we try to speak English. So, if you're addressing the teacher in your own language, you have a strike" (Maddy L. 220-223)

- "We do boy girl boy girl, with the older levels it's not as important but we do it in [YE] to mix them, like a lot of the time. With the younger groups especially but also with some of the older ones. They don't mix boys and girls, it's just not an, I think it's probably from their culture. They obviously have different opinions about males and females, like from the offset, from day one. And we are trying to, I guess just show them you all do work together, you know there is nothing different about boys and girls. You notice with the old [YE] you kind of forget, but the new [YE] when they came back in, they came into the classroom, all the boys were on one side and all the boys on the other and that's fine but when we tried to move them there were massive problems. They would not want to sit next to the girls and I had, because when I came in there was not many new kids so they were boy girl boy girl, I know this but you forget, when it's the new [YE] they are like I'm not going to work in a pair with a girl and that's a thing you have to work on. Yeah because obviously they're in Greece now, they have to, at the home they are obviously still going to have that, in their container, obviously I can't apply it to everyone, there's going to be that different dynamic, so when you

come to [YE], this is where, you know we learn about the new way they are going to have to adapt" (Maddy L. 296-310)

- "we do not like, what I say to the kids most of the time I'm saying this, we do not say this we do not do this. that's a lot of the stuff yes teaching them English but also, we do not speak about people, we don't not laugh about people, if they are bullying, like there's one kid who has a different religion in class and they bully him so much and like most of them, sometimes 10 minutes I have to take out of my lesson to shout at people e to say we do not do this, it's not okay. Umm and I think that yeah, it's difficult, it's really difficult" (Maddy L. 332-337)

- "I think it's more more boundaries than doors. Like, I would never want. Like the kids know the rules and like every time somebody comes late, I like you're not allowed into his classroom into this space and let them know the next time come, cus I don't want them, like this time you're late but next time come back because sometimes you kick a kid out and they never come back and I'm like should I have made it clear that they were allowed to come back to [YE] just because I kicked them out" (Maddy, L. 836-841)

- "So many times, a kid has come too late and be like I was banging for 10 minutes but because the rule is the rule and even if they were at the hangar door before the 15-minute time period they still can't come into [YE], and I've got to be like next time you've got to be on time or the door will be locked like, it's difficult." (Maddy L. 854-857)

- Like me spending forty five minutes talking to ten African men including [xxx] and telling them that I think they are wrong is much more valuable than people understand it that people understand it than someone telling, 'oh you are right we will do whatever you want', or 'no this is the rule' and you know like we, we for example I remember there was one guy who came here and and he was a journalist and the thing that he was surprised the most about is how like we had the meeting about the rules. How I was not giving up you know like they would say oh no I disagree with this but okay I don't care, and I was no no tell me you know like tell me I want to know that is not enough for me. … big organisation don't have the possibility to do this or maybe think that they and they have to be risk averse. They have to be risk averse they cannot" (Marco L. 432-441)

- "So, in 2016, I was coordinating the volunteers and there was a rule that was, I think we talked about that, there was a rule that was totally racist and it was a rule that I had imposed and this rule was that 'only volunteers could enter the warehouse', well no refugees have appointments were they could enter and the people that were working there were umm were you know were, and what would happen there was a person at the door checking who could enter and who could not. And basically, the criteria were not white, because there were volunteers that were black and from the UK but clearly are you a refugee or not. And clearly that was strong reinforcing, there was no greeting, of course there were some volunteers that were there were some interpreters from the Dominican that could enter but you could argue it was equal because the people who were allowed in there were the people who were working there…" (Marco L. 1271-1285)

- "It's a practice that is typified, typified in in this aspect of going in for tea, because generally speaking, international organisations have a rule that they cannot do that. And a smaller organisations have the reputation of doing that and by doing that screwing things up, because of course it's more risky if you're risk averted" (Marco L. 1390-1393)

- "let's let's see it as an interaction and we talk about going in for tea, but we can enumerate so many different behaviours that are the same. So you go to camp, and someone tells you, your name [xxx], We won't buy. Do you want to come for tea? Like there? I'm. I'm. I'm presented with two options, one is telling them what I think so. Being transparent in my, my thoughts, and your thoughts would be I really don't want to, which you know, like we're not advocating for people always going for tea. The other option is, you know, reverting to organisation policy or something like that. But even when you revert to an organisation policy, you either do it with honesty or not. No, you can say, oh, look, this is their rules […] the policy of the organisation, but I don't agree with it. Which is sort of a cop out, you know, like, of course, if you risk your job doing that, that's a different thing, but it's a little bit of a cop out in terms of, you know, not not not getting ownership of your actions." (Marco L. 1415-1424)

- "and the only only like thing that empowers us to do that is is being really strict as we're saying with the rules because this allows us to not being accused of favourite like people really know that regardless of who I go for dinner with they will not have a favourite" (Marco L. 1471-1473)

- "like international organisations say that they are friendly not friends, and we say that we are not friendly but friends which means that we don't try to be nice, we don't try to make people, we don't tell people what they want to hear. But what is the truth and you know its like quite common to have people saying this is one of my favourite …. love story but I a really lyrical way. And err so like I would say the main main focus which is like interacting with people as they refugees as if they are people like we don't consider refugees, or we try we do everyone does but we try to do it in the least possible, being a refugee is only one minute aspect of someone's identity personality and when when you have any approach bad intention like all refugees are invaders or with good intention all refugees are all great or they are all heroes by lumping together you ae really enforcing you are removing agency. […] I don't treat the refugee like someone that is like a bomb that is about to explode like something that has to be deactivated. (Marco, L. 235-255)

- "for me it's really important that people are being respectful in the classroom like [BB] has a really long list of rules that are quite convoluted all to be very very fair. For me most is about respect. I tell them I have one rule and it's about respecting other like not speaking when other people people are speaking in the classroom. Um. What else? I don't know for me it's just, almost less important about them learning English as it is being together and having something to do every day. And have the opportunity, and kind of meeting others and working with others. (Niamh L. 170-176)

- "our classes start at a certain time. Like for A1 it's at 5:15 and then for A0 it's at 6:30 and the students have like a 5-minute grace period where they can come to class and not be considered late. But then after that 5-minute period they are late up until the end of the 15-minute period. In the A1 class, 5:15 to 5220 they are fine, from 5:20 to 5:30 they are considered late but they can still come to class. They can only come late once a week. And after 5:30 they can't come to class and they are not supposed to open the door. So, there is a big thing doors not being opened which has been like an ongoing thing for us to try to instil but I don't know if you noticed but there are notices on the outside that say you cannot open the door. Umm... and why we do this is to be 100 percent fair with all students and so they know the rules, they are aware of the rules and you now we are not treating any one student differently than another student. How I explain it to a lot of people is that one of my closest friends [xxx] was one of my

students in the community centre and the reason why I can be such good friends with him or why I can go to dinner at [xxx] house, and go and see [xxx] and [xxx] after class, is because even though I'm friends with them, if they are last to class I will give them a late and if they can't be allowed in class I won't let them in. it's all about being fair and that way we can develop these friendships where [xxx] might of coined it but I love it, he says we are friends with them but maybe not always friendly. Whereas other people and other NGOs they are friendly but they are not friends with the people they teach or work with." (Niamh L. 218-235)

- "[Dorian camp] and at the community centre as well one of our rules is you cannot open the door once the class has started. And why that is is because in the past people would just like barge in and kinda take over the class talking about something" (Niamh, L. 658-660)

- "I would never want them to think I put myself any higher because I'm their teacher, but like a funny thing about that is that I think that's why at [BB] we are so strict on the rules. And like if I'm late to class, which I never think that's ever happened but if I open the door to be like you can't open the door. The students will be like teacher you broke the rule. So (laughs) yeah, I don't think everyone holds to the same standards." (Niamh L. 1204-1208)

- "I think with all these new long-term volunteers at [BB] there is a different sense of what [BB] is now, and I think you know we do want to be very straightforward and blunt and I still do it in a way that I think is nice but other people in [BB] are about I'm gonna say what I need to say and it shouldn't hurt your feelings" (Niamh L. 821-825)

- "so these are like the [BB] values for the [YE] I think they haven't had it like for a long time they have had them for six months I'm not sure they are kind of trying to like me imitate the [BB] that the [YE] values not imitate but like summarise them in four and the kids get stars if they use each of these values like okay that was responsible a star for responsibility Okay thank you for helping that was kind. And yeah at the end of the module that people with more stars they get special training so it's a way of like enforcing these types of behaviours so they learn that they have to behave focus and kindly responsible and like teamwork like these are values that are going to be useful for their lives" (Rafaella L. 526-533)

- "Like there was no organisations there but we couldn't just, there was nowhere to do stuff and also we couldn't just do stuff cause there was all these restrictions from the ministry coming about like we there were certain rules for being in a camp and there was just a lot of ambiguity about what can and can't happen". (Nora L. 348-351)

- "There are restrictions, there are things they're there for people safety, which are just totally like, dehumanizing in some way like you know, there are times you can't enter. Why? Oh, because your name isn't on some list. What list? Like, I've been coming from last two years. What list are you now reading? What list did you create? And it's just this mismanagement, miscommunication, misunderstanding that happen between this organisation and the security and the ministry, and no one knows anything and people just are like whatever is, it's a nine to five job. That's how it feels. And you know you cannot run a camp like that. You cannot treat people that way when there's an emergency, what happens? Like. When there's when there's a frustration, what happens, you close the doors? like It's like it's like it's used as a space to control, which I really hate." (Nora, L. 986-994)

- "So, for example, like with the English classes or like, we had a lot of problems at the beginning with the rules. I mean, we still have it, but you had to have, you have to tell people, oh, you've lost your space. And I remember once I had this woman, like, literally rip up a book and, like, throw it in, not into my face. But it's the door. and I

came outside and saw it and I was like, what the **** is this? And I like. I was like, really upset about it. I told [Marco], he went to speak to her and. She was like 'yeah but You know you hate Africans. There's no black people in your classes […]' Like if you had taken one second to ask anybody, you would know that there are rules. It's just that [Dandelion Aid] doesn't know. So [Dandelion Aid] can't tell them. Oh no, it's not because they're racist, because there are rules and [Dandelion Aid] thinks are rules are like, we're just being Nazis. And you know, why are they so strict? It's like there's strict because. There is that the only way we can demonstrate that we're not, we don't use favouritism. Otherwise, people come into a class full of Arabs and they think, oh well, the Arabs have everything and we don't have anything. But no, the Arabs have this because they were here earlier, but they will, if they lose their place. You get a spot. It's not saved for the people who came here first. Just like when you get a thought. If you don't follow the rules, you lose that somehow comes in like it's not. It's, you know, it took a long time to reinforce this because we didn't have a support system like in [DC], you could explain the rules to the people or there are more volunteers who can. You can have these discussions within [Dandelion Aid] like well, we don't know. It's not our problem, our [BB] or they come to you and they go oh, we heard that you kicked out this person and like yeah. Did you ask them why? And they try and they even tried to push like the amount of time that [Dandelion Aid] tried to make me make exception. I literally like **** are you kidding me? This is the waiting list and you want me to push up this person because they are slightly more vulnerable like. Either either we change the system, we say the most vulnerable, including first. Or are we sticking to the rules? And how do we decide who is more vulnerable? And they did it all the time. So, you didn't have, you know, you don't have a system there that. Yeah, it's just all over the place." (Nora L. 1181-1205)

- "Also like their age. So, like having [xxx] translate from protection things to somebody's parents should never happen, it might, because again, our protocols maybe aren't as clear, but it shouldn't happen like a child should never have to translate messages that they don't understand. And we're quite were quite strict with that." (Nora, L.1527-1529)

- "We are close to the community then, that closeness is like one of our main like values. I would say it's probably the one thing that kept us alive because we were always able to have these discussions and engage with the community in a way where they like, you know, like like like us and wanted to be part of it, which we didn't even try like to be liked, it was just by being present, being interested. Going in for tea, you know, accepting invitations, listening to people's problems, you know, just kind of being responsive, being reactive and not just like, Oh yeah, yeah. And then walking away or whatever" (Nora L. 2118-2124)

- "But basically, what our values centre around is treating people like people. So that means really be honest. You know, and I honestly transparency like literally saying no, like being able to say no, we can't do this like we or if we have a system explaining that system. So, the rules, the English class is a classic example of. What I mean by by of us as a as an organisation, we have a really in the system in English class system we had to kind of we had to cover or tick many boxes so we wanted it to be a program that is valuable to the community we work with so as to serve their needs and that varies depending on the level of English a person is having to learn. This meant having a lot of conversations with people holding a lot of meetings, having discussions around do you want a class that's social that like? […] Umm, yeah, I think like again communication discussion and making sure and engaging people in the process is is

one of our main like, I don't know if that's a value but like approaches the things. And in that, you know, being like honest with people and saying no, we can't have gender segregated classes because I'm giving you explanation and if they want to challenge it, giving them the space to do that like nothing was ever imposed and like this is how it's done. There's no discussion around it. No, if you hate it, if this is absolutely not how you want to do it, tell us. And there's so many times that we had discussions around the way we teach, so they would probably be like, oh, Teacher [Emma] just plays games with us. We wanna learn. And we would be like, OK, look, Teacher [Emma] is applying best practices for teaching English. This is how we work, how we learn in in the West. Tell us about your school. Then they go well and our school, the teacher would stand in front of the board and write a bunch of words down. And we would write them into our book like, yeah. OK. That's rote memorization. Education has moved from then. We know that this is now not the best way to learn, so we not. We're not going to imitate a Syrian school. We're going to imitate a best practice, and you will get used to it. Just trust us because we are like professionals in this. This is what we know. And if you hate it, you feel like you're not learning, then fine. We can discuss it; we can set you wrote memorization homework. But like, you know, we also tried to build our own credibility by explaining things to people and saying this is why we do it this way and then they would understand, you know. And also, being able to say no, which is really like that ties in with the conversation about, you know, saying no to food you don't like. It's also being able to say no to things that you cannot do for people. […] You have to be honest with people. You have to manage their expectations. You shouldn't just make them try. Make it feel better because you feel sorry for them. Like this is something we never do, and if. And and it's really hard because those are our values and those are things that we now are kind of defining better and will be able to instil in volunteers. But it's really obvious when people come because everybody feels sorry to some extent for refugees and so and with kids especially like oh, we just need to hug them and we need to let them do whatever they want because of everything they've been through. It's like, no, that's literally the worst thing you could do for them. Because they need discipline, they need routine. They need to be told right and wrong. And if we have X amount of contact with them, it's our responsibility to do that, just like you would with any other kid, you know." (Nora L. 2325-2415)

Appendix 26

Domain Analysis 11 – Implicit Rules

<u>Semantic Relationship</u>: Strict Inclusion

<u>Form</u>: X is a kind of Y

In relation to Busy Bee

In relation to the camp

In relation to groups

In relation to legalities

Cover Term (Y) Implicit Rule

Semantic Relationship is a kind of

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)
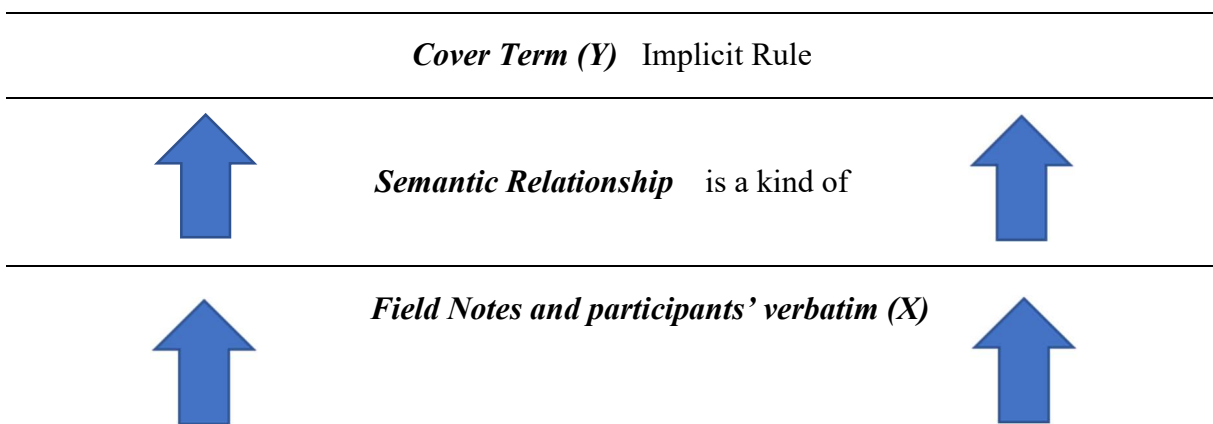
- "we kid ourselves that we are teaching them valuable life skills, but then really, we should be asking children who have portrayed leadership potential to be [Young Explorers] leaders, and not discounting them because they don't speak English well enough." (FN, 11/01/2020, L. 42-45)
- "(I): Because we came here we have to be like their culture we have to accept their culture." (Ghalib, L. 318)
- "(T): Nobody say 'don't sit there', but the feeling." (Titti and Arjin, L. 483 – See whole extract L. 459-483)
- "(I): Islamic countries like that. The men and women is separate. And also our classes was just for women." (Madeha, L. 188-189)
- "(I): Because of the culture, because of the culture in Afghanistan we invite our family because we know their husband, their sons and in here we don't know, just say hello." (Salma, L. 336-337),
- "(I): Because he is saying, there are many women in the kitchen, and he could go there, no one says he is not allowed to, but he is shy to go." (Rahim, L. 98-107)
- "Since we had finished doing the rounds and were still waiting for the bus to arrive and take us back to town, we decided to join in the volleyball game. [Maddy] was rushing ahead, completely unaware of the mens' eyes glued to us as if we were daring to enter some forbidden territory. As we got close to the volleyball court, [Nesrin] immediately stood on the left side, not making much eye contact with the men on the court, moving swiftly, as if she knew her place was on the side of the court. Meanwhile, as soon as

the ball was hit out of the court and one young boy ran after it, Maddy approaches the two men that she seems to know and asks, 'We're gonna play with you, is that alright?' I am standing next to her, very uncomfortable with this interaction. Clearly these men are uncomfortable with us being here too, shifting their eyes, trying to look away, but the way she asks and has already moved onto the court makes them feel like they can't say no. I am instantly grateful for having chosen long trousers and long sleeves today, but I can't help but notice the men on the other side of the net staring at [Maddy's] exposed legs – she is oblivious to this. But then the two men she is talking to say, 'Yes, sure!' and so the game is on. Two men move from the side of the court they were on to the other to make some room for us. Maddy kept waving at Nesrin to join us on the court, but [Nesrin] didn't budge." (FN, 06/11/2019: L. 146-154)

- "That was are trying to teach them just equality respect for everybody. To respect your […] and you can speak with boys like you speak with girls. This kind of thing so it's not really a culture it's just err a way to see others and relationships and also these I see that they really enjoyed and […] so every time there is a problem they say it, problem and they go [...] So they also like it. […] yes and for months I see it's kind of weird for them to be in a group with to have to interact with girls and they interact with boys. But then they enjoy it. and I think they just being kids they don't realise that that is nothing wrong." (Beatrice L. 149-156)

- "But I think generally people are quite surprised that definitely the way that we are with the refugees like how […] we know all the refugee's names […] kind of friendly same way as you would with normal" (Ben L. 119-123)

- "they would give it some if there some one was struggling that they would always help if they were in that situation they would expect you do do the same for them and if you really […] their kind of culture […] the situation they are in but there is very much a sense of you scratch my back I will scratch yours. Err, and I think that really does create a sense of community just by people being kind… for each other ….. and also you know like you want to repay in whatever way" (Ben L. 454-459)

- "people can be very uncomfortable with me admitting mistakes. But there we go but I'm not going to I wouldn't I would not ever not admit my mistakes. Because it makes the students uncomfortable. I believe that there are there be a number of good things that come about from me saying 'Oh I spelt this word wrong'. Greatly outweigh err the the number the greatly outweigh the number of issues brought up by that. Err I like ultimately I think I make that decision because I believe that the the things that I the bad things that I feel about adhering to the deferential err norms in in the student's cultures is wrong. If this means that they don't come to class probably be okay with that. Just because otherwise I would be acting twenty four seven and I couldn't." (Emma L. 184-200)

- "Sometime, mostly they were coming quiet they always yeah they always have their own seat and people not switch respect just because everybody is going to their own seat so it wasn't like somebody sat in the wrong seat but when the new students they might sit in somebody's seat and that student might say could you move down one I usually sit there or if it was a woman they wouldn't say it to her they would just let her sit there and that student would go and sit in a new seat for him the women always set together with no I didn't make a rule about you have to mix sexes because they were friendly the women were friendly together." (Fay L. 1209-1216)

- "I was always under pressure because I've never really had much time. There was always somebody after class wanted to talk to me" (Fay L. 2447-2448)
- "Yes that was quite intense afterwards it was like he would beat him afterwards. So yes so now we are a bit we like we always try and follow when we go and speak to the parents we always avoid it as much as possible because we do know that in their culture they do beat their kids and we do normally like yes we are aware of who beats their kids and who doesn't." (Gabriella L. 143-147)
- "I would knock on the door I would say in from [Busy Bee] I'm the English teacher about English class I would explain that they could come to class and then sometimes they would say thank you, and then they would say thank and then they would say come in, err they would say please come in my home have tea. Sometimes I would knock on the door while they were eating and then they would automatically invite me in" (Isla L. 123-127)
- "I think what I can tell from being in the English classes it's not necessarily there is a rule set it's just that the English teacher is whichever English teacher is there and this counts for all of the English teachers I have seen. They are so like fair with everybody and equal with everybody and unwilling to enter into any like like small political, I mean not the big political stuff but the small political like between specifically between these people, like there is so not going to enter into that that it become nonsense, it's like of course these people are just people and you always and even not even just that but like when you interact with people anyway once you meet somebody, oh okay like this person is okay. They might still they might be an Afghan who hates all Arabs but not this one this one is is his friend this one is different you know and like. Hate Arabs but you are okay you know" (Isla L. 628-637)
- "People do just sit wherever they want a lot of the time this means that there is a separation between men and women in the classroom which means I don't think any teacher particularly makes like a like a real like a this is a big problem thing it's like you are adults sit where you like but sometimes they do group work they might shove somebody over to the other side and be like yes you can communicate with a man for once, you will manage you will survive. Or you can treat a woman like she's a whole human… its fine, but yes generally they just chose wherever the want to sit and usually men on one side and women on the other side it is what it is." (Isla L. 687-694)
- "like being myself new to [Busy Bee] and [Young Explorers] like, I was still kind of figuring out the dynamic so I felt like it just wasn't a very proactive way to bring someone into the program or into the classroom without first having some kind of like, like these are the ground rules or this is how it works and it was just an awkward way like no no no you should, like I don't know it was just the whole situation. Umm, so I felt like there were just so many different definitions of what a [Young Explorers] leader was first. Umm, but I think that started to kind of become a little bit better as we started to actually pour into them like bringing them together and kind of see what, like who the [Young Explorers] leaders were and like especially from [xxx], like how do they talk to each other. And I definitely kind of felt like there was a little more of like camaraderie within the [Young Explorers] leaders or like little bit more an understanding of like the responsibilities they had" (Julia L. 573-582)
- "Like you know if they offer it to you, no no I'm okay and you're like no no please please and they keep offering and wait. I think you're supposed to refuse the first time, maybe the first and second, I think I've heard some kind of rule like that but I don't like really understand it. So, I kind of refused the first time and then they went, when they

would like insist, then I would take it cause I didn't want to like be insulting to them, I just didn't really know exactly how that worked" (Julia L. 1808-1813)

- "then there was other times when it's just like 'you shouldn't have to be dealing with this problem'. This whole car thing. You should be dealing with this. And especially like stuff in the classroom. Or like when we were doing uhh outreach stuff, like having someone from the kids like going round to like translate for us it's like how confident or comfortable do they actually feel with this like? Cause like yes, they can like have a conversation or like speak pretty decently or like translating or interpreting is completely different. Like some of them, like I'm not even as […] in Spanish but if you would have asked me like interpret something, like I can't like it's just like a different, like I can't do that. Like it's just too much for me." (Julia L. 507-514)
- "I would be more polite but it would be same kind of politeness as if I was in parent's friend's house". (Kalia L. 503-504)
- "It really depends on the person like the English classes is something that you feel like you have to do. Like you have to learn this language in order to live in this new place that but creating is not obligatory. It doesn't feel obligatory, it's free to do it. So, I guess that if you go there you start creating it's something that you want, you yourself want." (Kalia L. 227-230)
- "Like the importance of this moment is to communicate with each other, if you go to the next level to actually speak the language correctly, then "yes" I will correct, I will say like, "This is not correct, you have to change the way you speak". Like right now the most important thing is that we understand what we want to say so if someone says, like "he spoke me bad", "speak me bad", "he bad did this", "he bad", I would say "ok, I understood what you want to say" so why would I hear and tell you "ok, this is wrong" no, like the importance is to actually communicate what we want and what we feel, the what we want to say" (Kalia L. 640-646)
- "but it does make you feel powerless and I think that's one of the reasons why. Like I don't care what they say, like if they are going to speak bad to me, I couldn't care less, but I don't want them to think that this is a tool that they have to insert their dominance over me, especially the teenagers, I'm sacred of them as it is. I really don't want them saying things" (Maddy L. 228-231)
- "It's from the kids and it's from them not in [Young Explorers] we don't proper, we teach informal English. So, it's basically us not teaching them, or them not been in their own countries for years now, they just haven't learnt proper grammar, in the camp you say oh he speaks bad or its very problem and you know this person is going to understand it. And I guess I've started using it because 4 days a week now in my classes this is how I communicate; I communicate in broken English to the kids so they can understand what I say. And it just sticks like this big problem, even in my own life I'll sometimes go, oh I really like that now I go; I like I like. Because it's, the way I speak to the kids" (Maddy L. 239-245)
- "I kind of like do engage further but in a way of like, what I normally tell them is everybody thinks differently about, it's difficult to explain it to them, because like as some people Allah, some people God or some people this some people not this. And I was like we don't laugh" (Maddy L. 327-329)
- "That will 100 percent happen because they don't, I don't think always the refugees see that we are on their side and that may be because of the organisation that they might have been in the past" (Maddy L. 96-98)
- "always container because when I used to say home, they were like my home is not here" (Maddy L. 734)

- "So what do I do? like I think that there shouldn't be a problem between men and women shaking hands I I really think like you know I don't think it does a particular meaning that if we replace the handshake with the fist bump, but what I'm saying is the idea like as a personal idea that I have the idea that men and women cannot have that type of physical contact I I think I I don't support. Now clearly by knowing everyone in the camps, I know, not everyone but a lot of people in the camp, I kind of know who are the people that who are the female because I'm a male, who would accept or want a handshake or who not. So what is my policy you know clearly I am myself so the first time I go so I offer a handshake and some people accepted some people turn it down um but the the like for sure what I don't do is that the next time I try again I know that that woman doesn't I mean of course I will make mistakes I will forgot it but at the same time on the other side as we talked about I don't tell volunteers I didn't tell you [xxx], when you go for tea, don't don't shake that hand don't shake and you know like you know we were leaving now [Dorian camp] and you hugged [xxx]. you know how how did you decide that well it's really complicated how you and and and I think we have to leave space for a degree of of of of mess and mistakes and you know" (Marco L. 1490-1503)

- "in the community centre, I would say way less frequently. Umm but at [Dorian camp] since I started the classes there in November, they have always pretty much self-segregated by, I think the first one they segregate by is men and women and then by language as well" (Niamh L. 195-197)

- "I always say that I love [Busy Bee] and I keep coming back to [Busy Bee] but I keep telling people I don't know if were special. Like I haven't worked for that many NGOs so I don't think that I can really say whether or not we are special. Like there is this huge sense of, I didn't really understand that there was this huge sense of pride about it, until November when the […] meeting started and cause to me it was like oh I came to [Busy Bee] because a friend told me about it a friend really liked it and I came and in march and April I liked it but I was quite burned out on it and I didn't fully agree with some of [Busy Bee's] policy" (Niamh, L. 809-814)

- "we have such an interesting culture. Umm we overwork ourselves 100 percent. I mean we spoke about this the other day on the bus home the other night, [xxx] made an interesting point that because we're not getting paid and because we don't work 8-5, We are all constantly working, like it is the norm to work 7 days a week. And because I think you think there are so many things you could do for other people. And I do think a lot of us are quite giving and that's why we're here I mean maybe not everyone but yeah, I mean different people are all here for different reasons. I know [xxx] likes the intensity of it whereas that's not where I come from, I like to….so, we overwork ourselves, there is this sense of pride from being different and I'm still on the fence about it. And [xxx] and I have had interesting talks where I go, if I end up doing my masters, go do research somewhere and see is [Busy Bee] really different from other goes and is it a good thing or a bad thing that we are different. Umm, but I mean I the one thing that I really tried [Busy Bee] one is that I can be friends with my students and still 100 percent fair and being able to build maintain these relationships like across so many different communities and I don't know I may have spoken to you about it a little the other day but I do have this group of younger, like mid-20s, young 20s Afghani and they are actually all male, but over the year that I have known them I've really tried to instil in them that just because I talk to you and just because we hang out all the time does not mean I want to date you. And like that a big thing and what they have said to me about their culture. Like a woman is showing this much interest and hanging out with them and that that means they want to date." (Niamh, L. 846-857)

- "but the hangar is an enigma…, I think people see it as separate from. And I don't spend enough time in [Minoan camp] to like really make a claim on it, but I do think that people see it as not theirs and that's why it's always broken into" (Niamh, L. 782-789)
- "and it's so funny because we say day off, but it's like still we joke that [Busy Bee] day off is not going into camp" (Niamh L. 943-944)
- "Then as you walk up there the [Dandelion Aid] office and the [Dandelion Aid], I don't know, to me they are always off in that office and they're never integrating with the community. They will be like smoking downstairs or out on the balcony but they never will talk to the people whereas when I walk up my favorite is when the school bus is dropping off the youth off and they all come running up to me and I get hugs and get to talk to them about their school day. So, for me it doesn't really seem like [Dandelion Aid] does that at all" (Niamh L. 1026-1032)
- "So, I think like for example, the kids, they're always outside, like they're never home, I think. When you go to a camp like you see everyone comes out yeah [xxx] all the kids like they're never like they don't spend the day at home but the adults kind of do. If you want to talk to an adult, you can just kind of go to container and they will be there." (Rafaella L. 147-150)
- "I feel like it's like smoking in a closed room I feel like it's unpolite to the other people that don't smoke for example if [xxx] had been there, he would have left like [xxx] cannot be in a room where they are smoking" (Rafaella L. 280-282)
- "yeah no no no so outside we were like do we have to take our shoes off? and he said like it's OK we don't have like a because most most of the containers they have how do you? A carpet the carpet or like some sort of thing in the floor is that like it's OK anyway I took my because I had already taken them off, [xxx] didn't, like they didn't have carpet so it's okay." (Rafaella L. 207-210)
- "yeah like I would say like don't worry about me you don't have to give me anything else but I won't eat it um and it's not like OK so this smoking I feel like it's and non-mandatory not like mandatory but like it's not unpolite to say no I don't want to cigarette" (Rafaella L. 273-275)
- "then I would say ok so if you think that this is the world but you know, it's quite common that women sit on one side and men on the other side. There was once we had this language café […] and I came in to get a drink and I saw all the men on one and the ladies on the other side of the café. I said "what the hell?" I said "ladies, sit here because otherwise is not a language café, we have to interact all together" But I'm very happy because now AO-Mid. There are more women than men. We always make jokes you know, saying "oh men, you are just a few, we are women power". Seldom we have, I rarely had I've never had a class that there were more women than men. It's the first time and they did that." (Tommasso L. 230-237)
- "I don't know, I wouldn't say all of them but a large part of them are there for the salary and not because of they believe in what they're doing, they care about refugees but for us we are volunteers, we decide to come here, nobody forced me, I knew since the beginning that we wouldn't get any money. This is also for the idea for me to be here. I'm here because I want to be here. You know, it's not a matter of money, it's just a matter of I do something that is more in line with my ideals" (Tomasso L. 499-503)
- "But a Syrian could sit with an African, a woman could sit with a man because they were doing an English language activity that was about learning and not about threatening your identity in any way, so they really like in all like classes. This is one thing that I think I think we really manage with adults is to create a group identity where they're students and so they are trying their best to be the best students they can be and

they're taking it super seriously. And this also took time like there was people who would come whenever and do whatever because also we didn't have rules and. We were also learning and so the process of building a culture in the classrooms that then translated outside of it took time, but it was beautiful, like all the Somali ladies coming together, colour coding their outfit by sitting with each other […] And it also enabled, I think, also empowered people because, like we would, you know from, you know, for us it's really important to get their opinion and their thoughts on everything. And so, whenever we have these had these meetings like at the beginning and a feedback session which I had, every two months, with the students at the beginning, first people were like, you know, complaining or or shy. And by the end of it, they were. They really trying to express themselves in English and be really trying to be critical because they understood the critic, that critics the criticism was to improve stuff and not to like, not not disrespectful thing to do. And so, we really, I think. Enabled to through our classes build this culture of like agency and respect and like dignity and everybody's voice is equal. And the adults really understood that. I mean, there were still problems with stuff, but like there was an eye-to-eye kind of engagement or eye level, whatever you call it, equal engagement definitely between the teachers and the students. Um, and then outside of classes, you really saw they used the language. However, of course they would resort back to their mother tongue if they're having hanging out like in their house, you know, but whatever it was asked, they they tried their best to do it in English." (Nora L. 1491-1505)

- "It's not that kind of organisation. Like, I don't want it to be that kind of organisation where we're just like getting wasted in the living room. And it's like a hostel vibe. And then you go and you do your 4 hours and it's like then you leave like, that's not what this is and. So yeah, we haven't perfected, I don't have an answer. Like we're working on it, but for sure it's it's something that we want to be like a something a volunteer gains when they're here and it's something that also manages, like, maintains our trust with the community because it's like if every volunteer that comes, you can expect more or less the same thing from them. That's important. Like so people know okay you go to [Busy Bee] person, they will be reliable, they will be accountable, they'll be interested and they won't just lie to you, you know. But it's easier said than done, that's for sure." (Nora L. 2153-2162)

- "get given their allowance for them. Like I'm not gonna waste food in somebody's house." (Nora L. 2247-2248)

- "like being a teacher, I think just like you're able to build trust in people in a in a way that, like, allows them to put aside things that aren't necessary in a classroom. So, if in the classroom our shared mission is to learn English. […] Like you can question the teacher, you can challenge the teacher, but from the culture that these people come from, the teacher is in authority and so we always try to like, you know, break these barriers by explaining that in our classes. it's a class culture, so it's a [Busy Bee] culture, the culture where everybody is equal. It doesn't matter what gender you are, how much, what you did back home, or what the teacher knows or doesn't know everybody is is the same. And so, this took a lot of like building. It took a lot of investments to build this kind of culture, a cultural identity. Or the kind of space where people felt like. OK, yeah, I guess we being an Afghan woman, I'm not threatened sitting next to this guy because, I'm in a safe, I'm in a classroom, and we're learning and everything we're doing is to progress the learning. So, there's like a level of trust that they put in the teacher in the space and in the program and that we then have to make sure it's being used properly and not used in a way that, like, you know, abused in anyway. But like, luckily, like, this is a really part of the interview process for teachers and a part of the feedback

sessions that we do with the students to make sure that a teacher never abusing that safe space that they've created. So, I think the fact that like. I think the fact that it's a teacher in a classroom does open up for people to challenge ideas and traditions and try and to build that trust towards the teacher, but. Yeah, I guess it is still. Like maybe then it […] somehow not inaccurate, but it is confined within that space of 'oh you're the teacher'. Maybe if I met you in a different context, I wouldn't allow you allow the […]. But the things that I've like we we test it in the sense that. Like. Look, I don't English program is much, much, it's much more evident how this can translate to, like almost like a socialite of. Uh. Between cultures. So, like, yes, you become friends. You're a teacher. They trust you, they become, you know, they invite you for tea, blah, blah, blah. You go. And in that you develop a personal relationship. So, I would not necessarily speak about religion. Maybe that's not the topic for a class or if we did talk about religion, it would maybe be more in the context of learning about each other. But then when I and I would hear stuff, then maybe I go for tea at [xxx] and I asked him, like, 'what did you mean by that religious thing that you said?', but I also like the interactions are different like it's more personal. Maybe you know it's. I don't know, like through the adult English program. I think it's much easier to like use the role to create the trust, but then also step out of that role and I look right now, not your teacher. I'm just like [Nora] and I'm telling you my opinion. I'm not gonna teach you this tomorrow in English class. with the [Young Explorers] I think it's a bit different. I think also, it's different when you work with younger people, like with older people, they have like like, they're confident in who they are and why they're there and everything. I think with younger people is like. By giving them a role, they also really stick to it, so they identify us, the [Young Explorers] leader or the excursion person or the thing, and they take it really seriously. And so, they don't allow themselves to like, they kind of pigeonhole themselves in that, you know. With children also like it's it's a fine line, like kids need to need to respect you, but not because they fear you. They need to respect you because you're somebody you they feel like it's listening to them, somebody who they can trust, somebody who's fair and and who, like, understands how kids works. So, it's. With the kids a lot harder, I think to like, break between those roles and maybe it's not necessary, which is why it's also harder for the [Young Explorers] team to meet to get to meet people, and they're always stuck in these roles because of. Yeah, just who they work with… (Nora L. 2664-2708)

- "also sometimes I suppose if adults obviously they have lived in the countries they are from for much longer. The kind of morals and ideas beliefs from those countries would be much more set in them so maybe it would be more traumatic or too upsetting to make them sit boy girl boy girl. Whereas I don't know for the children obviously they are they have probably live in Europe some of them most of their lives so the idea of getting them to not have these ideas that a boy can't sit next to a girl is easier for them to do this" (Cassie, L. 132-138)

- "they are coming I mean if you look at it from the point of view it's not even that they are coming into Europe it's it's the idea that a boy and a girl are treated as equal and it doesn't matter whether you are a boy or a girl and that's something definitely important for them to believe in it as well. Especially because a lot of them come from countries where they are not treated equally so it's so important for them to see each other as equals I guess yes" (Cassie L. 142-147)

- "there is a culture of [Busy Bee] and there is culture in how we act so yes there is a culture in how we act and how we speak to the children and how we ae with the children and how we trat them. Yes the [Busy Bee] I would say it very much honest that's one

502

of the things that has been err was made very clear to me at the start that being [Busy Bee] you have to be honest with yourself with the children. It's about its this kind of treating others equally I think as well again and then I think that does affect how we are with them" (Cassie L. 301-306)

- "I actually think that vision of boy girl boy girl should be backed up with some some scientific or educational or scientific or educational not cultural or political but I don't agree culture research because if you go to any [...] western if you go to any primary school across any country in Europe and you say to the kids OK line up.. the little girl buddies are going to stand together and the little boy buddies are gonna stand together now if it comes to all hold hands in a circle oh I'm not holding his hand... to hold anyone's hand, be it a boy, a refugee, be it an Afghani or you know everybody hold hands 'cause we're all equal" (Fay L. 1504-1514)

- "you you cannot force an adult to sit next to somebody they did you not know and then like I don't know I think it would be weird for them to sit next to a woman maybe for a man to sit next to a woman who is not their wife so yeah I think that this would create some some problems because like in the end like comes out like the reflection of what happens in their country so like they bring with them all their values and that their cultural construction so I would say then like I would have forced anybody to do so but you get" (Isabella L. 325-330)

- "And whoever that third person was, whoever we were with I can't remember was like actually if you were to like ask them about shopping and stuff like next time maybe don't, like if you see people come back with groceries like maybe don't ask what they have cause it, culturally they have to offer it to you" (Julia L. 1830-1833)

- "Like when we play a game, if we say like "we the teachers choose the teams that we make equal teams of boys and girls, 'cause, yes, maybe if we say, ok, you two choose, maybe there wouldn't be like boys and girls. But when we sit in the circle, which is like, one minute, that's not important because we try, Try so hard, like it makes you think then like boy and girl are not the same, because [...] if it was, why wouldn't we be able to sit however we wanted. I really think that there should be like, classes about the relationships between boys and girls, the western society and like like last year with the art classes with [Julia] we were showing the pictures for example, we didn't show the girls and girls kissing and boys and boys but there were, there was a famous picture in Italy with a guy and a girl kissing outside of the church and they were like "ewyyyyy, kissing" and like for them a kiss was like a super wow and like, maybe, it also felt like it was ah ah ah «πως το λενε?" "how it is called?" not shocking, like "σε εθηξα" "offended you" It also felt like they were offended, like "teacher, why do you show us this?" and then [xxx] told me that "I've never seen my parents kiss" and I'm like, "we have to", like we have to teach them, like we won't teach them something like too extreme, but here we kiss in the street" (Kalia L. 770-786)

- "everything you say is taken like absolutely the truth so everything you say is taken literally so you have to be careful which words you use because otherwise they'll just say you're contradicting yourself in the way that, in the way you are." (Maddy, L. 89-91)

- "in my opinion they haven't chosen to be here and like obviously, but they are here so therefore we should try and do our best, not to shout at them but to show them that there's is other stuff out there. And obviously if they do bully a kid for stuff like that, I

503

will shout at them, and ill shout at them for bullying a kid because he has, I don't know big eyebrow, I don't know, but it thinks they should at least be shown that there's all these different" (Maddy L. 344-348)

- "I would never say to him, [****] you respect my culture. Like I think everyone would have contempt and rightly so for someone that err, doing that. And the you cannot change it when it's the other way around its important to have a discussion it's important to have, and I don't think the moment you say that your values are you know for example I don't think that [Busy Bee] values are per se Western values, like in terms of hospitality there are more Eastern if we want, you know you know I disagree with this notion that human rights are Western. I totally disagree. You know like I think of course like historically some countries now because in the 1300 was not the case err, you know in the 1300 the Arab world was more progressive" (Marco L. 339-347)

- "okay so one of the things I love about [Busy Bee], we are rarely called racists, in this context a lot of NGOs are said you like the Afghanis and you like the Syrians. For example, and I don't think this is true, but a lot of the Syrians in [Minoan camp] that the [Darling Crafts] don't like the Syrians and they only like the Afghanis. So, I've always been really happy that in my classes there is no sense of this at all […] And so, they started the class and they did self-segregate again where there were like Pakistanis, […] speakers sitting together and then a table of Farsi speakers sitting together and then the other two tables of women. Umm and I had a week of classes with them and things were fine they were quite a lot of the new minors were quite disruptive and because I have years of experience working with secondary students, I'm quite comfortable with it but [xxx] really wanted me to make sure that they were behaving in the class at which I needed up agreeing with for the other students, like we don't want to ruin their experience because these minors have the opportunity to go to Greek school and speak to them every day, whereas my other students like English class is their one time away from kids, away from their families where they can focus on themselves I don't know making a community, making friends and all of that. So that was one reason, and also because ummm a new teacher is going to come in, and wanted to make sure that the class was, I don't want to say on their best behavior I hate that phrase, but they weren't going to take advantage of the new teacher. Like for example when [xxx] took over for me for a 2 weeks because I had to leave […] for a month so he took over my class for 2 weeks, even then the students would try to skirt the rules or they'd be like 'teacher we don't understand you', which they said to me in the beginning and I was very firm on the like well either a, you like, you know like, I'm your teacher you either come to class and try to understand me, or you can leave and they said the same thing to (), and he said he got really nervous about it and questioned himself and I think cs I'm much more confident a teacher and like know that I have many many ways to grow as a teacher but I'm quite confident in my teaching abilities so I feel comfortable being like I'm your teacher and you're lucky to have a qualified teacher. So anyway, the new teacher that comes in we want them to feel comfortable and we don't want the students not to like take advantage of that. So, I'd been a little bit stricter even than I usually am with the new students, like telling them to be quite and and make sure they are not disruptive and what had happened was on Friday, all of the Pakistani students and I believe some other minors form the other countries took tokens, which means they weren't going to come to class that day and had informed me ahead of time. And then

on Tuesday, classes started again and we were doing this speaking activity where students wrote three sentences in the present simple about about someone in the class and we read them aloud and we guessed who was who. And so obviously first it's writing, and then it's speaking and listening comprehension, and I'm trying to incorporate all 3 of those skills in the activity but the table of I hate referring to them as the 'Pakistani minor table', but they were '5 Pakistani men' at that table, one was not a minor and 4 who were minors sitting in the back corner of the table. So, what happened was they were speaking and I asked them to be quite and they didn't stop talking and I asked them again to be quite and finally after the second or third time they stopped talking. Then when the nest person was reading, the table with a lot of Afghani people started talking and I asked them to stop and they stopped right away, but I think it's because most of them had been my students for 2-3 months now and they know when I say [xxx], 'please stop, I mean it'. And then the other table of Pakistani students started talking again and it was my fourth I don't know third time asking them to stop and I did it in a very teacher way where I went over to the table, and I was like please while someone else is reading be sensitive can you please stop and they didn't. So, I had to stop the whole class and was like you need to stop talking if you don't stop talking, you can't be in class, like you need to leave. And one of them got very very angry and said that I'm unfair to the Pakistani students, and I treat them differently and he went as far as to say that in class on Friday when they weren't there, I told the whole class that I hate Pakistani students and that was happy that they weren't there and that everyone in class feels more comfortable that they are not there. Which is just unfounded and not true and it was hurtful to me because obviously I wouldn't be here making no money if if I didn't care about the students. And I've had so many Pakistani students from the unaccompanied minor students, and they loved the classes so for them to say this was super hurtful to me and I did I felt super hurt in class and I told them this just didn't happen and it's not true. So, I left class and went and reported it to [Marco], and what we decided was that if this happened so she's essentially calling me racist and if this happens in any work situation, there would be a formal investigation into it so we can't just like say oh he said that but it's just not true. There needs to be a formal investigation but also, we wanted to show them that it's extremely serious to call someone racist. And so, the class that you attended was that day and I explained to the students what an accusation is, what racism is, why it's very serious, how it can have very serious consequences for the person that being accused and why they should report racism but it needs to be truthful. And so now it's turned into this big large thing where, where yeah so [xxx] met with the student yesterday and he was quite angry and wasn't backing down. Yeah. Did you hear about the comment that he made about me having hatred in my eyes?" (Niamh L. 452-516)

- "okay yeah I think the the most like for example when we do an outreach we have to divide them by languages so we go like with the Arabic translators to some containers with Farsi translators to others and usually I would say like it's like yeah I mean this is going to be like" (Rafaella L. 391-393)

- "And one day we were like having a coffee outside and [xxx] says Okay and we we we created a song a [Busy Bee] songs and we said like Okay kids are going to love this because kids love that kind of thing….Okay so it's a song of repeating so I'm not going to repeat but I can sing it so it says 'Everywhere we go before on and off ohh yeah

where we come from we are the [Young Explorers] we are [Busy Bee] from all around the world we are the [Young Explorers] we are [Busy Bee] focus kindness teamwork and responsibility we are the [Young Explorers]s the mighty mighty [Young Explorers]'. So we were thinking first like we can go like when we are on excursion we can go in the street and singing it like people will notice us we'll [Busy Bee] like the kids will really be proud of like I am [Busy Bee] I'm I'm singing these like it will make some identity but yeah and also like seeing the values the [Busy Bee] values for this kindness teamwork and responsibility they will like we often said Okay what are the values and the kids will be like teamwork responsibility focus and like they really travel, travel and since the song they like they have it like focus kindness teamwork and responsibility like" (Rafaella L. 503-519)

- "like also in the song like we try to make it like like we are from all over the world like I am from all over the world you are like we are not different me being like you know we didn't say like we are from like we were talking about how everyone is from some part of the world so it's yeah and when we taught them to the kids we wrote in in a in a white board all the lyrics and we're like this Okay we sing and you repeat" (Rafaella L. 537-541)

- "So so, since the camp has or isn't necessarily organised by nationality, but does have them grouped somehow in similar locations like you know when you go through the 'B' camp and the containers are shittier they're like like they're shabbier" (Nora L. 716-718)

- "So, what we like, there's a little different translator, there's people who, how we would identify translators as like strong English students who we also like trusted. So, you know. Who were like, just like sensible, reasonable people who were serious and who use their their language skills to help and not to like abuse power? However, you can never really measure that, but you know, like, I know that I hate like there's a million examples to why I think [xxx], is a solid person. However, I don't know. Maybe. Yeah, maybe there's. a sensitivity to it that, at least in our initial and general work, isn't there like about translating rules or explaining things to do with the class when there was when there's like protection issues or something that's sensitive like there's always a consideration of like should we use somebody who's from the community and from that community and. […] However, there are there are sometimes where you're stuck because you do need to communicate with the parents. You only have access to a community member, which means that Community member has to be the voice of what you're saying, which could end up breading hostility towards that person, so we always have to, like, have a conversation with them and be like, look after him. You're just like translating. Don't get involved. Don't respond in any emotional way to it. Make it very clear, like you were just my like translator and then this is all coming from me or from [Busy Bee] or whatever just to make sure there's this distance with. They have nothing to do with this decision or this comment or this reflection. Sure, people and difficult because people don't see it, [xxx] as, you know the translator, they see [xxx] as like whole 'African guy', you know who speaks Arabic so it it it is tricky and you have to be careful and you know there's certain things that we only use [Magnolia Aid] translators or [Dandelion Aid] translator for but then you know, I really dislike using them because they're also shit and they're also community members, just from a different camp. They've just been hired. Like, there's it's so rare to find a a proper professional translator who who, who translates everything and who's there as that and

not as an interpreter for the message or a commentator on the cultural aspects of what's being said and. […] but yeah, there's also things like when using translators that have to be considered, like the nationality, the gender, the age, other like of course, we always try to like, we're not restricted by culture in the sense that we won't be like, oh well, because you're a woman, you could only speak to a woman. But we will ask like if [xxx] is more open to talking about the truth in front of an Afghan woman that doesn't live in the camp, then we will try and find that because the point is to feel comfortable as open it, build that trust rather than to think. Oh well, if [xxx] opens up to, I don't know, [xxx], and [xxx] might go and tell the whole camp and there's no way to control that. So there has to be a level of like consideration as to who speaks to what, who translates what to who in what way and how that message is delivered. And of course, the role of kids and all of that is exponential because the children pick up the languages so much quicker, so they pick up language like English fluently and they're learning Greek in school, so they end up being this, you know, [xxx] translating in the medical container. And it's like [xxx] is a 10, 11-year-old girl who's being asked to translate medical issues, terminology, stuff she has no concept of, to people who are about to receive this quite difficult message and just and then the kids have an imbalance of information compared to their parents and the kid can't be trusted to translate it with the level of severity or that it that it actually and you know, so it's just, this whole thing. And I think but in the camp like, you know, having [xxx] accompany [xxx] to the hospital is just crazy." (Nora, L. 1515-1565)

- "It is about what are the needs of the of the community and how do we best address them so. If we believe that there's a better way of of not living, but like if there's a certain way that is helpful for people to learn. So, if so, if it's if people coming to Europe, if the reality is that when you come to Europe, you are expected to live and live and work and interact and be with people from different genders, different religions, different ethnicities like, tolerance. Instant tolerance accepted. People who have come from societies that aren't like that, or study that are all homogeneous, need to learn how to adapt to that. And that doesn't mean saying, OK, I […] women who are not shake hands now have to shake hands with all Europeans, because that's how Europe works. No, it's about understanding. Look in European culture or in Greek culture or whatever, it is polite, or the way that you like, demonstrate politeness and like civility and respect is through acknowledging a person making eye contact, saying hello, shaking hands. This is how we greet. This is a normal custom. We understand that you can't shake hands, so ignoring the person staring down at the ground is weird. Let's find a way to to have have you acknowledge the other person and say hello and greet, but it doesn't like threat to you. So, if you can't shake hands for whatever reason, we don't need to go into right now. Let's find a different way that you can end up person. Put your hand on your heart like you know. Doing namaste, whatever, but just know that you can't just because you're a woman and there's a white man putting their hand out. You don't just stare at the floor, you know, like express yourself. So, there's like things that we also have discussions around like wow because, you know, there's such huge misconceptions of Arabs and women who like, oh, look at this woman. She can't stand up for herself. She's just staring at the ground. Because she doesn't know how what to do. That's why, she's not mean. She's not like she's not like a puppet of a man, like she just doesn't know what to do. Like, we just need to translate these things. And then also

the way that they communicate Arabs like they go into a shop and they literally transfer translate from their mind, like from Arabic into English as saying. Which in English is extremely rude give me this. I want that, take, go like this is how I this is how Arabic works. Thus, literally on a language that just you […] and you throw and there's no insult in it. Not saying please not saying thank you. That's normal. If you say please and thank you. It's weird. It's like oh are we not friends like why are you saying this so it's completely different to how you communicate in Europe. Or in English, and so teaching people these nuances was really important, because how else are they supposed to understand how the language works? Language isn't just about translating a word, it's about how we express ourselves and what gestures mean and how certain things are interpreted, which are […] so they initially like, we're like, oh well, these classes be segregated by a gender. And we said no. And they said why? and it could work? because in in Europe and anywhere beyond this space you will be expected to be mixed. Everything mixed work, mix class, mix busses, mixed classes, mix schools like. Everything is mixed, so it makes no sense to segregate you because eventually you'll be mixed and it's better to get used to it now. Like let's start from now. This is European culture, whatever. And then they're like, OK, well, but, you know, we can't. Men and women can't sit together. And I'm like, OK well. Sit whatever the hell you want, but all I'm saying is you're not mixing. We're not separating by gender. And I remember once guy stormed out said, oh, you told me that it would be mixed, and either you'll be separated and my daughter is only came because of that. I was like, look, I never said that. We are not saying that it can never be separated. Like if they're real genuine issues there, like the ratio of men to women, is huge. The women feel threatened because a man in that class has said something like if there are legitimate issues of having discussion and then we can say there's mixed classes and there's women only classes, but we would never separate male and female, you know, because there are people who don't care, like there are women who will always go to mixed class is. And so, I remember he stormed out and he's like, my kids will never come again. And I was like, OK, like, whatever. Like, I didn't say whatever in the sense of like, I don't give a **** about your children. It was more like, let's deal that this is an angry person. You can deal with him later. We'll find a way to get his kids on board. And then the women and the men separated and they would sit like a separate sides of the class. And this is how like English went when did I didn't intervene because they can sit wherever they want as long as they do everything that's asked of them. And then one day, like loads of African refugees arrived and they signed up and they've changed the class. And I completely forgot that they had separated by gender. Like I I didn't pay attention to where they were sitting. And suddenly the Africans came just stop wherever. So, you had these, like, big African guys sitting next to the little tiny Syrian ladies reaching over, grabbing a pencil, like acting like students in the class and everyone just kind of froze. They just kind of looked at me. By this point. We knew each other really well, like, and I just started laughing cause and they were like. What are you gonna do now? Again, this is this is our class, and we're all students here. And these are new students and they can sit where ever they want." (Nora, L. 1647-1707)

- "'And if you don't like [xxx] to sit next to you because he's a guy you have to tell him.' Like this is not my fault. And then every time it really developed into no one gave a shit. And so, you had like, yeah, everyone in that class was a student. And the ethnicity

or the gender was something that was, that was left at the door and something that actually also helped them become friends because then they would go outside like they would hang out. Maybe the men and women didn't hang out, but the women hang out and the men hang out so it was still a step towards meeting other cultures and being in ways that are against their tradition or or or not what they were used to, not the social norms they're used to. And so, it was. Our class has really became for us like that's what it was. It was like this is a place where we can like inform others of social norms, that otherwise. If you just say you respect culture, you end up really negatively affecting people, because then the women will never integrate. They will never feel like they have a right to access the stuff. The men will always be like, or I will do everything for the woman. I will learn the language. I will do the shopping and the woman, you just stay in the room and this is what ends up happening. When when families, when refugees get placed in cities in Europe, like the woman end up closed because the man is like I'll do it, it's all good. I got this and they're just operating the way they did back home. But it's, you know, back home they had a community. They had family, the women had a life, and now it's like not only is all the burden on the man and the children because the children learn language through school, but the woman also becomes, like totally isolated from society, so this is something like that. Just we ended up trying to invest in a much as possible." (Nora L. 1644-1726)

- "I don't have an example, but we definitely don't, it's like we subscribe to every cultural thing, It's like, oh, you have to be Western, you know, I see there's a million things from the culture that Arab cultures are way better taking care of, like the family aspect, the community aspect. I don't think the Europeans would bond like this, like the Arabs did you know, like and Africans and stuff. It's just more, you know, they also come from more closed societies and with more inter-ethnic and tribal religious like divisions that like stop them from meeting their neighbours" (Nora L. 1731-1737)

- "And so now with English, we can have these discussions. We're gonna have discussions. There's been discussions on religion, not in terms of our in our classrooms or not in, but in on one on one like the more English I learn, the more we can be like, you know, they start saying something and then we can be like but do you like […] have a question on science and Islam or why something is right and something is wrong or what people think is right or wrong or the role of the woman. Or for example, like so many things that people like a lot of what we do is also be there as socializers so if Muhammad walks through town and see like one day, once I friend […], who we used to hang out with a lot. One of our really good students came to me and he was like, 'I saw something terrible, terrible today' and we're like 'what happened? Where were you?' He was like I was at the bus station. I thought 'Oh my God, maybe there's a police check and they were getting people off the buses or something. I'm like, what happened up there?' And I'm there like about like record something, witness something. Terrible. 'I saw that it was two women and we're like, yeah, like. And they were kissing and. Oh my God. I was like [xxx], This is not like this is OK, in Europe this is like oh, it was like it was like the worst thing.' He couldn't believe he saw this. Like, why like these two people rubbing each other, like, what's the problem with this whole discussion around like, you know, homosexuality and, you know, he couldn't even talk about initially. But then you asked asked more questions. He's just a bit like he relaxes a bit. And so, it just. Oh, they're having a space where discussion, having an opinion that

maybe I don't agree with him being, but I'm interested in knowing why you have it and that urge to know why or they're interested to explain is so important. And it's not like about ostracising and being like, Oh well, these Arabs with their repression and their education, they're so rude. No, like, they're not like. They come across as rude because of the translation. They the women aren't oppressed, they're just not. They don't know how to navigate these new circumstances they're in. And the men don't understand that having a woman that can help them isn't in this new life that they have is better than the traditional role of the woman back home where they had a whole family to support them. So, so many things have changed for them and the way society functions and you know, I think they're gonna stop for a lot from this lack of community in Europe and this lack of, you know, this is like closeness and you know, sure we're preparing them. You know, the way that Arabs are Afghans are Africans are is much more similar to Greeks than is to Germans" (Nora L. 1741-1769)

- "Even though we say in the interviews with me we don't say you have to be friends with refugees, you don't be friends with anybody. But like we as an organisation. And we as individuals are friends with refugees. We hang out with them on the weekends. We stay in their containers we eat with them. And so, if you want to do that, you're welcome. But obviously you have to be, you know, there has to be some level of like understanding you can't just do whatever you want. You know, so we try to like, we want our volunteers to have that. And for sure there's there's been times where that stronger and weaker. There's also, like discussions we have around how to instill that in people, how to encourage it like we we for like we just identified this the other day. But for us it's really important that volunteers that come build bonds with the community. However, we're not enabling that because it's a hard thing also to enable like by being in the camps. Like the [Young Explorers] get to know the kids. You don't get to know the adults, and so you know, you're not gonna go and necessary. Like, unless a kid invites you to their house. And the parents also say, yeah, that's fine. You wouldn't necessarily go into their container, maybe [xxx] and stuff, but it's like you go hang out with [xxx] in this container. Like, so it's a bit more difficult for the [Young Explorers] team, for the teacher it's a lot easier because they just like build those relationships. It's easier for them to build the relationship, so I would say like it is really important it has. There's been like highs and lows of how much um volunteers like do it. We've now said that, like with the court scene, especially like that, we have to do at least three hours in camp a week just for our own mental well-being as well. Like I I'm happiest when I'm in camp, you know? So yeah, it's it's important, it's it's varies" (Nora L. 2129-2148)

- "So so, because we never approached our work as us and them, NGO versus refugee, the you know the service provider and the beneficiary, it kind of we just developed kind of human relations and we I think we kind of evolved as a community-based project." (Nora, L. 2309 - 2311)

- "yes yeah no definitely um I, I made this choice myself not just not to not to impose it in the seating system simply for the reasons I gave one is that it's not as cut and dried as men and women it's friends and friends you know friends sit together friends the women just happen to be as in most cultures the women are friendlier together and the men are friendly together that doesn't mean they're not friendly with with men or there's nothing to do with women but you generally sit you know by sex because chat about

whatever you're keen so you're in no it's it's it gets a little bit stereotypical and so I don't see it that oh it's it's a cultural thing the men don't want to be with women….but I don't think from my personal point of view I don't think I have any right to impose a seating arrangements for some boy girl boy girl I could impose it on it on it for learning" (Fay L. 1466-1480)

- "I I often grouped them you know them randomly or by level or sometimes just to mix it up so the chatty ones weren't always you know sitting in the corner chatting you know […] sometimes I just think the fact that we need all those places because they're getting abit chatty in the corner you know so yeah learning outcome for me if I was working with children children I would have no problem with boy girl boy girl actually because I just think I don't think it's a matter of sexes it's almost the same argument when children are small you don't want them to be thinking in terms of the sexes because they're not actually" (Fay L. 1482-1488)

Appendix 27

Domain Analysis 12 - Being a 'refugee'

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Attribution

<u>Form:</u> X is a characteristic of Y

Colour code: Green = Verbatim from refugee participants; Blue = Verbatim from NGO volunteer participants
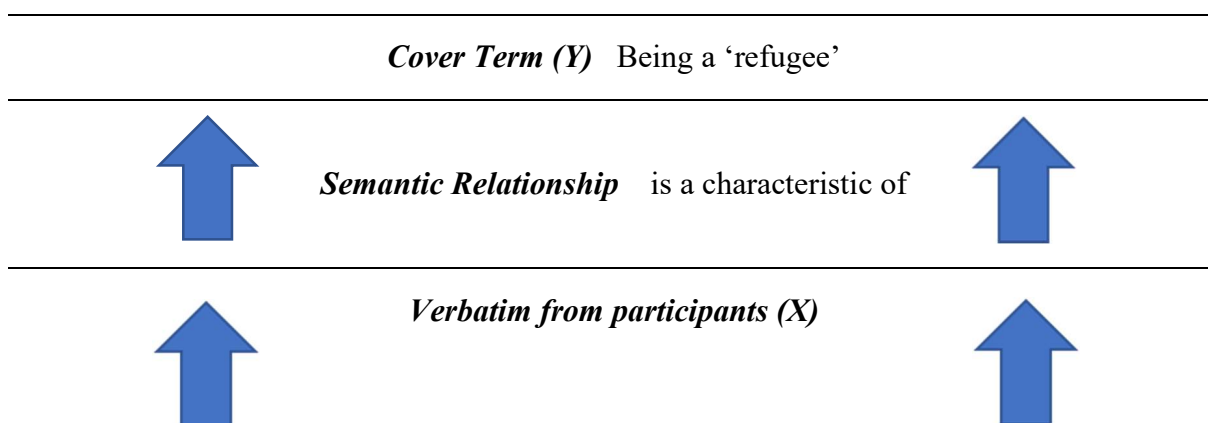
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Cover Term (Y)   Being a 'refugee'

Semantic Relationship   is a characteristic of

Verbatim from participants (X)

- ❖ "We are refugee here. That's better that, we together. Maybe some time I be sick, maybe other be sick, we can help together." (Zahiya and Badia, L. 196-197)
- ❖ "Yes this like a community and we laugh together, we sleep together…" (Zahiya and Badia, L. 543)
- ❖ "Because the other people they look at us like refugee. They don't see 'B community' or like that. They look at us like the same. So for us, it must to make us, to see like one community." (Amir, L. 331-333)
- ❖ "It's someone different. Someone different. Someone different. Also someone has bad things. And someone he doesn't respect the law, because he come here illegally also. And someone she just come here to destroy everything good. And someone he just come here to take the opportunity from someone for jobs, everything. This is the definition of 'refugee' for me (Amir, L. 337-341)
- ❖ "Before, 'refugee' for me, it's like some people they forced to go out from their country by war or by some earthquake or something like this" (Amir, L. 334-353)
- ❖ "Sometimes they thinking, the refugee people, they just come here to make the situation bad." (Amir, L. 159-160)
- ❖ "And also because you know the Greek has economical problems and they say that the refugee people come to take the jobs and the opportunity away from local people, so they feel bad feeling for the refugees." (Amir, L. 160-162)
- ❖ "I am refugee, and I am live in the camp. So, this is the bad feeling. And this is happening to me, so the word 'refugee' it not let me go any place….They are feeling like it's someone who just come from the sea, without anything." (Amir, L. 367-373)
- ❖ "Refugee I think is bad word because refugee word, it means for me that we are weak people. But we are strong people." (Bilal, L. 438-443)

- ❖ "refugee word you don't feel you are the same, in the same case with another people" (Bilal, L. 438-443)
- ❖ "All these refugees here can make something good with jobs or another thing in this country, yeah!" (Bilal, L. 438-443)
- ❖ "She said refugee will still be refugee where he go." (Dilara and Malik, L. 161)
- ❖ "there are a lot of people in Germany… but I don't want to go because Germany now is crowd by refugees." (Rabia, L. 288-290)
- ❖ "it's a man in the last class" (Dilara and Malik, L. 164-168)
- ❖ "He say except Syria I am refugee and the last class. Where I go, the same." (Dilara and Malik, L. 176)
- ❖ "Everybody volunteered, all coming, all different nationalities, all together. It was a general problem for the all, not just for the Afghans, for the Arabs, all have this problem." (Yusef, L. 556-559)
- ❖ "The word 'refugee' is different in different places…. I hate the word 'refugee'. Because they treat the refugees, they just take you to hospital, and eat and sleep. You cannot have any right to live like human." (Yasna, L. 1191-1193)
- ❖ "And for the refugee, if they try to become like experienced, and to integrate, and to feel like excited, no." (Yasna, L. 1193-1194)
- ❖ "I must be here with my community because my name is just here but just for, just because my name on the list." (Inaya, L. 509-510)
- ❖ "And also, the president or the NGO running camp have to see us like Greek people not like refugees. We are not like we are not like Greek people for them" (Omar's Family, L. 173-174)
- ❖ "Lack of self and confidence." (Jameela, L. 438)
- ❖ "recognised as refugees, I feel good, I know it's my destiny, I am here, and I am much happier here than the situation that I left behind before leaving Afghanistan." (Rafik, L. 80-85
- ❖ "Refugee means a foreigner, that doesn't belong here" (Rafik, L. 108)
- ❖ "difficult for a refugee to integrate with the people around him" (Rafik, L. 110)
- ❖ "To be a citizen of a country and a refugee…It means that to be with people, you need to be with them. It's not only about seeing people." (Rafik, L. 112-116)
- ❖ "Always I feel unlucky in my life, but when I took the ID from here, for one time the God make me luck." (Layla, L. 118-119)
- ❖ "They asking about the situation here, this make to be so awful, like the some people like not educated, so most of them, like nothing. So those group, every time, they create the problems, and to make, so this give the image for the refugee to the European people, so they think all the refugees like the same." (Ali, L. 48-51)
- ❖ "Refugee is someone he like leave his country, about the security, about the wars, and he come here for protection." (Ali, L. 56-59),
- ❖ "But someone is like refugee, and he leave his country about the wars or something, they will reject him." (Ali, L. 68-70)
- ❖ "Refugees are vulnerable peoples. They need help, they need care. (Yusef, L. 455-460)
- ❖ "So I think 'refugees', it's not a good name to have." (Yusef, L. 455-460)
- ❖ "When I heard 'refugee', in my mind comes lots of negative things, like the place live, like the food eat, like the communicate things, like how to solve the problems" (Yusef, L. 455-460)

- ❖ "We, refugees mean without country, without home, without future." (Ghalib, L. 520)
- ❖ "We are like refugee, even from the different country. But we have the same case and the same stress." (Murad, L. 440-444)
- ❖ "If one person does something bad, we are all treated as if we have done something bad." (Rahim, L. 76-79)
- ❖ "Within the refugee community, the refugees, each person has his personality and he can get along with anyone" (Rahim. L. 154-163)
- ❖ "We have been in exile since I was born. One day here, the next day in another country." (Rahim. L. 195-196)
- ❖ "The word refugee for me, when we were in Iran, we were Afghani, we were not Iranian; when we were in Turkey, we were not Turkish, we were Afghani. And here too, we are not Greek; we are refugees. And this word is really disgusting for me. (Rahim, L. 232-238)
- ❖ "Someone who is a refugee, he is fragile, he is sensitive, you can break him very easily." (Rahim, L. 232-238)
- ❖ "We have gone there many times, and the security guards that are there, they follow us all around the shop, it's extremely disgusting for us." (Rahim, L. 240-242)
- ❖ "We are not in the same category, and they are separated from the Greek kids." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 280)
- ❖ "If we didn't have problems, we would not have come here." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 286-287)
- ❖ "Compared to the situation in Afghanistan that we left behind, where people were threatening me and I was afraid, and today I find myself in this room here, with this family here, I truly feel very comfortable… she is speaking as a woman, to be here is better." (Arezo and Ayan, L. 314-317)
- ❖ "Refugee life is very difficult." (Madina and Tarik, L. 206)
- ❖ "but I feel I am refugees so I am refugees from many times so its normal to be refugee. Because I used to be refugee in my country." (Karim, L. 454-456)
- ❖ "not stable… You can't find everything for your family. For ever… we can't do the same thing here because we always move from house to house. This is not good because I have to umm keep the same culture the same house." (Saalima, L. 459-466)
- ❖ "Because I am refugees here, I belong to this camp." (Sadia, L. 339)
- ❖ "She is saying they are going to school, but the Greek local are different for them. You are in refugee, you are different." (Titti and Arjin, L. 363-364)
- ❖ "The refugees the people who left their countries and all people and where he go or he will go the people they will see him as a refugees. He is not the same, the same people in the same country." (Sadia, L. 345-346)
- ❖ "Yes the people here has the same equal but some people have the residence and others no. (Sadia, L. 351-355)
- ❖ "I want to go to city centre, I want to shop, shopping and I give them our money, but they don't want to give me the money, they throw away." (Omar's Family, L. 546-547)
- ❖ "They are discrimination, because all the refugees are the same class and people Greek in other class. We don't make any contact." (Abyah and Daiya, L. 182-183);
- ❖ "Because Greek people don't like refugees […] When we I when I go to the [Artemopolis], when Greek people see me, he she do like this (gestures hand motion away) I think they hate us." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 387-399)

- "They are not accept us, like refugees, no respect. They are think we are dirty. When they saw us, they no like us." (Titti and Arjin, L. 156-157)
- "the parental country, is the best country people can have. But since we left our country, all the other countries that you are in, you are like a refugee inside them… You have asked for a shelter, and some security in this country" (Rafik, L. 100-103)
- "He said the Greek people don't want to think about refugees because they don't like them just, they think about them themselves." (Madina and Tarik, L. 96-99)
- "Because we feel that we are in the freezers... They put us in the fridges. So they doesn't care about your feelings or something like this. (Amir, L. 469-477)
- "Beautiful…Safe because we have the security here…Friendly because we have people here to talk with them." (Sanam and Amany, L. 444-454)
- "For me, it's like, I don't have problem, because, maybe I have some programme, so if you need some interpreter, at least you can tell me before, and after that I organise my time. Because this is happening before, with me 2 times, and you realise this, this is not respecting. Not because I am refugee, you can find me any time. But if you need something, you can tell me, at least one hour before, you can find me. And after that, I can organise my time." (Amir L. 688-693)

- "a lot of these refugees are deeply religious I think kind of linked to having a lack of hope or not having life being seriously ambitious and they are being religious because when these shit things happen to you it is very easy to say… when they really have nothing its quite nice to be able to turn to… There are bad things that happen God's plan it's going to be okay in the end." (Ben L.659-663)
- "the idea of treating the treating refugees the same as you are treating everyone else, kind of the idea of them just well yes they are just humans. So we treat them as we would treat anyone else" (Cassie L.38-40)
- "I guess I group refugees as being a big group of people like they are all refugees but for them within that group you have got so many different sections" (Cassie L. 367-369)
- "in terms of refugees I think home for them and a lot of their identity probably is based around where they are from and also they are always quite proud of where they are from. And they like speaking about where they are from" (Cassie L. 418-420)
- "as a refugee probably your home does feel quite temporary… Well for a lot of them where they live on their journey is a temporary place for them… I think that must be a very interesting and difficult feeling like it lacks security" (Cassie L. 548-553)
- "Men and woman are separate that women don't talk that men go to the meetings and women stay at home woman don't participate. Nationalities sit separately. That there is limited interaction between" (Emma L. 270-272)
- "homeless, frustration, dependent" (Emma L. 628)
- "There's refugees everywhere there's refugees in your hometown, go home and help them" (Fay L. 1028-1029)
- "yeah I think from the refugees that I met there's definitely a sense of banding together as in we're in the situation against this immovable block against this bureaucracy, this Europe situation again…it's…forms that's stopping them physically and just

515

ideologically they've, they've all had desperate stories you know and well come from different places- that is a separating element too because some feel more justified in getting in and being fast tracked than others you know somebody who's let's just say considered an economic migrant whereas my house has been has been bombed and my business is gone and I've lost all my family you know surely I should be ahead of you and you you know so that that is some ways separates them again and but I think there would be a sense of 'we're all struggling against this this terrible immovable force of Europe not letting us in' um and refugee and I think well no maybe I haven't given it enough thought but I just off the top of my head I'm thinking that are they on the receiving end on us Europeans here from that context we overthink all of that because we're always fighting fighting for the the correct language you know asylum seeker versus refugee just this idea that also you know but they're doctors and dentists you know as opposed to that doesn't actually make make a difference to human beings you know if you're a refugee doctor means the same as a refugee unemployed person, that should shouldn't make a difference but unfortunately it does like I've just recently seen somebody advocating and acting in Ireland but but this was the way they advocated was by saying 'Oh my gosh I got over there and they're doctors and lawyers and highly educated people' now that the reason they're selling it that way is because otherwise because the general concept from from the European point of view is that they're…all the struggling or unwashed, unwanted people that are going to contaminate our continent and on top of that take jobs so I know they're trying to sell this idea of refugee. I don't know the actual refugees overthink it they think think about the language that's used as we do" (Fay, L., 2994-3016)

- ❖ "but for each of the refugee when they say I'm a refugee refugee they know their history they know who they are they know where they come from…stories may be completely different but…actually on paper a refugee that's that's and that's that word means is that 'I'm somebody seeking refuge because of my past and I actually have an international right to that to seek that' but I think for people in Europe the word refugee means a whole block it means an invasion it doesn't mean it doesn't mean a legal concept it means this invasion of people and all it is negative it's you know for for most people it's a negative thing it's it it is lost the concept up against is talk to personal opinion it has lost the context of actual legal status" (Fay, L. 3020-3028)

- ❖ "most of the people live there are refugees err in like this really poor area…they are like all placed in social housing and then they need obviously like activities to build their community" (Gabriella L.25-27)

- ❖ "as refugees and they came with two kinds of challenges. For some people that might have just created insecurity you know fear of the unknown people you have never actually interacted with so that might have been a reason to hesitate and and another aspect might have been that people might have perceived us as a project that is not actually for them but is really for refugees basically to this target group of people who fled their countries which is never how it we represented ourselves" (Hanna Darling Crafts, L. 339-344)

- ❖ "People who fled their counties displaced people who came…refugees because then you put the people in the focus of the sentence one aspect of biography that limits them

you know this is temporary this is not like person…this is not who they are this is not what should define them. We don't actually use the word refugees we don't use the word 'help' because it creates a hierarchy between helping subject and helpless object and it's not what we do here we don't believe people are helpless we don't believe they are victims. But yes if you say refugee in the really open context…means helpless victim or a dangerous threat and in reality people are neither. (Hanna Darling Crafts L.730-738)

❖ "if you say refugee it's…this one homogenous group and when you say people who automatically men women children all ages many nationalities…really diverse group of persons and we try to do (Hanna Darling Crafts L.748-750)

❖ "I associate it with like legal or a situation that happens in your country." (Nora L. 492)

❖ "there was something about its use that implied, like, you're poor or your lesser or you you know what just they demeaned you or dehumanised you." (Nora L. 497-499)

❖ "I knew eventually that we were poor or less well off. I never connected it to us being refugees. But then when this guy used this term, that was the first time where I felt like I felt ashamed of where I was from and what my identity was, and I I really kind of hid that or never talked about it because it came.. It just felt negative" (Nora L. 515-518)

❖ "like when my parents started actually talking to us about what they went through and what, like our country went through and what why we were here and kind of opened up about that, realised that being a refugee is not a bad thing" (Nora L. 519-521)

❖ "it's it's it's not something that you bring on yourself it's something it's a political situation or something else out of your hands as forced you to lose and abandon everything maybe…Had to make a decision [to] sacrifice to their old life and a sacrifice, that like prioritised me and my sisters" (Nora L. 521-525)

❖ "being refugees literally just a legal situation that a person finds themselves in and that they have to navigate and unfortunately they lose everything because of it…everything that they were is lost under this umbrella term, refugee and it's it's sad…but they are people who have skills and names and stories and backgrounds and yeah." (Nora L. 530-544)

❖ "being a refugee does bring with it so much like exclusion.. you're lesser than wherever you are, you're below somehow" (Nora L. 553-555)

❖ "you go through that and that's that's that's how you're treated like doesn't matter where you are or where you're from that every time refugees get things said to them. Uh, that will forever like affect them because it's a personal attack on your identity that you're like the one thing that, you have is your identity, but somehow is the one that's also being taken away from you." (Nora L. 556-559)

❖ "like because you are called the refugee like you call others refugees….but they call themselves refugees because everyone else calls them refugees" (Nora L. 565-572)

❖ "the refugee label carries with it a lot of like stigma, a lot of isolation, a lot of umm like a kind of like a thing that devalues you that, like, makes you lesser, not less human, like less human…in some people's eyes, but it definitely reduces you to a lower level just because" (Nora L.593-597)

❖ "When something bad happens. You realise, again that their worth is less than anybody else is that our response to their issues is not taken as seriously that a criminal that lives

in the camp will be released and re arrested and released and rearrested, multiple times because they're refugees and it's not the Greek state's responsibility. And as long as they're away from Greeks, let them do whatever they want." (Nora L. 926-930)

❖ "this is not how people should live ever anywhere. And it is miserable. It can be miserable, and it can be tense." (Nora L. 932-933)

❖ "Pretending like the refugees are their top priority, but always being pushed down and treated like they are lesser priority because something else will come up and it's just everybody knows that everybody sees it, everybody feels it and nobody likes it" (Nora L. 1086-1088)

❖ "They feel stuck there, still quite angry. There's a whole, you know, like. The cycle of like acceptance and grief" (Nora, L. 1217-1218)

❖ "I think like the the reason I say no like as in in terms of do they feel welcome here and like they could belong here? No, because they don't get access to Greek classes like. As far as they're concerned, they're not welcome because how can they be welcome if there isn't even an effort to allow them to learn the language?" (Nora L. 1219-1222)

❖ "the refugees by legal term, but they're also just other people who have these skills" (Nora L. 2083-2084)

❖ "We say that we treat refugees like people. So, the refugee label is a label that is, like a legal label that believe it's a political thing has nothing to do with the people we're working with. I mean, other than the legal framework" (Nora L. 2283-2285)

❖ "It's more like how can I help? Like, what do you need support with? you don't speak the language. You've never been to Europe like you don't even know why you're in this camp. You don't understand the legal procedure that you're under. You have no access to information…How can I? Help you in clarifying things because I understand your legal situation a lot better than you do and I can explain to you why a Syrian has more chances than an Afghan. I can explain to you why you can't access the schools or the hospitals in a normal way like this is something you don't understand because you don't understand that being a refugee is existing in a legal framework, of right the responsibilities and whatever" (Nora L. 2289-2296)

❖ "But it's really obvious when people come because everybody feels sorry to some extent for refugees and so and with kids especially like oh, we just need to hug them and we need to let them do whatever they want because of everything they've been through. It's like, no, that's literally the worst thing you could do for them. Because they need discipline, they need routine. They need to be told right and wrong. And if we have X amount of contact with them, it's our responsibility to do that, just like you would with any other kid, you know …Trying to think what the best possible course of action for these people is that you would want for yourself is is something that we, you know, we do" (Nora L. 2393-2399).

❖ "the fact that they're a refugee, which is a legal term, and this is some aspect of their life that they've had to deal with, does not make the whole person right" (Nora L. 2519-2521)

❖ "No one accepts that nobody wants the term refugee now one takes it in any kind of positive way, and it's really sad because it has, it's nothing negative…but at the same

time it feels so negative and so horrible. And like dehumanizing somehow that you end up" (Nora L. 2533-2536)

- ❖ "If somebody calls you a refugee, you do feel like less like somehow you're less because being refugee means also it has these connotations. You're poor you don't have a home... like because of a war or because of a political situation that is out of your hands" (Nora L. 2536-2540)
- ❖ "learn the languages and you'll be like to you 'oh where you're from, oh Syria oh you're a refugee'…I think it really depends on how society or people react to you saying you're a refugee. Oh, or whether they immediately say, 'oh, you're Syrian oh so you're a refugee,' which again, it doesn't say good or bad, but it's sudden. (Nora L. 2603-2609)
- ❖ "refugee people that are this kind of, like, pity aspects of this" (Nora L. 2714-2715)
- ❖ "the refugees the refugees I find it like a little bit demeaning like they are people and they're my friends" (Naimh, L. 352-353)
- ❖ "I use names or say community members, because to me it's such a label. Like the refugee… And to me it's like there is so much more than refugees." (Niamh L. 379-391)
- ❖ "refugee bread and refuge food, like that where there is kind of this humour that started around the word refugee…because if we didn't joke about the situation, we would just have so much heartache all the time and I think, well maybe I'm wrong but I think we do it in a way that's not demeaning." (Niamh L. 406-407)
- ❖ "interacting with people as they refugees as if they are people like we don't consider refugees, or we try, we do everyone does… being a refugee is only one minute aspect of someone's identity personality…when you have any approach bad intention like all refugees are invaders or with good intention all refugees are all great or they are all heroes by lumping together you are reinforcing you are removing agency" (Marco L. 239-244)
- ❖ "I don't treat the refugee like someone that is like a bomb that is about to explode like something that has to be deactivated." (Marco L. 254-255)
- ❖ "But it's people like this idea that refugees cannot handle disagreement of course they can like they know that people disagree on things that's okay, that is okay actually a platform for discussing and improving so" (Marco L. 484-486)
- ❖ "When people are…refugees at least in theory the state should take care of them. Which doesn't happen in Greece because the state is broke" (Marco L. 610-611)
- ❖ "I only use the word refugee when I making fun of someone I like a joke" (Marco L. 764)
- ❖ "I think refugee is, and community I will say is kind of in the middle" (Marco L. 804-805)
- ❖ "because you know you didn't chose to be refugee" (Marco, L. 811)
- ❖ "It's unfair to expect refugees to care for refugees that's what I think" (Marco L. 956)
- ❖ "In which your whole interaction with a person, albeit a person that has had a troubled past, is protective approach. Of course there is an aspect of that that is inevitable in the fact that people are refugees. But if being a refugee becomes the whole interaction. That is a problem" (Marco L. 1406-1408)

- ❖ "we have to be honest with them, you have to be honest with the refugees because they take everything you say as it an absolute fact and they hold on to it." (Maddy L. 56-57)
- ❖ "I think being refugees that's something that brings everyone together. When they talk about their journeys that like everyone is one in that sense" (Maddy L. 701-703)
- ❖ "Refugees are people" (Kathy, L. 567)
- ❖ "Negative connotation around refugees they don't see them like they are human…like …these people are like doctors…they have lives like they are real people…people they are still people they aspire for a better life." (Kathy, L. 580-584)
- ❖ "As volunteers, we spent a lot of time with the refugees and I feel like also for us there is a few amount of refugees that we can actually communicate with because the culture is so far away from us that sometimes we can also get offended, like, you know they are people but we are people too. The culture is so different that they can create conflicts between us." (Kalia L. 250-254)
- ❖ "so much different from you, like so much closed minded and is as if most of these people they do live in a more, they did live in a more closed minded society" (Kalia L. 258-260)
- ❖ "I think the political thought is stronger so people who were with refugees are more politically active than the volunteers that they come from abroad to help. I feel like the volunteers that they come from abroad to help, they do it from another side like being a good human being, like I come here to help" (Kalia L. 271-274)
- ❖ "I'm sure there are people that don't like refugees but at the time that the refugees don't affect anyone why would you demonstrate against them?" (Kalia L. 323-324)
- ❖ "Is that when they say we treat refugees as people we mean like…we treat refugees as we would treat each other." (Kalia L. 375-376)
- ❖ "We make like a lot of refugees that I met in Athens and other places they've really created this a feeling of 'beating' them, around them, and I feel like [Busy Bee] really breaks this "ορος" Term of 'beating' and like maybe at first it's a punch to them but like after that they're like 'ok'. So, they don't 'beating' me because I'm a refugee, so they think I'm the same as them. I think this gives them like a push up of like 'ok. I'm not a victim here, I'm over being the victim. Like, here is where I start being a human being and, where I start being equal with all other people'" (Kalia L. 377-383)
- ❖ "I have hang out a lot of adult refugees, students of [Busy Bee] or [Darling Crafts] and I know that slowly, slowly, they are becoming more independent within this society. Like they start, you know, they start feeling stronger as human beings like in this society (Kalia L. 389-391)
- ❖ "like I see refugees evolving like into something different than they had in mind, like they kind of break this cultural barriers that their society had created and they're like understanding a little bit more of the, difference, open mindedness of the European culture" (Kalia. L. 391-395)
- ❖ "I do have a couple of close friends from the community, from the refugee community, with some of them I wish that the communication was better because they still not in the level of speaking English as much but I also guess that they give me a different view of the world because they come from different." (Kalia. L. 415-418)

- "I don't feel like they give me something different just because they are refugees. I feel them exactly the same as other volunteers. Every time I meet other volunteers get the same feeling of this person is from another country and they, even if they are from Europe they have a different mindset from Greece." (Kalia L. 418-419)
- "I learn new stuff and also same with the refugees, they come from like Syria, Iran, Afghanistan ….., I think like I'm learning as many things as if I would learn from an American or from a French or Italian person like is the same thing" (Kalia L. 422-424)
- "I think Greece is like as difficult as things are for refugees to be here, in Greece, I think is like the best first country for a refugee to find themselves in because of they are so much closer to their culture as other European countries" (Kalia L. 439-441)
- "they have kept this humanity, you know, like "φιλότιμο" Hospitable?. You can see it in the refugees" (Kalia L. 455-456)
- "I just want to go move there and find refugees and help them." (Julia L. 40-41)
- "the refugee for me is, read about it in books or hear about it whatever, it's like very intense and scary and wrong and unknown and like you're just in a limbo (Julia L. 383-385)
- "that these people don't get to choose to be here they're just stuck" (Julia L. 756-757)
- "they don't get to choose to be here right now they were fleeing these horrible circumstances…and get together to a better place and they don't know how long they'll have to be here" (Julia. L. 760-761)
- "I was googling like refugees and stuff just out of concern for them" (Julia L. 1691-1692)
- "people well you know mixing up the days and like not knowing what time it is and like staying up late and stuff and like especially people who are working early or in school and their schedule like shifted and stuff and I was like that's what the refugees are dealing with every single day" (Julia L. 1740-1744)
- "it feels like a village, it feels like these people know each other they they don't they aren't all friends with each other but there is, there are friendships there is a willingness to help each other" (Isla L. 554-556)
- to hold people accountable to things, to not treat refugees like babies, Like, "OOH, he's a refugee, ahhh" No maybe he's not a nice guy but not because he's a refugee you should be treating him like a baby "oh but his culture, you know like" no, we are "on time" he should be "on time" He thinks his time is more valuable than ours, he's wrong. SO that's a big thing, like we don't treat them like babies, they need sure attention like, if I disagree, I'd tell him' (Flavio L. 166-170)
- "I think it sends a message also that they are just normal people and you should act with them as normal people which means if you disagree, you say, if you agree, you also say, not say the different […] but not in how we should interact with them. But they have different needs. Yes, they need help from the Greek state, of course, but not in how you would behave with them." (Flavio L.172-175).

Appendix 28

Taxonomy Chart 4 – 'Refugee' identity characteristics

Characteristics of being a refugee

NGO's volunteers perspective

Their perspective of refugees

- Legal status/**label**
- **Frustration**
- **In need of stability/clarity/discipline /reliance**
- People who self-segregate based on gender and nationality
- **Escape for a better life**
- Individuals beyond an event in their life that makes them a refugee / with agency
- Homogenous group /**not homogenous group**
- **Human**
- Numerous
- Entitled to state host protection
- **In need of activities to build community**
- **Poor**
- Stuck/limbo/unclear/living in borrowed time
- **'living in a closed-minded society'**
- **'Don't treat the refugee like someone that is like a bomb that is about to explode'**

- **Dependent**
- **Homeless/miserable living conditions**
- **Not helpless/not victims/not a threat**
- Professional and educational achievement unrecognised by host country
- **Didn't choose**
- United by common plight
- **Less than others / excluded**
- Worthy of equal treatment as anyone else
- People rightfully seeking refugee / displaced people
- **Religious to battle lack of hope**
- Hospitable
- **'My friends'**
- Can learn from them
- **'Community members, gave them a label'**

Their perspective of what they think refugees think being a refugee is like

- Connecting with other refugees who share experiences
- Strongly identifying with nationality of origin
- Some refugees are more worthy of refugee status that others
- Economic migrants less deserving than asylum seekers fleeing
- **Rightfully someone seeking refuge**

- Smaller groups of people within larger groups of refugees
- Living in liminality/insecurity /temporariness
- Refugees don't over analyse different legal categories
- Someone who is secure in their individual identity/history/past before being a refugee

Their perspective of media/ European/local autorities portray of refugees

- **Poor**
- **Unwelcome**
- Distinguishing between legal category should have different social merits
- **Needing help**
- **Fragile /Traumatised /helpless**
- **Pitiful**
- **Not worthy of protection in the camps**

- **Unwashed, unhuman, going to contaminate our continent**
- **Shameful identity**
- **Homeless**
- **Intransigent in their cultural views**
- **Demeaning/ dehumanising/social stigma /less valuable**
- **Whole block, an invasion, negative thing**
- **Stealing jobs**

Normal text: Researcher's analytical term (derived from interviews)

Bold text: Verbatim (from interviews)

Characteristics of being a refugee

- Refugees' perspectives
  - Their perspective of themselves and other refugees
  - Their perspective of what other non-refugees think of them

Their perspective of themselves and other refugees:

A community; Refugees look after each other due to common plight	Numerous
Strong	Capable of contributing to host country
People facing **war** or natural **disaster**	Segregated**/separated/** excluded from society
Less than other citizens / less than **Greek locals**	An arbitrary identity
Lack of self worth and self confidence	Being safe
Comfortable	A foreigner that doesn't belong locally
Lucky	Problem causers
All same; a homogenous group	Seeking shelter/protection
Having problems	**Fragile/vulnerable /in need of care/sensitive/easily broken**
Not allowed to have hope	**Be friendly**
Without country	**Without future**
Individual personality	In permanent exile
Without home	**Disgusting**
Constantly living in instability	Forced to live in a refugee camp

Their perspective of what other non-refugees think of them:

A homogeneous group	**Different**
Bad	**Weak**
Destroyer of good things	**Stealer** of local jobs
Problem causer	Destitute
Inescapable identity	Less than human**/not human**
Less than Greek locals – be discriminated against	Criminals
Dirty	**Hated**
Not worthy of thinking about	Unworthy of caring about their feelings

Normal text: Researcher's analytical term (derived from interviews)

Bold text: Verbatim (from interviews)

Appendix 29

Domain Analysis 13 – Perceptions of Greece

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Strict Inclusion

<u>Form:</u> X is a kind of Y

<mark>Perception of Greece in general</mark>

Perception of Greek people

Perception of Greek language

Cover Term (Y) perception of Greece

Semantic Relationship is a kind of

Verbatim from participants (X)

Refugee Participants:

- "The people here are from Spain, from England they are different than Greek people. When I go to [Young Explorers] I feel comfort, comfortable." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 493-507)
- "If I want to be here, I will learn the Greek but I know I want to travel so I don't want to learn Greek. I learn English and German." (Sanam and Amany, L. 353-354)
- "No. I don't have any immigration with the Greek people. I have immigration just with Syrian people….when I see any Syrian people, I feel he is me. There is no different about the religion or the language or anything else. Everything the same, like me." (Dilara and Malik, L. 464-479)
- "I am learning Greek because I choose to, because I want to live in this country…. And also maybe it help you for the work also. If you are looking for a job, you need the language. This is the country, this is the language for this country, so it's important.I need something to help me integrate with those people, local people. The language is key for everything. Even you want to buy something, or to discuss with something, not all the time you need someone to translate for you. So this is the reason I'm interested in the Greek language." (Amir, L. 120-125)

- "because you know the Greek has economical problems and they say that the refugee people come to take the jobs and the opportunity away from local people, so they feel bad feeling for the refugees." (Amir, L. 160-162)
- "I cannot compare the Greek people and the Iran people. They know that we are human, they know that we escaped from our country, we have many kind of problem that we leave our country and come to the Greece. it's 2 years and a half we are living in Greece, I didn't see any Greek people to look at me like different than the others…. they are so good." (Hazim, L. 95-100)
- "when I arrived in Greece, so I hate the word 'refugee'. Because they treat the refugees, they just take you to hospital, and eat and sleep. You cannot have any right to live like human." (Yasna, L. 1192-1193)
- "have to see us like Greek people not like refugees. We are not like we are not like Greek people for them" (Omar's Family, L. 173-174)
- "Here we speak Greek. Only Greek school.' Yeah. But if you notice now, many people in the camp speak English. They don't speak Greek. Why? That mean, many people don't care about the Greek school." (Bilal, L. 290-295)
- "For me, I never think of good place for Greece because it's not. Because I went with the sea and this is, yes, this is as you know, this is the trip of the death, but just to find the medicine for my daughter, and I left my children alone to this, to have this, but I find anything in Greece so I want to leave." (Zulema, L. 316-320, 331, 338-339, 353-355)
- "He said because we thinking we move to another country, we don't want to learn Greek. Nothing interested in Greek." (Dilara and Malik, L. 226-228)
- "We can go but not now we don't know, she won't let us go there. Me, in the past there was a woman and her father, they were here and we would go over and learn Greek dancing. I now know the Greek dancing." (Pirnaz and Alen, L. 342-344)
- "Because it still I don't speak with people, I don't know about their culture. I don't know them." (Salma, L. 753-761).
- "something happened, something bad, so for some reasons, we leave our country and we enter to the Greece, we are in this country, so it's our problem, it's our need to learn Greek." (Nadeem, L. 291-295)
- "I take…course of Greek and it's a new language for me." (Jameela, L. 420 - 423)
- "I mean now, in Greek here, it's like my country. Or I move to another country, it's like my country. Where I live, this is my home, this is my country. Not only Syria." (Bilal, L. 540-547)
- "And here too, we are not Greek; we are refugees." (Rahim, L. 232-238)
- "Yes of course because we have ID from Greek and we will give passport from Greek. Now we have passport from Afghanistan, we will take Greek passport." (Madina and Tarik, L. 526-527)
- "He is saying, if someone, a Greek citizen, enters into a store, for example, […] he buys the things he wants, and he exits very easily. We have gone there many times, and the security guards that are there, they follow us all around the shop, it's extremely disgusting for us." (Rahim, L. 240-242)
- "As you have lived this situation and you have become this way, since I've been here in Greece, I had to move 4 times. From one tent to another tent. From that tent to a

house. From the other house to this camp. And that's why you can't realise that this place belongs to you, that it's your home." (Rahim, L. 571-582)

- We are not in the same category, and they are separated from the Greek kids." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 280)
- "Yes, we were in our country we hoped that we go to Greek to have a home, to be better than here." (Hada, L. 393-394)
- "I see that the Greeks see us like objects/materials. If we didn't have problems, we would not have come here." (Sabir and Deeba, L. 286-287)
- "if I will back here, I will learn language Greek and also, I will have friends from Greek and I will share them the house maybe." (Rabia, L. 363-364)
- "This is not for you. When you go to Germany Germany for you, Greek not for you'. We don't see anything good from Greece. Just [Young Explorers]." (Zinah, L. 378)
- "Her children, they speak 3 languages, Farsi, English, Greek." (Yasna, L. 775-776)
- "She say because in Greece, the people for Greece, they thinking because you are like some epidemic, so they want to put us far away. But in the other country they will put you in the people. In the middle of the people…. maybe you find opportunity how to work, so you feel like you belong to those people. But here, you cannot feel this feeling." (Yasna, L. 241-244)
- "if it's someone Greek, we will say, 'Kalimera' So we look at their faces, and we instantly know what race they are, and we use their language." (Sharif, L. 165-171)
- "Because the problem is the government. He want to put the border between us and the local people. And she say the conditions they put for us, you have to learn the Greek language. And if they want us to learn the language, have to put us in the middle of the local people. And after that we can talk with their neighbour. But they put us in separate. How can we learn this language?" (Yasna, L. 583-587)
- "Yeah, but I think the difficult thing here is the language, because you can't speak Greek, so yeah…" (Bilal, L. 144-149)
- "Yes because I am comfortable. Yes, I belong to Greece." (Saalima, L. 104).
- Because if you want to be a part of them you have chance to live with them" (Ibrar, L. 289)
- "For me and for my wife, we will keep the culture, but maybe my children will take the culture of the country will live in." (Ibrar, L. 316-317)
- "Yes because people Greek is far from here we didn't contact with them." (Sanam and Amany, L. 481)
- "We always ask the [Dandelion Aid] to make lesson with the Greek people to understand to have experience to improve themselves but they don't do." (Sadia, L. 308-310)
- "Because I am live here in Greece and I am one of refugees who wanted to live in Greece, I think the government should make schools to us about for ours to know about the culture of Greece the habits, the life of Greece. But unfortunately, we didn't find this here." (Karim, L. 291-293)
- "I belong to Greece because here in Greece is safe and our life here." (Faiza, L. 104)
- "She is saying they are going to school, but the Greek local are different for them. You are in refugee, you are different." (Titti and Arjin, L. 363-364)

- "We like Greece too much but we don't we don't feel like we belong to the Greece because we feel we are less and less if you compare us to people Greek … Even our clothes we take them from garbage. We couldn't buy clothes." (Sadia, L. 61-64)
- "I want to go to city centre, I want to shop, shopping and I give them our money, but they don't want to give me the money, they throw away." (Omar's Family, L. 546-547)
- "we are belong here because we thought that we, arrive at Greece we can go to Germany or France we didn't know that we stuck here. We didn't know about the rules of the government in Greece." (Omar's Family, L. 414-416)
- "I think the Greek people, in general, they are good but… A man who was driving his car, I don't know why he tried to come to us with his car.. She says it was just discrimination." (Zulema, L. 234-239)
- "(T): If you try to happy in another country, like Greek or another country, but not like your country." (Titti and Arjin, L. 140-141)
- "Because the people here in Greek they fear us we are thieves. Because for example when I went to hospital today the cards of the bus, for us they tear it, but for Greek people they are in the device." (Jameela, L. 67-69)
- "Yes, yes, I understand. I know what culture is. I like it a lot, and it's like Kurdish culture." (Pirnaz and Alen, L. 132)
- "They are discrimination, because all the refugees are the same class and people Greek in other class. We don't make any contact." (Abyah and Daiya, L. 182-183)
- "You know, the first day that I was pulled out of the water with my children on a boat, it's the Greeks that saved us, and I said to the Greek people around me, 'I would very much like to live with you'. I've been here a long time, and I say, if I manage to have a job, to live a tranquil life, to have a shelter, it's been one and a half years that I have been living off UN and Greek money. I would really like, for the rest of my life, to be a benefit to the Greek people. It's my job, to have a job and pay taxes. I don't like being here and eating off money that I haven't worked for and earned." (Rafik, L. 92-98)
- "The last year, we are with Greek people in the school, but the next year we are with the refugees." (Rabia, L. 232-233)
- "Because Greek people don't like refugees […] When we I when I go to the [Artemopolis], when Greek people see me, he she do like this ((gestures hand motion away)) I think they hate us." (Nabila and Masoud, L. 387-399)
- "They are not accept us, like refugees, no respect. They are think we are dirty. When they saw us, they no like us." (Titti and Arjin, L. 156-157)
- "It's true, when you go to a foreign country, you know you are a foreigner. But at the same time, you still feel like you are part of this community. You live there with them, you use the things that they use, so in this regard, I feel like I am part of their community." (Sharif, L. 106-108)
- "Yes I have friends in Greek and last Sunday they came into the gate and brought us clothes for me and for my children, and if you, if they know we had special event they came to us to invite us to go out and have fun together." (Zinah, L. 172-175)
- "No, Greek. Good morning, good evening, how are you? That's it. Greek no Kurdish only." (Pirnaz and Alen, L. 394-395)
- "since we don't have a job and we haven't managed to integrate with people, but at the same time, we collect plastic bottles for the recycling, even though this work is not

527

something grand, we have found some Greek friends around us, in this way." (Rafik, L. 129-131)

- "We are afraid she says, because we accept them, but we don't know if they will accept us." (Arezo and Ayan, L. 150)

- "But when you go into town, and you see everyone living very easily in the bars, or in other places, smiling, while we are picking up bottles in… miserable work. It can be disgusting for us. We have no choice and we are obligated to do it. Why? Because we don't have any work, and it can break our personality." (Sharif, L. 325-329)

- "For the first day when I went to the hospital one of Greek people, there was one person that she doesn't like me and she speak with me very bad. Is still I am scared about that, I don't like. Want to speak with other maybe other people also be like that." (Madeha, L. 235-237)

- "He said the Greek people don't want to think about refugees because they don't like them just, they think about them themselves" (Madina and Tarik, L. 96-99)

- "at school we speak not Farsi, Greek because we say we must learn Greek …(Madina and Tarik, L. 471-473)

- "We like Greek people, but it's difficult for us because we cannot we don't know each other because we cannot speak together, we don't know their language." (Almas and Jawana, L. 186-187)

- "Yes, especially when I go to school and I speak to them, I feel like I belongs to them." (Rabia, L. 268-271)

- "So since I never had that belonging sense in Iran, so when I entered to the Greece, maybe the people are the same as Iran. I don't know the language to know what they are talking with each other, what they are saying about the refugees. But as I see their behaviour and their actions, when we are facing together, it seems so kind." (Nadeem, L. 306-312)

- "So the first and important thing for Greek is that I can send my daughter to school to study and this is the best thing when I think about this." (Nadeem, L. 341-343)

- "The important thing is when me or my daughter is sick, so we cannot speak Greek or English, so I ask the other guys of the community to help me with translation in the hospital" (Nadeem, L. 362-366)

- "went there to the Community Centre, it was amazing! Because there you can meet some people, because this is a public place, not just a school…. Yeah, I meet some people, not in the camps, some Greek people, because some Greek people teaching Greek language there." (Bilal, L. 306-311).

- "I went into hospital for four months and I don't feel I am refugees in that system because the Greek peoples very good." (Zinah, L. 164-165).

- "No just inside to the camp, when I see someone Greek people say 'hello' I just say 'hi'. Just help and outside the camp I am scared." (Madeha, L. 247-248)

- "If you compare culture from Greece and Syria, just the sea is separating them. When they come here, they feel belonging, same culture, same mountains…Christians in Greece and Syria, respect the elders, same as Muslims…kindness more than in other European countries" (Saadat- non-recorded interview)

NGO volunteer participants:

- "I don't know I guess mainly cos they have a sense of temporary they are not forced to learn it. Err, like some of them err, do really some of them love Greece that want to stay here really want to learn the language but a lot of them are forced to learn it at school and don't really want to learn it but find that err, and yes I wouldn't say they have the same passion to learn it as English." (Ben, L. 339-343)

- "have I learned any Greek, no […] and I haven't desire to learn" (Ben, L. 669)

- "Yes I would love to learn Greek I just think it's quite difficult its got obviously coming with a different alphabet err, and also the most of the people I speak to on a day to day to basis I will speak to in English and most of them will understand like the other volunteers will completely understand if I speak English yes. I don't know yes it would be nice but knowing enough to yes. The kids know a lot of Greek […] which I think is really sweet and I've heard them have conversations with Greek people on the street in Greek like on the trips and stuff" (Cassie, L. 247-253)

- "But yes and maybe it's different also comparing the ages of the children because some of the children they have had so many homes like in Turkey and islands in Greece and in Greece maybe it feels more like home to them because they don't know their home where they are from." (Cassie, L. 459-461)

- "I think it would probably be helpful having more Greek volunteers. I suppose what would be, it would feel like you were having you're integrating more the refugees with the Greek culture and the country they are in. I had like an interesting conversation with I went to drop [xxx] off at the hospital, and three were these two Greek err couple that ran it and they were it was quite interesting hearing their take on err refugees. Well they seem to be they definitely weren't rude or they didn't […] not like refugees and they weren't angry and refugees they felt like the wanted to help refugees but they also had this very interesting attitude that err, especially the ones people coming from Africa or South America, not that South Americans necessarily come here […] but they seem to think that it was full of young men coming to Europe to kind of fulfil this dream that they have and it wasn't about the fact that they had come from a really hard life really difficult country, and that they were coming to kind of like like they described it as this man was when I was young I wanted to move to England and have this different life for myself, and so but then they were like 'oh not the ones from Syria or Afghanistan obviously like fair enough for them they come because they have to, but the ones from North Africa South America they are coming just because they want to chase this dream that have, which is difficult'. […] And he also that conversation he also spoke about how it's difficult because Greece can barely well he said barely look after itself and then you have got err all these people that are trying to also gain from the economy here and countries like Greece can't necessarily afford that." (Cassie, L. 310-335)

- "And they don't want to be in Greece like in the camp." (Darling Crafts Focus Group, L. 358)

- "And also I think maybe I have kind of a repressed like anger at Greece. Yes sure because […] Like you meet I meet people I meet Greek people and I know that I think

like people ask me do Greek people hate the refugees. And I say I don't I mean I really don't think so. I think they are exhausted I think Greek people are exhausted. I think Greek people were exhausted in like 2014. There is the air of like of being tired of having difficult lives and I think Greek people do have difficult lives or at least this is my understanding of what […] like you know people's husbands who are like forty five years old don't have a job." (Emma, L. 521-529)

- "I really do not know Greeks the way in which I know Greeks most is professionally. And that's the most frustrating way to know probably many cultures you know if I only knew Spanish people in terms of their work culture I'd probably hate Spain too. Err you know like it makes a lot easier to be like oh yes 'manana' when you when you get to participate in all of the you know the carnival of weekends and you know the beach and all of the all of the fun stuff that I experienced as being from Spain or being living in Spain. Err you know I don't experience the nice part of that of that in Greece. I just experience the inefficiency" (Emma, L. 539-545)

- "you know that market probably before the refugees were here would have closed 11.00am you know cos the Greeks go early in the morning probably would have closed at 11.00 am and now like a fleet of refugees I would say at least fifty percent of the camp go there every Saturday morning. And and so you see you know one of my students [xxx] worked was working with one of the Greek farmers. It's like so I don't I don't I really don't want to paint it as all shit. But of course if [Busy Bee] had Greek volunteers it would be great. Now why don't we have Greek volunteers well partly because we don't speak Greek. And partly because I think that efforts that have been made were so thoroughly ineffective." (Emma, L. 561-569)

- "but I was told that it's impossible to get good quality Greek teachers mainly because A lack of quality and B they have jobs in the school system so there's nobody that's willing to work for free or free and I don't know how true that is possibly it is but I think it's surprising to me because I'm sure there's quite a few humanitarians and people between jobs or young people haven't gotten position yet or people wanting to build a CV all of that stuff that the rest of the rest are doing you know?" (Fay, L. 1061-1066)

- "day but this guy no he was he was lovely and he he knew all the little stops for the lads like to get off and like you know he just was accommodating" (Fay, L. 1702-1703)

- "a useful tool to have in Greece because they found the doctors were dismissive and and particularly the the doctors that came to camp they just found them so dismissive and the running joke and it it it it became kind of funny after even though its very serious with that everything was drink drink more water […] the doctor's answer to everything and drink more water drink more water […] water for your arm, so people would be bleeding and he'd say aha aha drink more water." (Fay, L. 1719-1726)

- "we would love to see many more Greek people coming here. We are working on it its slow process." (Hanna, L. 282)

- "Oh my God I didn't have time because of two reasons of lack of time to learn the language secondly your organisation adds no connections with Greek people and this happened both in [xxx] and in [Artemopolis] so there was this feeling and disbelief that Greek, Greek people were not as committed as internationals would be. Which I disagree with, so there was just kind of flying Greek volunteer there in [Busy Bee] well I never understood they're all actually 'cause I am don't know what was she was supposed to do and nobody really really probably introduced her to me so it was a kind

of presence in [Busy Bee] that could translate things into a Greek from English into Greek and vice versa um and so that there was and also the people themselves in [Busy Bee] like the the founders didn't know any Greek I mean they knew some Greek but like some basic Greek, I mean like after three years in in the country you should be supposed to speak to people like I feel very ashamed because after five months in Greece I just know I don't even know how to introduce themselves myself I don't know like very easy word that's usually you you learn when you are in a new country like to survive like body parts or foods or like how to say house or car I have no idea like I just know the things that I learned casually in the gym and and yes just this and 'geia sas' like I learned that 'ti kanies' was 'how are you' just maybe two weeks ago, three maximum […] I mean there was this this feeling I mean it wasn't my feeling actually but like it was what the the founder said that the Greek people were like irresponsible they like if you gave them a deadline they wouldn't respect it and most of the time when things went wrong it was something like 'aaa welcome to Greece sorry this is how things work'" (Isabella, L. 218-245)

- "it really depends on like I think maybe it's different for the people who live in the camps. Like they are going to struggle because they are always in the camps and the only Greeks that they have err, interaction with are the the people who work for the organisation who aren't allowed to have its like significant interaction with them because of working with the organisations. Err so and so for them as far as they are concerned the Greeks don't have any interest in them but really I mean maybe partly the people who work for those organisation don't but partly they are not allowed to so." (Isla, L. 500-506)

- "had told me not great things about Greek school that they had been treated badly by the teachers and the other students things like this, but the kids that I know now that are going to school now have really enjoyed it and tell me Greek school great they love Greek school they love it. So it does seem that maybe because there is such a big group of them going together it's like it's a lot more positive" (Isla, L. 716-720)

- "I felt like the interactions like of actual Greek culture, people, was all just kind of revolved around like food, like ordering your coffee or going into the groceries, or going into a restaurant […] Cause like I feel like it's kind of confusing for them the fact that like they go to school and it's in Greek and then in the camp they are just like all of these random people from all of these random countries and you're only trying to teach them English. Like what is going on? So, I don't really know if I really thought about like what their perspective of that would be, like what the heck we were doing there? Like why we didn't speak Greek and we were like in Greece." (Julia, L. 1371-1386)

- "They were kind of excited, I don't know, like, at the same time you thing that they are not really excited for Greek just because it's hard and they don't know it. But at the same time they are super excited that they speak Greek and you are Greek and all the kids that know some Greek they start talking so fast and happily like blablabla I know Greek, Ms. I understand." (Kalia, L. 80-83)

- "Because imagine living in a camp where the only thing inside the camp were houses, containers, there is a creative space just across the street and nothing else like the village is 20 minutes away, it's full of old Greek people, who might not be really love refugees

or you as a refugee might feel like kind of weird wandering into their space" (Kalia, L. 215-218)

- "I don't think they are integrated. I don't think they are. I think they are afraid to. And I also think that the Greeks don't really care. Like they don't care, they see them, they accept them, but they are not trying to integrate with them. I mean it's a hard thing, it's a cultural thing. As volunteers, we spent a lot of time with the refugees and I feel like also for us there is a few amount of refugees that we can actually communicate with because the culture is so far away from us that sometimes we can also get offended, like, you know they are people but we are people too. The culture is so different that they can create conflicts between us. It doesn't matter, maybe we work with them but that 100% does not mean that we understand them or they understand us. And I don't think this is a bad thing. It's a completely normal thing and this bond between us it's getting better by time because they understand how things work in Greece or in Europe and we understand more about how, it's not so easy for a person to come, like, take it from your grandma, so much different from you, like so much closed minded and is as if most of these people they do live in a more, they did live in a more closed minded society. […] Greek people in general, I think they, as in all countries, there's people that they accept them, there's people that they hate them, there's people that they help them, but mostly I think in Greece, the political thought, yeah, I think the political thought is stronger so people who were with refugees are more political active than the volunteers that they come from abroad to help. I feel like the volunteers that they come from abroad to help, they do it from another side like being a good human being, like I come here to help, but the Greeks are like they do feel this but it's mostly political. They're mostly anarchists, or extreme leftists" (Kalia, L. 248-276)

- "Because, like sometimes, like there's been some projects, sometimes, for example they were going for to the [local cafe] with people so I think this is kind of more close to integrating into the Greek community because it's Greek cafeteria, Greek people, the guys that they have the café they know those refugees and they like they make a discount for them but overall I don't think that there is also enough time for the [Busy Bee] staff to integrate them into the Greek community" (Kalia, L. 345-350)

- "I think Greece is like as difficult as things are for refugees to be here, in Greece, I think is like the best first country for a refugee to find themselves in because of they are so much closer to their culture as other European countries" (Kalia, L. 439-441)

- "if a Greek person is good, like they don't have this racist ideas of stuff, like they can really give their house over to people. They can give like their love, they're more loving, they're more sensitive […] they're also not afraid of human touch, you know, like I don't know […] I feel like Greeks see life more tranquil. We don't have, we don't respect the rules so much" (Kalia, L. 446-451)

- "English is the easy solution because everybody knows that ok, English is much easier than Greek and also like English is the solution because you're like 'ok, I will learn it, if I learn Greek I will only speak it here, if I learn English there's chances that I will speak it somewhere else and there's chances that other people will speak it even if I'm not really sure, the chances are bigger so', I feel like people don't really want to learn any language at the end. There's some people that they learn both languages cause they like languages but like in general like those people must be so tired of this whole journey that they're like 'what language now?' Also, like I get it from us, like we see

Arabic and Farsi, we're like, what the **** is that? What the **** is this alphabet? So, I imagine is exactly the same thing for them. They see Greek or Latin alphabet and they're like what the ****? So, what if we had, like we, I think it's kind of like this, Greek is Arabic and English is Farsi. It's like if we have to go to these countries, and we have to decide, Arabic or Farsi, Farsi is a little bit easier, Arabic is sort of hard but what the **** is that? We would also be like 'I don't want to learn it'. So, I imagine is really hard for them." (Kalia, L. 532-544)

- "I have met a lot of people in the middle, is just that they are the people that are the kind of tired. Like the weird thing about Greece, about Greece is that, there is so, I feel as Greek, I'm really not satisfied by people in my country, I am not satisfied by their decisions, like who governs right now like whatever, I'm really kind of sick of them, as a whole, but I'm really sure that, I'm not really sure but it's like a country that's been deeply indebted, it's a country that is different than the other countries in the European Union, and is a country that is really far behind in education, in a lot of stuff. Like Greeks are people who really like, they want to live good and they don't care about morals sometimes and they don't care about rules, and which at some point, it's something that I really enjoy about them as a culture because, you know, life is short, why would we follow up rules and stuff of like 100%? I don't want to live as a robin, I don't want to live as a western country but at the same time this becomes something that makes us like, really sneaky and trying to like not pay taxes, I can do this or that, which is, like stuff that's made us be in this situation, but at the same time, I think I prefer this than being full of anxiety. What I would say in Greece is like, I would definitely change the education system, like these people need to be educated about certain stuff. Like, I don't care if you don't want to follow the rules but you need to be educated. Like, we're really far, I'm ashamed that, for example I have friends that they like the same sex people and they feel, not that they're against to talk about it, but they're like they don't feel like they can kiss their boyfriend or girlfriend in public, like recently we went to Barcelona with one of them and she was excited, she was like. Look, wow, I want to live here, I was sad to hear this because, like it's true, like here, you would be so much more accepted. Crazy, like these are stuff that I'm really ashamed about Greece, in general, but there's also stuff that is better, like, I don't know, it's so complicated and like with the refugee crisis. It's like, so many people so much weight to a small country that has so many other problems, this is why people are not so involved. Because people are trying to find jobs, truing to not lose their houses, every time I'm hearing like people saying 'Oh, the Greeks don't help the refugees' I'm like, they can't help themselves at first, like if they can't help themselves, they can't help. Like, it's true that as a mindset there's a lot of racist people which I also hate, because they're *** racist. But those people are in Italy, Germany […] And how much closer we are in relationship with our friends, family, like" (Kalia, L. 674-704)

- "But by one of my kids I don't think that their experience of Greek school is that positive like from what I've heard. I mean they were really excited about going to Greek school but I think it's connected to out of school for so long […] but like before they even started one day […] I know Greek school Greek teacher she shouts" (Kathy, 514-517)

- "I have heard lots of different things about, sometimes I ask, I made a point of asking the kids what are the Greek kids like because I heard things. Through asking them I've

got mixed opinions now. But some are like 'yeah Greek friends', but most of the time when I ask about the other kids, they say oh, they talk about the other kids from the other camps that are in their class, not the Greek people. Oh, I have four kids from [Dorian camp] in my class and that will be a kid in [Minoan camp] saying that, they don't talk about the Greek kids. And like when I talk to the teenagers, some of the teenagers say you know the Greek kids are horrible to me. But maybe because they are teenagers, they're like but you know what can I do, and it makes me want to cry. Because imagining [xxx] he was one of the people that said to me, and imagining kids being mean to him makes me want to punch those kids […] so bad and then teacher I guess, like some people have really good Greek teachers, some don't. um like I know [xxx] was saying that, her teacher, she was wearing her head scarf and her teacher did the, like this [Maddy makes a gesture to indicate the woman was saying the girl smelled badly] she'll be on a [Young Explorer's] excursion and she was like and 'I'm not wearing it today'. And I was like 'if you want to wear it, [Young Explorers] we don't mind, like, yeah. Umm but like I've heard about some amazing Greek teachers." (Maddy, L. 967-989)

- "no I don't like Greek Greece I hate the language err, I don't think it's a fault of Greece" (Marco, L. 931-932)

- "In 2016 […] there were a lot of a huge amount of volunteers that came to [Minoan camp] […] there were 850 volunteers coming from all over the place in the world […] that came even for a week the number of Greeks was 4 in a camp that was that was in Greece. So it's err so the work could be that there is no culture of volunteerism in Greece like for example in Italy there isn't much either like […] maybe the church has the like but much less than for example in the UK or in the US you know. The for sure there is an aspect of like economic crisis that people but in general this lack. […] For sure there was there is a scepticism towards NGO's in Greece because from what I learn like the Greeks err, the Greek NGO's have no we are scum many of them before. You often get asked like you feel people perceive you as someone who earns a lot of money. […] So you know I think this fact of not having a culture of volunteering […] for the most part and legitimately work in in an NGO not because they want to do that but because it's a good wage." (Marco, L. 976-1006)

- "I don't know if it's the camp or if it's the environment that is in Greece and what they are used to but lateness is just expected and that's not how [Busy Bee] runs, at all." (Nancy, L. 133-134)

- "But it's not my environment. Yeah. I'm not settled totally. But that's probably down to language. My experience with Greek, Greek organisations and has not been totally positive purely cause of the lateness thing. You know, there Greek [local organisation] that we tried to get in touch with, they were never on time with anything that we did. Would take days to respond, like everything is done at such a lazy pace. You say be somewhere at a certain time, for training and they would show up half an hour late, or they weren't coming, it was an experience." (Nancy, L. 190-196)

- "And them at [Young Explorers] one day in March or April, we were in the first, and a Greek family came to us and stated asking questions and asked where the [Young Explorers] were from and made this big, 'you are welcome in our country' and it was such a nice moment." (Niamh, L. 314-316)

- "And it's great that it has this vibe and that people do feel welcome and safe and respected to some extent, even though that's also not true. When something bad happens. You realise, again that their worth is less than anybody else is that our response to their issues is not taken as seriously that a criminal that lives in the camp will be released and re-arrested and released and re-arrested, multiple times because they're refugees and it's not a Greek state's responsibility. And as long as they're away from Greeks, let them do whatever they want." (Nora, L. 925-930)
- "you can't answer this question. And we still can't ask this question. We don't know where the Greeks are. We don't know why the Greeks aren't after three years. There isn't a space single strong like flow of Greek people that come and work with us or support us, or want a job with us or whatever is there just isn't and it's it's like more, you know, and then you go speak to young Greek people, all **** the system and we're getting the government anarchy and left this started socialism and but in theory like they speak about it they rise a lot but no one doing anything." (Nora, L. 1232-1237)
- Do you remember when Chipras was president here? In that moment, Greek people was happy because they find an opportunity about…Europe, not happy but in ways complicated… Europe, he say discredit and of course, they go and make some association with Russia, starts some communications but you know, Europe, Chipras can not do is problem. (Ricardo L. 177-180)
- We are the first line in Europe for tell welcome, I think we are. All volunteers work […] NGO's […] they are workers. This is better for economics for Greek economy, for home economy here, right? (Ricardo L. 199-201)
- Like, Greek children for example go to school in the morning, all day, listen a lot of his parents like, teachers they don't have that right rules (Ricardo L. 290-291)
- One thing that facilitates this type of integration is the type of education that the Greeks have received for a long time now, thanks to a tourist zone, they have assimilated English very well. This you notice a lot. And this helps a lot in this integration. You know something, the positive, I think they have a lot of positives but this is one of those 100% that helps a lot with those they can communicate. (Ricardo L. 530-535).

Appendix 30

Domain Analysis 14 - Reasons to be a translator

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Rationale

<u>Form:</u> X is a reason for doing/ not doing Y

Cover Term (Y) Being a Translator

Semantic Relationship is a reason for doing/not doing

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)

- "I like to help people" and "I like to help Teachers" (FN, 03/11/2019, L. 37); "like helping" (FN, 11/01/2020, L. 38)
- "superpower" (Bilal, L. 80)
- "(P): For example, because I can speak English, initially, the people come to me to translate, for [Magnolia Aid], for the lawyers, or the doctors, or maybe they need to buy something from the city, and because they cannot speak Greek or English, they come to me and they ask, 'If possible to come with us to help buy something or to talk with the lawyers?'. And for this reason, I have lots of friends because they are coming to me for help, and also for me it is pleasure to help them. (R): So, it sounds like speaking a lot of languages is very important, and being a translator is good? (P): Yes, very important, very good! You are not feeling alone, because every day, 2 or 3 people come and they need help translating for the lawyers, for the doctor, for the bazaar, for shopping, something like this, they are coming always here." (Bilal, L. 434-436)
- "(P): This happened because, sometimes I speak the Arabic speakers, I speak their language, and sometimes, they want me to help them with language, with translation. And also I like to be social with people. And sometimes they surprise, when they see somebody from Africa speaking Arabic. So for those people, come from Iraq or Syria, they doesn't know about the culture in Africa, what happen in Africa, so when I start to speak Arabic, they say, 'Oh wow, you speak Arabic!'. So in the first time, this is make them to be surprised, and the second time they recognise me. (R): Would you say that you feel like a community leader? (P): Yeah. (R): What does this mean for you? (P): For me, to help. To be there to help, and at the same time you can guide and you can, to declare something, like to say, 'Do this', because I realise this is good. And also because, not just because we come here to eat and sleep. We have responsibility like the other people. And by this way we can help our community by ourself. Because we can support each other. Not just to wait for the other people to come and help you, no.

At the same time you can help by your way. Because this is the world, without helping you cannot. So we need each other." (Amir, L. 290-309)

- "We send our kids there and they have learnt the language, and now our kids are our translators and they really help us. I want to thank you again for helping them." (Arezo and Ayan, L 202-204).

- "So, like when I see the baby and I see the man, I understand what's the problem, and how to tell the doctor what the man wants. So I help to translate and they find solution. And the baby had cold and fever, so I told the doctor and finally he solved the problem by using body language." (Kala and Yusef, L. 88-91)

- "because I can speak English, initially, the people come to me to translate, for [Magnolia Aid], for the lawyers, or the doctors, or maybe they need to buy something from the city, and because they cannot speak Greek or English, they come to me and they ask, 'If possible to come with us to help buy something or to talk with the lawyers?'. And for this reason, I have lots of friends because they are coming to me for help, and also for me it is pleasure to help them." (Kala and Yusef, L. 119-124)

- "You are not feeling alone, because every day, 2 or 3 people come and they need help translating for the lawyers, for the doctor, for the bazaar, for shopping, something like this, they are coming always here." (Kala and Yusef, L. 127-129)

- "Most of the time, the people, want to make a general decision, they want to make something to benefit all the nationalities, they come together. And people are using the interpreter, the translator, and they are making decision together" (Kala and Yusef L. 569-571)

- "Yes, and also if someone is sick, we have to go and ask him, 'If you need help, then we are ready, for interpreting, or translating, or money, or food, or taking care of your baby', or anything, this is our culture." (Kala and Yusef L. 617-619)

- "This is good also for me and also for people, if I can help them." (Nabila and Masoud L. 313)

- "(P): Yeah, I started in A0 for 2 months, and then BB come here and make a test, I was in level A1. And then I completed A2 and B1. Yeah… The reason to learn English, I have one daughter she have asthma. I went to the hospital, maybe 2 times, but I didn't find any translator, and the doctor pushed me out. He say, 'Go, and bring me a Greek translator'. But I didn't find any translator here. (R): Yeah, I mean how are you supposed to find…? It's very rare to find someone speaking Greek and Arabic…(P): Yeah. The organisation have a translator, but he didn't send him with us to the hospital, because he work here in the camp. Also, there is no translator in the hospital, it's so so bad. And then I decided to learn the Greek first, because yeah… So I went to the Greek school first, here in the camp, but it was so bad this school, because the teacher only one time or two time, one hour or two hour in the week. And then the school stopped. And then I decided to go the English school. And I completed the English school until the end this year. And the English school it stopped. But I am complete. And now I study in my home." (Bilal L. 44-57)

- "But now I am help people with the translator on the phone. Yeah, yesterday, my friend take his wife to the hospital, he give birth, and he needs just some words, and I help him." (Bilal L. 75-77)

- "Because all the Arabic people ask me for translator. Translating the problem here is the language." (Bilal, L. 159-160)

- "When you go to the organisation to ask for help, he can help you. Only for the house he fixing something in the house. But the translator there was no help outside the camp, because I speak before, because all the people need the translator, this is the problem." (Bilal, L. 266-268)

- "(I):…They come here and discuss to make some activity for the refugee. And they choose for every community, one person to be like representative. So, they choose him, and the other lawyer, choose him to be representative for Arabic speaker. And he say, for those Arabic people, it's difficult to make them one group and to lead them. So, for this reason, I decide, or I prefer not to lead this group." (Ali, L. 269-273)

- "With [Busy Bee] sometimes I help the team, because sometimes they need someone to interpret, or for the kids, especially for Saturday and Sunday, so this is the activity that I did with them" (Amir L. 578-580)

- "Sometimes, I go with them to the hospital, when they didn't find someone to interpret for them at the hospital. This is the reason, and in general, I want to be active person, and be leader for something." (Amir L. 531-533)

- "And also, the situation needs you to do something, not just to stay. And when some people they saw me to be active and do something, maybe I can encourage them to do something like I do. Not just to sitting at their home, and thinking bad things." (Amir L. 536-538)

- "Maybe they will find some interpreter to help with them, but they are not interested. We have French and Arabic speakers, so in this meeting, we will facilitate to understand" (Amir L. 627-629)

- "Just I come interpreter if they need, or to help them with their children or their parents." (Amir. L. 648-649)

- So, there's different like layers. So, what we like, there's a little different translator, there's people who, how we would identify translators as like strong English students who we also like trusted. So, you know. Who were like, just like sensible, reasonable people who were serious and who use their their language skills to help and not to like abuse power. However, you can never really measure that…. isn't there like about translating rules or explaining things to do with the class when there was when there's like protection issues or something that's sensitive like there's always a consideration of like should we use somebody who's from the community and from that community…. Also like their age. So, like having [xxx] translate from protection things to somebody's parents should never happen, it might, because again, our protocols maybe aren't as clear, but it shouldn't happen like a child should never have to translate messages that they don't understand……And we're quite we're quite strict with that. However, there are there are sometimes where you're stuck because you do need to communicate with the parents. You only have access to a community member, which means that community member has to be the voice of what you're saying, which could end up breading hostility towards that person, so we always have to, like, have a conversation with them and be like, look after him. You're just like translating. Don't get involved. Don't respond in any emotional way to it. Make it very clear, like you were just my like translator and then this is all coming from me or from [Busy Bee] or whatever just to make sure there's this distance with. They have nothing to do with this decision or this comment or this reflection. Sure, people and difficult because people don't see it, [xxx] as, you know the translator, they see [xxx] as like whole 'African

Guy', you know who speaks Arabic so it it it is tricky and you have to be careful…..
there's certain things that we only use [Magnolia Aid] translators or [Dandelion Aid]
translator for but then you know, I really dislike using them because they're also shit
and they're also community members, just from a different camp. They've just been
hired. Like, there's it's so rare to find a a proper professional translator who who, who
translates everything and who's there as that and not as an interpreter for the message
or a commentator on the cultural aspects of what's being said and. It's it's difficult, like
we've had some really bad translators in the past from these organizations we've had an
amazing one. You know, we've had people who are like, speak five languages and our
only paid for one position, you know, and it's like dude, like the girl from [Magnolia
Aid]…like that girl is gold dust. Like that girl and she's like, you know, well, I'm only
translating Farsi for them because they're only paying me for that. And I'm like damn
right before she translates all the languages cause she can you know? So, it's just about
also how people are valued that makes a difference, but yeah, there's also things like
when using translators that have to be considered, like the nationality, the gender, the
age, other like of course, we always try to like, we're not restricted by culture in the
sense that we won't be like, oh well, because you're a woman, you could only speak to
a woman. But we will ask like if [xxx] is more open to talking about the truth in front
of an Afghan woman that doesn't live in the camp, then we will try and find that because
the point is to feel comfortable as open it, build that trust rather than to think. Oh well,
if [xxx] opens up to, I don't know, [xxx], and [xxx] might go and tell the whole camp
and there's no way to control that. So there has to be a level of like consideration as to
who speaks to what, who translates what to who in what way and how that message is
delivered. And of course, the role of kids and all of that is exponential because the
children pick up the languages so much quicker, so they pick up language like English
fluently and they're learning Greek in school, so they end up being this, you know, [xxx]
translating in the medical container. And it's like [xxx] is a 10, 11-year-old girl who's
being asked to translate medical issues, terminology, stuff she has no concept of, to
people who are about to receive this quite difficult message and just and then the kids
have an imbalance of information compared to their parents and the kid can't be trusted
to translate it with the level of severity or that it that it actually and you know, so it's
just, this whole thing […] You need somebody even if it's a kid and it's just like just
like then the kid have all these responsibilities" (Nora L. 1515- 1568)

- "(P): And one thing I noticed this also for entirely practical reasons challenges
boundaries. So, if someone meets. If a Kurd needs to speak to me, let's say to you not
to me I understand a little bit Arabic, and wants to communicate with you and you don't
speak Arabic you don't speak Kurdish and the only available interpreter that they have
is an Arab that he wouldn't feel the same group with, he or she will break that boundary
and use the person form the other nationality in order to communicate. Or with genders,
like you would have an Afghan woman who would ask an Afghan man to interpret for
them." (Marco, L. 1244-1250)

Appendix 31

Domain Analysis 15 – Greetings

<u>Semantic Relationship:</u> Strict inclusion

<u>Form:</u> X is a kind of Y

Green: refugees (verbatim and via interpreters)

Blue: verbatim from NGO volunteers

Cover Term (Y)   Greeting

Semantic Relationship   is a kind of

Field Notes and participants' verbatim (X)
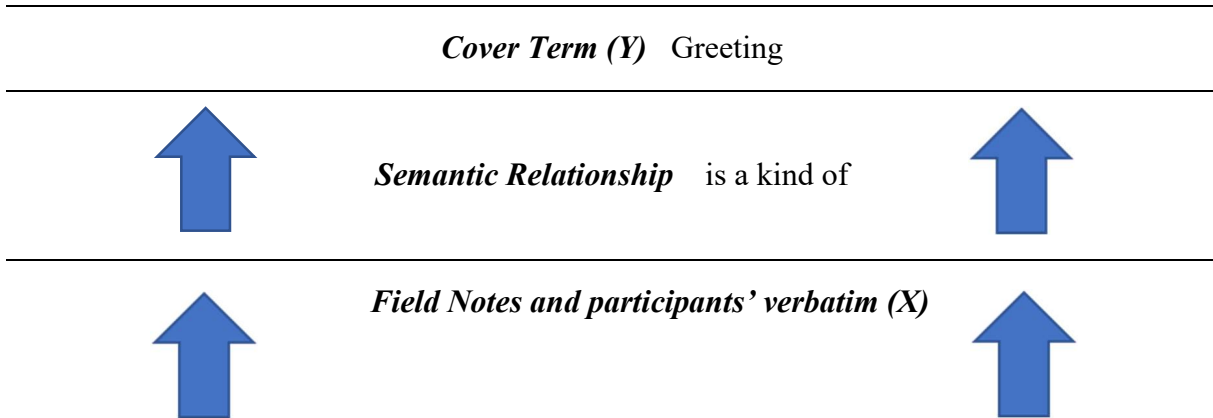
- "One kid says, 'hello teacher'" (FN 14/10/2019, L. 348)
- "I notice that some of the kids wave at passers-by in Greek, "Geia sas" – they say hello, but no one stops to interact more than that." (FN 19/10/2019, L. 61-63)
- "I am greeted by a running hoard of kids coming to say hello and I am overjoyed that I got my first hug today by the sweetest little girl!" (FN, 22/10/2019, L. 47-48)
- "being greeted by a swarm of children at the gate. They are all asking, "Today have Young Explorers?" (FN 24/10/2019, L 31-33)
- "Hello Teacher" (FN 01/11/2019, L. 42); (FN 13/11/2019, L. 67, 71)
- "we instigated the new idea to also greet the kids with a greeting by the door as they enter…they choose from either a wave, a handshake, a high-five, a fist-bump or a hug." (FN 12/11/2019, L. 22-25)
- "Good morning!" (FN 13/11/2019, L. 68; 71)
- "As they are walking out, some men come to shake my hand, others wave good bye at me." (FN 13/11/2019, L. 178-179)
- "2 women enter the class, they go up to Fay, they hug her and they give her 2 kisses on the cheek – very warm and familiar greeting, Fay responds in turn." (FN 13/11/2019, L. 236-237)
- "Joro immediately put his phone down and extended his hand to shake mine" (FN 14/11/2019, L. 56)
- "I didn't put my hand out to shake his, because I was unsure what was appropriate." (FN 15/11/2019, L. 26-27)

- "When he got up to say goodbye, he extended his hand for me to shake it, and then he leaned in to kiss me on both cheeks, the way that people would greet each other in the French world" (FN 15/11/2019, L. 72-74)
- "He immediately came to shake my hand and welcome me in" (FN 12/12/2019, L. 36)
- "She hugs me and tells me to sit down." (FN 12/12/2019, L. 77)
- "I am greeted with a hug from her little sister" (FN 12/12/2019, L. 92)
- "Her mom hugs me warmly" (FN 08/01/2020, L. 58)
- "I see Kala, I kiss her, greet her with a hug, and her sister too" (FN 09/01/2020, L. 16)

- Hello. Hello my friend." (Hada, L. 152)
- If it's someone Kurdish, we will say 'Choli boshi', if it's someone Greek, we will say, 'Kalimera', and if we see an English teacher, we say, 'Hello'. (Sharif, L. 165-171)
- 'in here we don't know, just say hello." (Salma, L. 336-337)
- "We are playing together, so we are saying hello when we see each other outside" "
- "No just inside to the camp, when I see someone Greek people say 'hello' I just say 'hi'. Just help and outside the camp I am scared." (Madeha, L. 247-248)
- "When I when I want to go out when I see other people, I even I don't know them, I give a hug or I kiss them. Because I don't have anyone more my relative, his sons and daughter, his said they're like my mother they are like my sisters they are like my daughters." (Zahiya and Badia, L. 622-624)
- "With Arabic and Somalian people, just they say 'Salam' for them, and I say 'Salam' for them." (Madeha, L. 132)
- "In front of their Connex, there is a family from Somalia. They kiss each other, they with body language, they said something with body language and also they kiss each other but they cannot speak with each other…(I): They say 'Salam' and laugh, and kiss." (Zahiya and Badia, L. 341-353)
- "Everyone that they are not Muslin they, they knew that, we say 'Salam', they also say 'Salam' for them." (Zahiya and Badia, L. 364-365)

- "it's really nice because there is always somebody saying hi. And there is always somebody that you know. And they are hugging you and the kids are shouting your name" (Beatrice L. 399-401)
- "that's used to impress me a lot so they would come, a lot of it was personality based someone coming and going hi hi hello how's everybody, you know, especially the African guys" (Fay, L. 1200-1202)
- "I'd see my class students from different cultures waving to each other goodbye or waving to each other hello or you know recognising them as friends because their classmates" (Fay, L.1433-1434)
- "But even people I didn't know were helpful, not overly liked, friendly, super, super friendly, but definitely helpful if you if you'd approached them and everybody responded to a hello every single point I made a point of over saying hello to particularly adult, children as well, but particularly every single adult from there whether they were a student or not and they all responded to that they just liked that somebody said hello I just kind of got that or maybe just by nature they're sort of friendly, nice people but

they definitely responded to something coming up, just like a greeting." (Fay L. 2196-2199)

- "I certainly I'd ask an African, an African students container because I think, you know, he he might know, I'd say 'jumes Congo jumes, Congo. Ohh jumes Congo. Yeah, yeah, yeah. They lead me to where he lives or, you know, this type of thing. Or I'd walk two three blocks and one of my students would see me and they'd said Teacher, Teacher, and they tell me where where I was going wrong or blah blah blah" (Fay, L. 2189-2193)
- "like whenever sit in the pc lab I always have people coming in especially the [Young Explorers]. Hello teacher and coming in and shouting to me" (Niamh, L. 667-668)
- "I usually get there in the morning on Mondays and I'm greeted by a pack of dogs which I adore and umm all of my friends there always telling me not to pet them but I adore these dogs" (Niamh, L. 971-973)
- "and yes like [Minoan camp] is just if you walk around just kind of hello how are you everyone says hello to you. Even if you don't know them (Ben, L. 394-397)
- "but adults the will always wave and say hello" (Cassie, L. 538)
- "they come into the classroom stand in a circle trying to avoid boy girl boy girl. They do they chose how they group like with the [Young Explorers] or handshake or the hug" (Cassie, L. 92-93)
- "I always use English but I know hello and thank you in Arabic Farsi and Kurmanji" (Gabriella, L. 527)
- "Go outside wait for the kids to arrive normally they're there really early so we normally have a nice chat with them how are you, what have you been doing in school." (Gabriella L. 200-203)
- "we have a little sheet where they could either give us the high five [Young Explorers] salute, fist bump, hug yes. … As they go into the classroom which is like a new thing we started doing which is really great because they go in one by one nice and slowly its really great, because before they would just run in especially the little ones they would just run to the classrooms" (Gabriella, L. 206-209)
- "all of the older boys like they give me a fist bump or they just go in for a hug its yes. Lots of hugs from the little girls but the older boys as well they hug" (Gabriella L. 231-233)
- "Oh at the camps in [Dorian camp] the security guards and then and the the kids and people who walk past we say hi to everybody who walks past" (Garbiella, L. 734-735)
- "yeah like the first thing he talked to me was in in in Turkish so I didn't even start with hi hello only 'Geia sas' so no Greek no English Turkey and I answered like I said [Artemopolis] is in this direction you know and I said it's like 5 kilometres from here in Turkish like in my broken Turkish and then like I I thought about it I said to myself why did he like why did he speak to me in Turkey in Turkish" (Isabella L. 194-198)
- "we are the first one to initiate a conversation in English so like we say hello so the answer hello like sometimes it happens where they [another language] and I answered back either 'geia sas' or 'hello' I don't know like pretty bad like I don't know like sometimes 'geia sas' or sometimes 'hello' but usually I answer in English because then after 'geia sas' I don't know how to continue the conversation so I make clear that I don't know Greek 'geia sas, hello'" (Isabella, L. 206-210)
- "Sometimes with the parents maybe just here like hello how are you that's all" (Isabella, L. 475-476)

- "English I mean like 'kali kalimera, kalispera'" (Isabella, L. 464)
- "In order to at least be able to say hello and how are you and do you speak English" (Julia, L. 1365-1366)
- "If I go to the camp a lot of people know that I'm Greek, so they will start saying some Greek stuff like, "Για σου" "Hello", or they will just see that I'm not Farsi or Arabic speaker so they will just speak English." (Kalia L. 549-551)
- "Like I knew the kids from before, I knew them for a long time, so when I came back, they greeted me very nicely, like they were really happy that I was back" (Kalia L. 89-91)
- "But then sometimes I'll walk along and you see adults and they are grumpy and then you give them one smile and they are like ohh hello" (Maddy, L. 950-951)
- "I've learnt now how to greet, it's like 3 kisses on the cheek and then a hug. But at the beginning it's just awkward, like how many do I do but now I know what she does." (Maddy, L. 507-508)
- "after I had finished after I finished my shift and there were the same row of like of fifteen Syrian women that would, you know I would say hello my name hello [xxx] hello [xxx] hello and that was almost a ritual" (Marco L. 740-742)
- "What would happen there was a person at the door checking who could enter and who could not. And basically, the criteria were not white, because there were volunteers that were black and from the UK but clearly are you a refugee or not. And clearly that was strong reinforcing, there was no greeting" (Marco, L. 1275-1277)
- "I think we talked about the handshakes right I think that that is an example. So what do I do? like I think that there shouldn't be a problem between men and women shaking hands I I really think like you know I don't think it does a particular meaning that if we replace the handshake with the fist bump, but what I'm saying is the idea like as a personal idea that I have the idea that men and women cannot have that type of physical contact I I think I I don't support. Now clearly by knowing everyone in the camps, I know, not everyone but a lot of people in the camp, I kind of know who are the people that who are the female because I'm a male, who would accept or want a handshake or who not. So what is my policy you know clearly I am myself so the first time I go so I offer a handshake and some people accepted some people turn it down um but the the like for sure what I don't do is that the next time I try again I know that that woman doesn't I mean of course I will make mistakes I will forgot it but at the same time on the other side as we talked about I don't tell volunteers I didn't tell you [xxx], when you go for tea, don't don't shake that hand don't shake and you know like you know we were leaving now [Dorian camp] and you hugged [xxx]. You know how how did you decide that well it's really complicated how you and and and I think we have to leave space for a degree of of of of mess and mistakes" (Marco L. 1489-1500)
- "well, all the [Minoan camp] students that are on the waiting list that come everyday asking, "hey Teacher, where am I on the waiting list?" and I say "wait be patient". "three months, Teacher", "four months Teacher" "six months Teacher", "I know guys but it's a very long waiting list and there is only one Teacher. Unless you want me to die?" and so they would be "no Teacher" (Tommasso L. 109-112)
- Usually kids in [Dorian camp], and their parents and refugees in general. I always…with refugees. They are everywhere, so I just say hello and discuss NGO people, only if I need them. Not really for social reason. (Flavio L. 469-471).

- Regularly, when I meet with somebody, this person can't speak Spanish, I did communicate in English, and sometimes, conversation going in the direction of "how do you do" or know about the other person and after is finish with one big smile or something similar (Ricardo, L. 397-399).

Appendix 32

Taxonomy Chart 5 – Explicit and Implicit rules of BB

Rules of BB

Explicit

About behaviors

No real dress code: **'Don't expect the volunteers to change the way people dress to suit the cultural differences in the camp'** (FN, 14/10/19, L. 397-399) or **'We don't wear visibility, and we enter peoples houses if they ask us'**. Equality not equity: **'We treat refugees like everybody else'** (FN, 11/11/19, L. 19-21).

Set by Marco: **'There are no secrets in BB, if you have a question, just ask'** (FN, 14/10/19, L. 66).

'The rule of BB is that we can be friendly with people because we have the strict rule that will show that we don't favor one refugee over another' (FN, 21/10/19, L. 4-7).

'People feel that they have a relationship with us, we don't pick them' (FN, 28/10/19, L. 22).

About behavior YE

'Kids struggle to follow instructions' (FN, 14/10/19, L. 326).

'Stand boy girl boy girl', 'Stand boys and girls alternating' (FN, 14/10/19, L. 349).

'5,4,3,2,1' and counts down from 5, and at 1, they must all be silent. All the kids appear to know this rule. All quiet after this. (FN, 14/10/19, L. 363).

'Food queue is out of control' (FN, 17/10/19, L. 118), Forcing people to queue for sign-ups (FN, 24/10/19).

'Not allowed to bring their own food on the excursions' (FN, 02/11/19, L. 47-48).

'If they get 3 strikes, within a session, this will count as an absence on their attendance record. If they get 7 absences, they are kicked out of YE on the 8th and have to join the bottom on the waiting list to re-enter YE' (FN, 02/11/19, L. 57-60).

'what their goals and values as YE leaders are... trustworthiness, communication, patience and being a role model' (03/11/19, L. 14-19).

'this is not kindness, this is not YE' (FN, 10/11/19, L. 26).

'most important thing is YE: we are kind to each other' ' in YE everything same same' (FN, 03/11/19, L. 73-74).

'being on time' (FN, 03/11/19) which is a contrast to the rest of the camp experience.

Access to attend

'Too many absences, you go home now, sorry', (FN, 17/10/19, L. 31-34).

'Some are just too young because they are less than 8 years old' (FN, 22/10/19, L. 82).

'One student [...] to be let into the class and they having to tell him that he can't join anymore because he as too many absences' (FN, 13/11/19, L. 88-90).

'Very difficult for me...but computer signs me out' (FN, 13/11/19, L. 195-197).

About behavior in adult class

'English, speak in English' (FN, 1/11/19, L. 99-100).

Normal text: Researcher's analytical term (derived from interviews)

Bold text: Verbatim (from interviews)

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                              ┌─────────────────┐
                              │   Rules of BB   │
                              └────────┬────────┘
                                       │
                              ┌────────┴────────┐
                              │    Implicit     │
                              └────────┬────────┘
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Norms/Rules of the camp, Endless waiting

'refugees constantly waiting', 'there's always someone there who might help' (FN, 24/10/19, L.15).

'But this made Nancy very uncomfortable because I made a point of emphasizing that they don't always have to be […]' (FN, 03/11/19, L. 112-113).

Using English as a preferred mode of communication (FN, 05/11/19, L. 33-34).

'they are probably not used to using Greek in the BB context' and **'explaining why we use English'** (FN, 03/11/19).

Kid's must follow BB conception of cultural appropriateness

'we can't give in to every cultural thing because it becomes that they don't want to sit boy, girl, boy, girl' (FN, 07/11/19, L. 22-23).

Not valuing BB's volunteers contributions, could be anyone not individuals

'Bodies not money' (FN, 04/11/19, L. 15).

To be a YE leader you must speak English

'Not about leadership' (FN, 11/11/19, L. 42-45) and (FN, 13/11/19, L. 213-217).

All students have their chosen seat/place in adult English

'they all walk in with purpose to one specific chair and sit there' (FN, 13/11/19, L. 83).

Normal text: Researcher's analytical term (derived from interviews)

Bold text: Verbatim (from interviews)