Filling the Gap: Global Civil Society and the Motivation of Volunteers in Greece during the Refugee Crisis 2015 – 2017

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1 author:

Ayesha Keller
Universität Witten/Herdecke
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Witten/Herdecke University

Faculty of Management and Economics

Supervisor: Amanda Machin

Filling the Gap: Global Civil Society and the Motivation of Volunteers in Greece During the Refugee Crisis 2015 – 2017

Master thesis

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Author: Ayesha Keller

e-mail: Ayesha.Keller@uni-wh.de

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Abstract

In 2015 the state failed to react adequately to hundreds of thousands of refugees arriving in Greece. Refugees were stuck in appalling conditions and death rates were high. Global Civil Society (GCS), including thousands of volunteers from all around the world, responded to this crisis. They filled the gap until the state reasserted its control through adaptation and coercion.

This thesis seeks to add to the understanding of volunteering during the refugee crisis. I ask the questions: What motivated volunteers and did their motivation change over time? Can they be described as a manifestation of GCS? The answers are explored by analysing the motivation of the volunteers during the refugee crisis in Greece. The findings are based on survey data from 170 participants who volunteered between 2015 and 2017.

I argue that the GCS response was not a third stream working in parallel with the state and the economy, as commonly understood, but rather a product of the gap created by state failure – a replacement for a limited time period. The temporal aspect is reflected in the concept of a 'crisis' as well as volunteering being a time-bound break from 'normal life' for most participants. Volunteers were motivated by a perceived humanitarian gap and felt a duty to respond as well as a strong sense of meaning and community while volunteering. My findings indicate that the international volunteers who came to Greece are a manifestation of GCS, but in a new dimension, which adds to GCS theory. They provide the surge capacity within GCS to respond to humanitarian crises.

Volunteers help refugees on arrival in Lesvos 2016. © Juval Kuerzi

Declaration of Originality

I, Ayesha Keller, declare that this thesis presented for the degree of; MA Philosophy, Politics and Economics, was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or processional qualification except as specified.

Place / Date	Signature
Witten, 09.09.19	Ayesha Keller

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the end of a long journey. It all began when I spontaneously decided to go to Lesvos with a friend to see what was going on there and perhaps help a bit. I ended up volunteering in Greece for a year followed by various small projects before starting my Masters in Witten. It has been an incredibly enriching experience and there are so many people who have supported me along the way.

First of all, thank you to all the wonderful people I met during my time in Greece. A big thanks goes to all those volunteers who contributed to my research and my Better Days family. I learnt so much from you all.

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Sending out positive vibes - Volunteers celebrating Better Days' 1st Birthday, Thessaloniki, Nov. 2016.

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List of Abbreviations

EU	European Union
GCS	Global Civil Society
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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All figures are my own work unless stated otherwise.

1. Introduction

In 2015 the 'refugee crisis' hit the front-page news in Europe and around the world. Over one million asylum seekers arrived by boat via the Mediterranean Sea (Clayton and Holland, 2015). The media tended to portray these new arrivals either as vulnerable outsiders or dangerous outsiders (Georgiou and Zabrowski, 2017). Historically the situation is not new: Humans have been migrating since the first homo sapiens left central Africa. However, the scale is new: The number of international migrants worldwide continues to grow rapidly in recent years, making migration a prominent theme in political agendas globally. The number of migrants reached 258 million in 2017 (United Nations, 2017)[1], around 3% of the world population.

From a global perspective, Europe has very few refugees when compared to countries like Turkey, Pakistan and Uganda (UNHCR 2019a). Yet Europe is not coping well with the situation and many people have ended up dead or in horrendous conditions as a result, in clear violation of human rights laws. This was especially clear in Greece which, for a while, was the main port of entry into Europe (Weise, 2015). Europe was unprepared (Pries, 2018) and slow to respond to the needs of the people arriving (Micinski, 2019). A large, ostensible gap was formed between needs and resources.

In this gap, grassroots voluntary organisations grew and flourished. They took on the responsibilities of the state. They met the basic needs of the people arriving in Greece: Clothed them, nourished them, saved them from drowning, gave them information and advocated for their rights (Chtouris and Miller 2017, and Kitching et al., 2016). After around 6 months the state reasserted its control and started closing the gap using a strategy of adaptation and coercion (Micinski, 2019).

In this thesis I seek to answer the questions: How can we better understand volunteering during the refugee crisis? What motivated them and did their motivation change over time? Were they a manifestation of Global Civil Society (GCS) and do they add to the way GCS is understood?

Volunteering can be seen as part of GCS. As GCS is a contested concept, it will be explored further in Section 1.1.4. In its most basic form GCS is a sphere located between the family, the state and the market and not limited to national borders (Anheier,

[1] The 2018 UN Migration report still quotes the 2017 figures.

Glasius and Kaldor, 2001:171). I argue that the volunteers who responded to the Greek refugee crisis are not part of GCS in the classical sense. The volunteer response was temporally bounded to the gap created by state failure. The temporal aspect is reflected in the concept of a 'crisis' as well as volunteering being a time-bound break from 'normal life' for most participants. Volunteers were motivated by a perceived humanitarian gap and felt a duty to respond. On arrival they experienced a strong sense of meaning and community belonging. These findings indicate that the volunteers who came to Greece are a manifestation of GCS, but in a new dimension. They are not entirely independent of the state and are temporally bounded. By joining with local civil society and actors, the international volunteers provide a vital surge capacity within GCS to respond to humanitarian crises.

This study is underpinned by my personal experiences volunteering in Greece in 2015/2016. At the time I was not in the formal role of a researcher and did not conduct an ethnographic field study, however my experiences and memories have shaped my research interests since.

I started formalising the process in 2018 when I did a pilot study on the effect of volunteering on volunteers. What emerged from the results was that it was a very emotional experience for the volunteers, and many spoke of traumatising effects and burnout. However, it also emerged that the experience was transformative for most and lead to positive personal development (Keller, 2019). Building on this study I became interested in what motivated volunteers and what their role was within the larger political context. I used a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1997) using data gathered by means of an online survey from 170 volunteers.

It was a very emergent process (as can be seen in Chapter 3. Methodology). I have learnt a great deal academically as well as revisiting a lot of emotions. It has been a challenge to find a way to make the most of my practical experience and knowledge as well as my networks while creating a piece of scientifically rigorous work. This paper is the result of a long journey.

The paper is structured as follows. I will start by defining the key concepts of this thesis; crisis, volunteers, refugees, GCS and the state (Section 1.1). The political and refugee situation in Greece is discussed in Chapter 2. This is followed by the theoretical framework, positioning volunteers within a wider context of politics and other

actors. Chapter 3 sets out the methodological process: It includes an introduction to grounded theory and describes how the data was collected and analysed. Chapter 4 looks at the findings on what motivated the volunteers. These findings are discussed in relation to the literature and the theory in Chapter 5. The paper concludes with a summary in Chapter 6.

1.1 Setting the Scene

To set the scene, I will briefly define my understanding of the terms: 'crisis', 'volunteer', 'refugee', 'Global Civil Society' and the 'state'.

1.1.1 Crisis

The Cambridge Dictionary (2019) defines crisis as: "a time of great disagreement, confusion, or suffering" or "an extremely difficult or dangerous point in a situation".

Lindley (2014) describes a crisis as a temporally bounded, abnormal situation before things return to normal. A crisis also implies that the cause of the situation is beyond the control of political leaders and permits the adoption of emergency measures (Edelman, 1977, 44).

Labelling the circumstances in Greece a crisis "allows a depoliticisation of the situation and provides a humanitarian response as a substitute for political action, while concealing its political root causes", argues Melichar (2018:4). It distracts from the real crisis which is a lack of political will and a common political vision on migration and mobility in Europe's present and future, claims United Nations human rights expert François Crépeau (2016).

I use the word 'crisis' as it is the one used most broadly in public discourse due to the role the media had in framing the situation as a crisis (Georgiou and Zabrowski, 2017). However, I recognise the inherent issues with the term and agree with Lindley (2014) that it is important to treat "crisis and migration as contextualised processes, rather than isolated events". Going into the root causes of the crisis is beyond the context of this paper, however I urge anyone interested in the topic to look at the full picture.[2]

[2] Teresa Thornhill (2018), covers the topic in her book. "Hara Hotel: a tale of Syrian refugees in Greece". Patrick Kingsley (2016) also offers a rich account of the situation in his book "The new odyssey: The story of Europe's refugee crisis".

Crisis comes from the Ancient Greek word 'krísis' meaning a moment of choice. Therefore, a crisis can also be seen as an opportunity for change and I use the word with some hope that this crisis can be a catalyst for positive policy choices in the future.

1.1.2 Volunteers

Volunteers are those who engage in voluntary work, which can be defined as a "formalised, public, and proactive choice to donate one's time and energy freely to benefit another person, group, or organisation" (Dutta-Bergman, 2004:355). Volunteering is usually perceived as a social and communal activity that enhances social capital and strengthens the community (Putnam, 2000). Volunteering can have many positive impacts on the individual volunteer such as increasing physical and psychological well-being (Wilson and Musick, 2000). However, it can also have negative side effects such as trauma as was shown during the pilot study (Keller, 2018). It is also worth noting that volunteering may also express social gaps, between those who have higher income and social resources and those 'in need' (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010:140). It is not just scholars who recognise the importance of volunteers. Governments do too as can be seen by the UN sponsored "United Nations Year of Volunteers in 2001" which had the aim of "increased promotion, recognition, facilitation and networking of voluntary action worldwide" (UNV 1997) or David Cameron, the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom's, plan for a "Big Society" with a focus on more volunteering to fill social gaps (Kisby, 2010). Shachar, von Essen and Hustinx (2019) are sceptical of this political support stating that volunteering is often promoted as "a highly glorified route for participating in civic life and contributing to the public good" (Ibid, p.1). This connects with the concern expressed by scholars such as Salamon, Hems and Chinnock (2000) that in a neo-liberal economy, volunteerism encourages governments to privatise and withdraw services, expecting NGOs and other organisations to fill the gaps with volunteers. Volunteering certainly plays a big role in world society. If 'volunteerland' were its own country, it would have the second largest adult population and the seventh largest economy in the world (Salamon, Sokolowski and Haddock, 2011:217)

Who is seen as a volunteer and who is not, is up for debate. Bolton (2015) and Finkelstein, Penner and Brannick (2005) state that volunteering occurs within an organisation or association. They go as far as to define volunteering as long-term,

planned and discretionary prosocial behaviour (Ibid, p.404). For the purpose of this study I am taking a broader view of volunteering.

In this paper the term volunteer applies to anyone who, while in Greece, has offered their services to benefit refugees and migrants. The majority of which (97%) are not Greek (see 3.5.2 for full demographics), therefore they represent a part of 'global' civil society. Whether they were an independent volunteer or part of a local NGO or international NGO (INGO)[3] does not matter. How long they stayed and whether they planned it months in advance or stumbled into it by accident, is also not accounted for. Volunteers are a very diverse group and this study does not aim to exclude anyone who self identifies as a volunteer and worked for free in Greece in the 'refugee crisis' from 2015 – 2018.

1.1.3 Refugees

The definition of who a refugee is was determined at the 1951 Convention of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Status of Refugees. A refugee is an individual who:

"owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (General Assembly of the United Nations Fifth Committee, 1951).

"Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" is enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, Article 14. Mbembe (2016) argues migration is a political act against global inequality as people move from places of conflict and poverty to places of peace and wealth. It can also be a way to reclaim the human 'rights' that the country of origin does not recognise for the person anymore (Arendt, 1973).

It is not so easy to choose the right words when discussing the people who landed on the shores of Greece. Terms include 'refugee', 'asylum seeker', 'migrant', 'people of

[3] I use the term INGO and NGO relatively interchangeably as although INGO would be more accurate in many cases, NGO is much more commonly used and understood.

concern' (POC) and 'people on the move'[4]. There are legal distinctions, however the media has laden the words with emotion and connotations, far beyond their factual definitions (Georgiou and Zabrowski, 2017). Although people arrive on Europe's shores irregularly for many reasons, the majority are asylum seekers, fleeing war, persecution or state failure[5] in countries like Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, South Sudan and the Congo amongst others. 'Asylum Seeker' is a more inclusive term than refugee as "not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee is initially an asylum-seeker" (UNHCR 2006:4). Having said this, I will use the term 'refugee' in this paper as this is the term most commonly used by the participants interviewed as well as by the media and it is the term I used most regularly when searching for literature. Even if it is not the most correct term, it is the most widely used. This may not be a coincidence. Long (2014:158) argues that "labelling those moving across borders as 'refugees' allows for a humanitarian response to a political crisis". I am aware that by using this term so broadly, some people will be included who are not legally defined as refugees; however, I do not see that as a major issue for the focus of this research[6].

1.1.4 Global Civil Society – Between State and Market

Keane (2003) defines Global Civil Society (GCS) as "a vast, interconnected, and multi-layered social space that comprises many hundreds of thousands of self-directing or non-governmental institutions and ways of life". The World Bank (2000:5) describes civil society as an arena where people come together to pursue common interests "not for profit or the exercise of political power, but because they care enough about something to take collective action. In this sense, all organisations and associations between family and state are part of civil society".

In 2001, three scholars, Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldo came together to start a 'Global Civil Society' Yearbook. The first issue was focused on the definition of GCS. Although they argue that GCS is a "fuzzy and contested concept"

[4] POC is the official term used by UNHCR and other large NGOs. 'People on the Move' was used by Melichar (2018).
[5] For more details see "Failed States, or the State as Failure?" by Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks. She explains how state failure can be both fuelled by and create overwhelming human need including refugee flows (Brooks, 2005:1162).
[6] e.g. Dimitriadi (2018) argues that Afghans perceive themselves as refugees whereas the state categorises them as economic migrants. This is an important debate, but out of the scope of this paper.

(Ibid, p.10) they came up with a working definition of GCS as "the sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organisations, networks, and individuals located between the family, the state and the market and operating beyond the confines of national, politics and economics" (Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor, 2001:171). They break this down further into four categories. GCS as a 'counterweight for global capitalists', an 'infrastructure for democracy and development', 'global solidarity' and 'growing connectedness'. They acknowledge that historically there have always been elements of supranational non-governmental spheres (e.g. the church, colonialism, the UN, EU and organisations such as the International Red Cross and Red Crescent), however they argue what is new is the sheer scale and scope of these organisations. This growth has been possible by the increased availability of technology and money (Ibid, p.6).

Although the concept of a civil society has been around for a very long time, it "was rescued for modern use" (Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor, 2001:13) by the Italian communist politician and philosopher; Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci defined GCS as a place 'between the state and the market'. A third, non-state and non-economic area of social interaction vital for society (Ibid and Munck, 2006:326).

Amore and Langley (2004) challenge the delineation of civil society from the state and market stating that in many cases GCS is used by politics to mitigate the more damaging forces of the global economy. Therefore, they argue, GCS "should be treated as ambiguous, open to contestation and often contradictory" (Ibid, p.102).

In order to get a better understanding of this contested and ambiguous topic it is helpful to take a look at what role GCS plays. Anheier & Themudo (2002:191) explain that Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) make up the organisational infrastructure of GCS. These CSOs vary widely and can be anything from a local soup kitchen to large-scale INGOs and non-profit institutions. These organisations perform a number of critical functions in our society from health care, education, aid to the disadvantaged, community building etc. (Salamon, 2010:168).

Munck (2006:325) argues that GCS has become "an important paradigm for progressive social change at a planetary level. It posits a bold new ethical project for global democratization." He however acknowledges that not everyone agrees with this

statement with some critics see it as "just the social wing of neoliberal globalization diverting social movements[7] from their tasks. (Ibid)"

The link between GCS and globalisation is a deep one and they are inextricably entwined. Charnowitz (1997) argues that globalisation has weakened traditional governance structures and thus granted other actors' access to the world stage with a steady increase in international NGOs. Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor (2001:10) state that "one way of defining or understanding global civil society is as a debate about the future direction of globalisation and perhaps humankind itself." Ten years later when reflecting on a decade of the GCS Yearbook, Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor, (2012:3) reflected that "As the journey progressed, we became increasingly critical of the dominant associational notion of global civil society often equated with international NGOs. In the pages of the yearbook, we began to experiment with different, more normative versions of the concept; communicative power, for example, or the space where justice is deliberated, or a realm of civility and non-violence".

Therefore, after a decade of studying the subject it still remains "fuzzy". For this study I am defining GCS as the space within which the volunteer movement took place. The volunteers along with the locals are what made up GCS in Greece. I see GCS as separate from the state and economy, however closely influenced by it. My argument is that the GCS response in Greece has a temporal dimension and could only come about due to state failure.

1.1.5 State

The Cambridge dictionary (2019) defines a state simply as "a country or its government". Brooks (2005:1160) describes a functioning state as an entity that has "territories and populations, conduct diplomatic relations with other states, monopolize legitimate violence within their territories, and succeed in providing adequate social goods to their populations". Under the 1951 Refugee Convention, UN states not only have duties to their own citizens, but also have the legal obligation to protect the rights of refugees (UN, 1951).

[7] A social movement can be described as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Tarrow, 2011:9). Social movements usually have a clearer political agenda than GCS. In order to avoid confusion, I will be referring to GCS rather than social movements in this paper, even though in some cases the definitions overlap.

When discussing the role of the state in the refugee crisis, definitions vary. The 'state' can refer to different levels of administration which may have different agendas. For example, on Lesvos[8] the local municipality government was not always in agreement with national Greek policies or the supranational EU policies, not to mention the global policies such as Human Rights law. As Papataxiarchis (2016a) points out, it is often EU level appointed INGO personnel and Frontex (the European border agency) who have the power and the Greek state and municipal authorities "maintain for themselves a rather symbolic role in this context" (Ibid, p.6).

GCS literature refers to 'the market', 'the state' and 'global civil society'. I use the state in the same way to refer to the political entity in a situation. Mostly it refers to local government policies in Greece but sometimes it may be referring to the national government, the EU or political systems more generally.

To go into depth on the role of the market in this crisis, is beyond the scope of this paper[9]. However, in most cases the will of the market is enacted by the state. For example; Hann (2015:1) argues that one reason why Mrs Merkel opened the borders of Germany to refugees was that "German capitalism urgently needs more workers to sustain growth and pay for the pensions of ageing citizens." Therefore, I argue that in the case of the refugee crisis, political policies and actions reflect the market forces and paint a relatively complete picture of the overall situation.

[8] Lesvos is written Λέσβος in Greek. It can be translated as Lesvos or Lesbos. I have chosen Lesvos as it closer reflects the way it is pronounced.
[9] For more details on the economic aspects of migration see: http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/

2. The Greek Context

In 2015 hundreds[10] of people died trying to reach Greece from Turkey by boat. Almost half of those who drowned were children (Giannakopoulos and Anagnostopoulos, 2016:1271). In this chapter I will take a closer look at the Greek context and how the state responded.

Adelman (1988:2) categorises the different situations asylum seekers can be in as: flight, repatriation, temporary asylum, resettlement abroad and settlement in the country of first asylum. In 2015 and the beginning of 2016, most refugees in Lesvos would fall into the 'flight' category. After the North Macedonian borders closed and the EU Turkey deal[11] came into force, things changed drastically, and an extra category should be added – that of being in limbo. As Greece and the EU were not able to agree to a humane asylum policy and an effective resettlement system (Melichar 2018:5), this liminality continued to be stretched (Tsoni, 2016) with people being stuck in camps and temporary shelters.

Due to "the absence of coherent national and European Asylum policies (Tsoni, 2016:35) and the inability of the state to respond adequately to the situation (Pries, 2018), the crisis was perceived as a state failure (Micinski, 2019, Chtouris & Miller 2017 and Melichar 2018).

Brooks (2005:1160) describes the symptoms of state failure as economic inequalities, warlordism and violent competition for resources. On the flip side a functioning state is described as one that realises peace, prosperity and human dignity (Ibid, p.1191). Greece is not a failed state in the traditional sense, however the way Greece and the EU responded to the crisis led to occasional violent competition for resources and certainly did not guarantee peace, prosperity or human dignity for the refugees. Instead Europe focused on a strategy of deterrence rather than human rights protection (Gammehoft-Hansen and Tan, 2017:28). Fassin (2016:1) observes that "whereas many

[10] IOM estimated 805 deaths through drowning in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, the exact numbers are not known (IOM, 2015).
[11] The EU Turkey Deal states that "all new irregular migrants and asylum seekers arriving from Turkey to the Greek islands and whose applications for asylum have been declared inadmissible should be returned to Turkey." Full details here: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-towards-a-new-policy-on-migration/file-eu-turkey-statement-action-plan (European Parliament, 2019)

European states once regarded asylum as a right, they now increasingly treat it as a favor."

In the summer of 2015 when the arrival numbers started increasing, there was very little official capacity to respond. By October 2015, at the peak of arrivals, over 10,000 people were arriving per day on the Greek islands, with the majority arriving on Lesvos (UNHCR, 2019b). At the time, Moria, the official registration centre, was far beyond capacity (Wain, 2017:20) and thousands of refugees ended up living outside the camp on the olive grove, at the port or other unofficial accommodation.

With almost no official presence, either from the Greek government or INGOs "civil society actors filled the void by mobilizing and coordinating aid in the first months of the refugee crisis" (Micinski, 2019:7).

While Europe was focusing its attention on trying to stop the refugee flows, volunteers from all over Europe, and further afield, came to help (Thornhill, 2018).

When the volunteers first started arriving the whole situation was relatively unstructured and uncoordinated (Melichar 2018:6). However, they quickly created structures and formed ad hoc grassroots organisations[12] (Kitching et al. 2016:1) and were "extremely efficient in addressing the humanitarian crisis" (Chtouris & Miller 2017:74).

It was not just in Greece where civil society filled the gap. All across Europe states struggled and civil society stepped in. Especially in countries seeing a lot of arrivals such as Germany and Austria[13] (Turinsky and Nowicka, 2019, and Simsa, 2017).

2.1 Global Civil Society in Greece

Civil society was already active in Greece, providing social services to newly impoverished Greeks in response to the economic crisis and recession that started in 2008 (Sotiropoulos and Bourikos, 2014). When the refugee crisis started, thousands of volunteers from all over the world came together and created the 'global' branch of the civil society response. There was an overlap between local civil society and global

[12] The organisation I helped lead for a year, was formed in exactly that way. In total we had around 3-4,000 volunteers join us for anything between 1 hour to 1 year. We were part of the GCS response.
[13] Germany and Austria were in the top five countries for the number of asylum requests received in 2016; see https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/en/web/products-datasets/-/MIGR_ASYAPPCTZA for EU statistics.

civil society, especially amongst the Greek solidarity movement. The movement was born out of austerity and then grew to encompass the new arrivals (Papataxiarchis, 2016b). In this paper I will however mainly focus on the international volunteers who joined GCS. This is because these are the people I have studied, as can be seen in the demographics of the participants of the survey (Section 3.5.2). In which less than 3% are Greek.

The GCS volunteers created ad hoc grassroots organisations to respond to the need. Micinski (2019:7) studied these organisations and found some interesting statistics. The Greek ministry's official NGO registry had just six INGOs in 2018. In contrast the unofficial count went from 91 organisations in 2016 to 168 in 2017. Micinski estimates that there were around 1,300 – 26,000 volunteers from 2016 – 2017. See Section 3.5.2 in the methodology for the demographics of the volunteers in this study sample.

Micinski (2019:5) divides the civil society response into three groups: activists with anarchistic networks, volunteers with NGOs and staff of international NGOs. I would add three more categories. That of independent volunteers which were neither anarchists nor part of an NGO, the refugee volunteers[14] and the locals. Tsartas et al. (2019) found that overall the locals had a negative attitude towards the impact of refugees on island life; however, this did not stop many locals getting involved anyway. For example, the fishermen who rescued people out of the sea or the café owners donating food (Papataxiarchis, 2016a). In some cases, due to lack of official structures, the state bodies would also join the frameworks set-up by GCS. For example, the Hellenic Navy providing meals using the systems put in place by the volunteers in Piraeus port outside Athens (Chtouris & Miller 2017:72).

2.2 Closing the Gap

During refugee crises in the global south, the UN uses a cluster approach where many different actors are involved and the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) coordinates. In the global north the state is normally the coordinator. However, when Greece failed to manage the situation, UNHCR was sent in to take over. It took a few months for them to formally arrive and while this high-level organisational politics was going on, civil

[14] Many refugees would volunteer while they waited to continue their journeys. They were involved with translation services, manual labour, peer to peer information sharing, food distribution etc.

society filled the gap (Micinski, 2019:4-5). On arrival UNHCR integrated into many of the systems set up by GCS and all actors worked side by side more or less effectively. Martin & Nolte (2019) studied how official organisations (which they called INGOs) and volunteers were perceived. INGOs were seen as bureaucratic and slow whereas volunteers were perceived as helpful, flexible and responsive to urgent needs, but unaccountable. Many INGOs determined the risk of working with untrained volunteers was too high and broke off partnerships (Ibid). I argue this was the beginning of the state taking back control. Volunteers substituted and competed with official policies whereas the INGOs complemented them and worked together with the government. Therefore, once enough INGOs had arrived on the scene and UNHCR had taken over control, the government started to reassert its power. Micinski (2019:15) describes this as a 3-step strategy: "1) co-opt and institutionalize the volunteer initiatives, 2) crack down on volunteers and NGOs operating search-and-rescue operations, and 3) reassert the state's role in coordination." This strongly resonates with my own experience on the ground at the time. However, I would add to the second point. The crack downs were not just on volunteers involved in search and rescue. Giving lifts and providing food and shelter could also lead to volunteer arrests (Feckete, Weber and Edmond-Petit, 2017)[15].

Step one was implemented by ordering all NGOs to register with the municipality. This included submitting a list providing details on funding, tasks, photos and personal details of all volunteers[16] (Micinski, 2019:16). Another strategy was for the INGOs to recruit volunteers and thus integrate them into the official system (Papataxiarchis, 2016a:8). All grassroots organisation faced the crucial dilemma as to whether to professionalise, register as an NGO and cooperate with large-scale international organizations and receive funding from them or, potentially not be able to continue offering the services they provided, and dissolve (Rozakou, 2017:103). [17]

Step two was implemented by the increased harassment and arrests of volunteers (Kitsantonis, 2018, Micinski, 2019:16, Vosyliūtė. and Conte, 2019). Feckete, Weber

[15] A volunteer friend of mine was also arrested when the police cleared out a squat. She had joined the refugee residents in solidarity.
[16] Together with another colleague I prepared this list for our organisation. We only included the long-term volunteers as we perceived it as too much of a bureaucratic burden to update the list with up to 20 new volunteers, we could get every day.
[17] Our organisation went down the professionalisation route. It was a heated discussion and many long-term volunteers broke off and set up new grassroots projects in other cities.

and Edmond-Petit (2017) documented the prosecution of 45 individual humanitarian actors under anti-smuggling or immigration laws between 2015 - 2017. These offenses were listed within three categories; 'sea rescue and smuggling', 'land smuggling and giving lifts' and 'provision of food, shelter and showers' (Ibid, p.10-18). Carrera et al. (2019) argue that this increased criminalisation and policing of volunteers and refugees is a risk to liberal civil society[18].

Step three was implemented by the UNHCR retaking control and slowly pushing GCS organisations out. As they were officially a partner of the state, they were in most cases complacent to its will, thus reasserting the state's role in coordination. The state did not only try to reassert control of the coordination but also increased border controls and implemented the EU Turkey deal. The asylum system adapted and evolved with fewer and fewer claims being accepted (Fassin, 2016).

The grand ideals that GCS could create a world where "norms of human dignity and democratic participation can be realized through an ever wider range of governance institutions, some of which may increasingly be distinct from the state" (Brooks, 2005:1195) seems to fall short when viewed in reality – at least in this case. Micinski (2019:4) points out that these civic spaces are often state-controlled due to the power differential between state and society.

To summarise; in 2015 a refugee crisis started in Greece. The state failed to deal with it adequately and a humanitarian void appeared. GCS filled this gap through the work of international volunteers and saved lives while the government caught up. GCS influenced the way the state responded, however eventually the state absorbed GCS into its jurisdiction through integrating and criminalising volunteer groups. Finally, the gap closed again, and the state took back control with limited input from volunteers who are now managed within a state approved structure. This reduced GCS' power for radical change. See Figure 1 for a graphical representation of the process.

[18] Over 100 NGOs have signed a joint statement calling on the EU to stop criminalising humanitarian work. For examples the red cross: https://redcross.eu/latest-news/the-eu-must-stop-the-criminalisation-of-solidarity-with-migrants-and-refugees

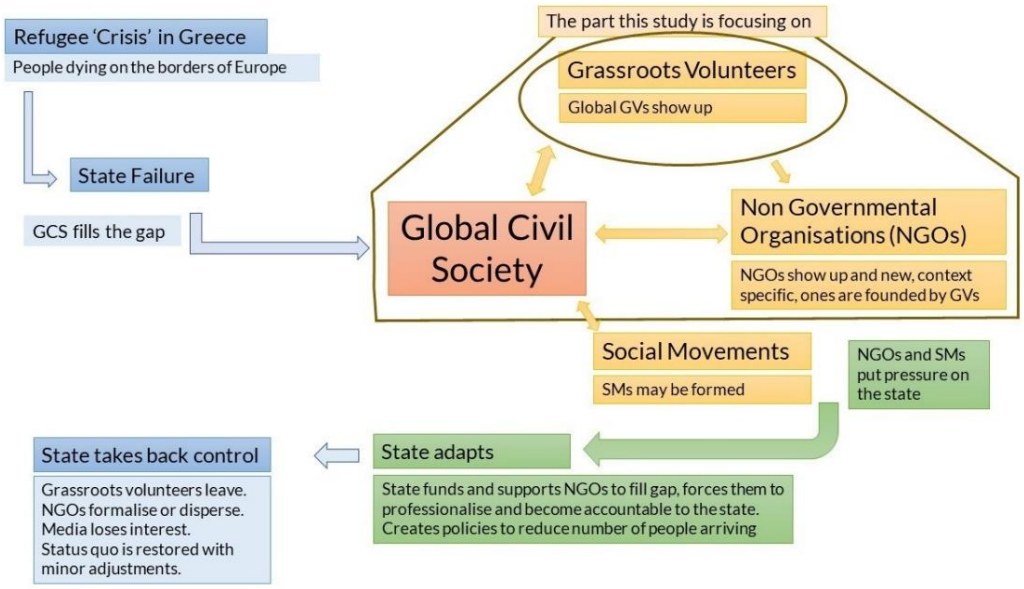

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

2.3 Summary

State agencies, international bodies and corporations represent and promote volunteering as a direct way of supporting civil society and contributing to the public good (Shachar and Hustinx, 2019). The volunteers and organisations that make up GCS are perceived as enhancing social capital and strengthening communities (Putnam, 2000), playing a central role in global democratisation (e.g. Munck 2006, Diamond 1994) and protecting the losers of neoliberal globalisation (Taylor, 2004).

In Greece in 2015 and 2016, the volunteers who made up the GCS response, effectively met the humanitarian needs of the refugees while the state was absent (Kalogeraki, 2018). They coordinated and provided nourishment, accommodation, medical care, information and solidarity (Papataxiarchis 2016a and Micinski, 2019).

I argue that during the refugee crisis in Greece, the GCS response was not a third stream working in parallel with the state and the economy (Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor, 2001) but rather a product of the gap created by state failure. A replacement for a limited time period.

This thesis explores how we can understand volunteers during the refugee crises. What motivated them and did their motivation change over time? Can they be described as a manifestation of GCS? Therefore, to understand more about the GCS movement in Greece, it is important to understand more about the volunteers that formed it. The next chapter explains the method I used to conduct the study.

3. Methodology

In this chapter the methodology used for my research will be explained. I will start with a brief introduction and then go into more detail on the theoretical background, survey design, data analysis and conclude with a reflection on ethical concerns and validity.

3.1 Method Choice

It is important to think closely about which methodology to use as each has its strengths and weaknesses and will strongly influence the study (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). My focus is on people who volunteered in Greece during the time period of 2015 – 2017. These were many tens, if not hundreds of thousands of volunteers[19]. In order to reach as many people as possible within the limited scope of my research, I designed a qualitative survey. Usually surveys are used in quantitative research as a way to gather large amounts of data which are then statistically analysed. The downside is every question must be categorised and constrained. Consequently, the researcher has to already have a very clear idea what they are expecting to measure and then think of the best ways of capturing that. This can mean that although at the end of the study the researcher has a large number of answers, none of the participants may feel that the boxes and categories truly represented what they wanted to say, and they just took the next best match (Maxwell, 2012).

Qualitative research, on the other hand, allows for much more freedom on the side of the interviewee. There is space to dive into questions and potentially take it in a completely novel or different direction to what the researcher was expecting. However, the downside is usually the number of people the data is collected from is severely limited. Limiting the possibility of extrapolating findings from the sample to overall population. Therefore, a mix of both methods was most appropriate for this study.

[19] Unfortunately, there are no official statistics. Micinski (2019:7) estimated that there were up to 26,000 volunteers from 2016 - 2017. Our newly founded NGO alone had 3-4,000 volunteers come through in 2016.

Maxwell (2012:17) compares qualitative versus quantitative research as a "do-it-yourself" versus an "off-the-shelf" process. I took the do-it-yourself approach, testing the qualitative survey during the pilot study and then scaling up for this thesis.

During the pilot study (27 participants) I was often surprised by the answers I received and appreciated the opportunity to give the participants the freedom to say what they wanted without my pre-existing expectations or hypothesis influencing them too much. In order to draw upon the networks available and to produce the most interesting data, I created a methodology that draws on the strengths of quantitative research to reach a large audience and the strengths of qualitative research to leave it open and enquiring.

In my method I used my networks to reach 170 people with a short, online survey to be self-completed by the participant, to get a large and varied sample which is the benefit of using quantitative research (see 3.4 Survey Distribution for full details). The questions were open and free in the spirit of qualitative research. None of the questions were mandatory. It took participants on average around 15-20 minutes to complete the survey.

The data was then coded and analysed using grounded theory as a guide and the emerging results were compared with theories from the literature. The coding process and literature review happened hand in hand and it was during this phase that the research questions fully crystallised and the subtheme of global civil society and the role of volunteers within it, emerged. The findings will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Beforehand, I will outline the methodology in more detail.

3.2 Grounded Theory

Qualitative research is not a linear process but rather takes place in multiple cycles. Analysing data, developing theory, elaborating or refocusing research questions and addressing validity happen relatively simultaneously and influence each other (Maxwell 2012:18). This was definitely the case for this study. The area of study (volunteers) was clear from the beginning, the focus however developed over time and was influenced by my methodology choice as well as my literature research and later the survey data. The research questions also evolved over time.

The theoretical basis I built my research on is that of grounded theory. The theory was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s and further developed by other scholars. One student of theirs, Kathy Charmaz, has played a particularly active role in continuing to develop and expand grounded theory since then.

Charmaz perceives the process of creating theory as follows: "When you theorize, you reach down to the fundamentals, up to abstractions, and probe into experience. The content of theorizing cuts to the core of studied life and poses new questions about it" (Charmaz 2006:135).

Charmaz (2006) distinguishes between two ways of describing theory. The positivist view which is focused on explanation and prediction and the interpretative view which is more interested in understanding. She argues that grounded theory has elements of both forms and that there is also a split within the grounded theory tradition; constructivist grounded theories and objectivist grounded theories.

The objectivist grounded theory is part of the positivist tradition and assumes that the researcher is an unbiased observer who, through careful application of their methods, records the facts of the external reality under examination. Strict adherence to the methods is important to create theoretical understanding.

Constructivist grounded theorists belong to the interpretive tradition and see "both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other sources of data" (Charmaz, 2006:130). Constructivist grounded theorists also acknowledge that the resulting theory is an interpretation and is closely linked to the researchers view. Unlike the objectivists who strictly follow the grounded theory steps, constructivist grounded theorists are more open to adapt their methods as long as they remain reflexive of the process and the theories that evolve. Thus, although the process is very systematic, it is not a strict system (Bryant, 2017:91).

3.2.1 A Note on Subjectivity

My project is situated within the constructivist grounded theory tradition. Due to having been in the field, my values and experience shape the way I interpret the data and I would never argue that I am an unbiased observer. Maxwell (2012:36) argues that trying to make a sharp separation between one's research and the rest of one's life is harmful to good research. He boils this down to two reasons. First, it creates the

illusion that research takes place in a sterile, objective environment which obscures the motives, assumptions and agendas of the researcher. Secondly, the separation can cut the researcher off from "a major source of insights, questions, and practical guidance in conducting their research".

Bryant (2017) adds that as researchers are not robots, their participation, engagement and position will influence the results, so rather than trying to avoid it, it is better to be transparent and explain it.

I see my prior experience as an opportunity to enrich the research. Knowing the situation so intimately myself means I understand the abbreviations, the references to places and names and the political situation the participants found themselves in. Charmaz (2006) argues that preconceived ideas can be imported into research if the researcher remains unaware of their starting assumptions. To avoid this, before reading any of the survey responses, I answered the survey myself in quite some detail (see Appendix A) to bring my subconscious bias to the fore. This allowed me to acknowledge my bias and be aware of it during the research process as well as being more critical when findings that closely matched my own experience emerged.

Thus, having discussed the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of grounded theory, I will now explain how it was applied in this thesis.

3.3 Survey Design

Grounded theory is a data-oriented approach whereby questions are formulated, and theories developed in persistent interaction with the data (Bryant 2017:96). The data from my pilot study had shown that volunteering was a very intense experience for volunteers. It did not however explain why people did it. In this study I decided to dive deeper into this question and investigate the motivation of the volunteers in Greece.

The tool used for the survey was the university branded LimeSurvey webservice. I chose this tool as I hoped that having the university branding would reassure the participants that they were contributing to credible academic research. Hence, reducing anxiety regarding legitimacy and data protection.

3.3.1 Choosing the Questions

In keeping with the grounded theory approach, I developed three new open questions. I kept it as simple as possible and as open as possible to allow participants the opportunity to say what they wanted in an unrestricted way. Sullivan et al. (2012:19) found that "small differences in question wording can lead to dramatic differences in responses." Therefore, I decided to keep the question wording similar, and included the word 'motivation' in each question. Here is the wording I settled on:

- What motivated you to decide to go?
- What were the main motivations for you to keep doing the work once you were there?
- What motivated you to leave?

See Appendix B for exact format and prompts.

As Bryant (2011:99) explains; "It is important to stress that GTM [grounded theory method] does not involve starting from a clear and precise research question. In fact it explicitly eschews this in favor of a far more flexible stance on the part of the researcher(s), who should be ready to be taken by surprise as the analysis develops from this initial phase."

Originally my rational for asking the question in this way was to explore how motivation changed over time and hoped that this phrasing would prompt people to share that. Interestingly the repetition seemed to have an unexpected added effect of allowing the participant to reflect and go deeper into their experience, creating richer data and adding another dimension. This will be discussed in more detail in the findings in Chapter 4.

I had three very simple open questions that were the focus of my research. When designing my survey, the big question for me was what other questions should I include? What is relevant? What would I like to know about my participants? I decided that I would like to keep it to a minimum to not take away time and energy from the main questions. Therefore, I made a list of what I felt was important to know. This included when and where they had volunteered, so I could make sure they had all been in Greece, as well as what they did, to get an idea who my cohort is and how representative and diverse they are. See Appendix B for exact wording.

For the demographic questions I used the Pew Research Center (2018) and the European Social Survey as a starting point. I chose the basic questions on age, gender and nationality. I also included three questions on profession, religion and politics. I chose profession to make sure that I was not only getting answers from one group of people, for example students.

For the religion question I was not so much interested in which religion volunteers belong to but rather whether they saw themselves as religious. Are volunteers on average religious people? Could that be a part of their motivation? I selected the wording for the question based on the Pew Research Centre (2018) and Sullivan, Voas and Brown (2012).

For the political question I was mainly interested if people see themselves as politically engaged or not. After some consideration I took the question used by the European Social Survey.

Some of the questions I chose not to ask were regarding social status and education. Social status would have been interesting, but it is very hard to measure in one question. As more questions lead to a higher dropout rate, I decided to leave it out as it was not critical to my research interests. I also decided against asking for education as it is too complicated (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik and Warner, 2006) and not relevant across age groups as demographics change with time. University degrees, for instance, are much more common now than they were 30 years ago.

3.3.2 Question Order

Whether to put the demographic questions at the beginning or end of the survey is up to much debate (Hughes, Camden and Yangchen, 2016). Those in favour of putting demographic data at the beginning, argue that this leads to higher response rates and lower drop-out rates (Drummond et al., 2008, Frick, Bächtiger and Reips, 1999, and Teclaw, Price and Osatuke, 2012).

Bourque & Fielder (2003) and Albert, Tullis and Tedesco (2009) argue the demographic questions should go at the end due to them being boring and personal, both of which can lead to participants being put off the survey. Unless they are needed for filtering.

I found a compromise between both arguments. I included the data regarding when, where and for how long the participants were in Greece at the beginning, and the personal demographic data at the end. This had the benefit of starting with something relatively easy, to avoid drop-out rates, as well as transporting the participant back to that time and triggering their memory to set the scene for the first important question. As demographic data is not that important for my study, I decided that leaving it at the end was the best place as if people dropped out by that stage, it would not matter too much. Only two people did not fill it in.

The three main questions were open questions as this was most conducive to grounded theory.

Finally, I added a question at the very end: "Any further comments". This was to allow for anything I had missed and to give the participant the opportunity to say anything they felt still needed saying.

3.4 Survey Distribution

The survey was distributed entirely online. I shared it in WhatsApp groups (200+ members) and Facebook pages (35,000+ members) connected to the volunteer movement in Greece. I messaged friends who were/are coordinators directly and asked them to share it with their networks and finally I emailed it to a database of previous volunteers (1,102 recipients, 65% open rate).

I also asked everyone I contacted to share it with friends and acquaintances that had volunteered in Greece, in order to cast the net as wide as possible.

I considered offering some sort of incentive for completing the survey. However, Sandel (2012) explains that intrinsic motivation can be destroyed by offering financial reward. Therefore, I decided against it as I believe most volunteers have high intrinsic motivation. In the case that I did not get enough responses, I planned to encourage more people to participate by offering to donate money to a refugee charity for each extra completed survey. The first week I only used social media and received 52 responses. The second week I sent the emails and consequently closed the survey one week later with 170 complete responses. My target had been a minimum of 50 responses, so I did not need to use any further incentive.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data analysis was a systematic process. Having received the responses, I started by filtering the results and reviewing the participant profiles. Then I coded the responses, sorted the codes into categories and developed concepts. The data analysis together with the literature review led to the theory emerging. In this section, I will go into each step in detail.

3.5.1 Filtering

In order to make sure the data is of sufficient quality, I decided to filter the results. How this was done is described below for complete transparency.

In total I received 302 responses. According to the Limsurvey statistics, 134 were incomplete, 168 complete. The other incomplete responses had opened the survey but not filled in any questions, LimeSurvey logged them anyway. Two of the 'incomplete' participants had answered all the questions except the last page on demographics, so I included them in my 'complete' sample and came to a grand total of 170 completed questionnaires. One response was a test response to check the survey was working so I deleted that, bringing the total to 169.

Next I filtered by location. For my study to be representative, all volunteers had to have volunteered in Greece at least once. Therefore, I deleted two responses as one had only volunteered in Lebanon and the other in Palestine. This brought the total to 167.

Before launching the survey, I had considered focusing on a specific time period. As I was however not sure how many results I would get, I decided to leave it open. Due to the high number of responses I had the opportunity to be more selective. As the situation in Greece has changed quite dramatically in the past couple of years, I decided to restrict the sample to people who had volunteered in Greece at least once between 2015 – 2017. There were no respondents who had only volunteered before 2015, so I just had to remove the participants who had only volunteered in 2018 and 2019 (for full distribution before filtering see Figure 2). This brought my final sample size to 147 participants.

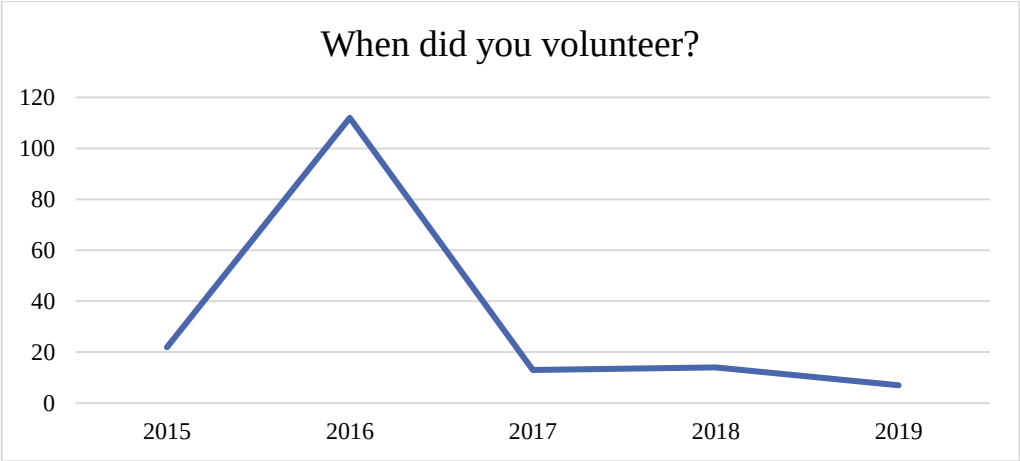

Figure 2: Year voluntary work in Greece commenced

In total this came to 27,879 words of qualitative data. That is the equivalent of around 60 pages of text.

3.5.2 Participant Profiles

Before looking at the qualitative data, I analysed the volunteer information and demographic data. This was to give me an idea who had answered the survey and to be aware of any particular self-selection bias, i.e. to see if the sample was representative of the volunteers as a whole or if only certain groups had filled it in.

Here are the answers to the 'Volunteer Information" questions:

Where did you volunteer?

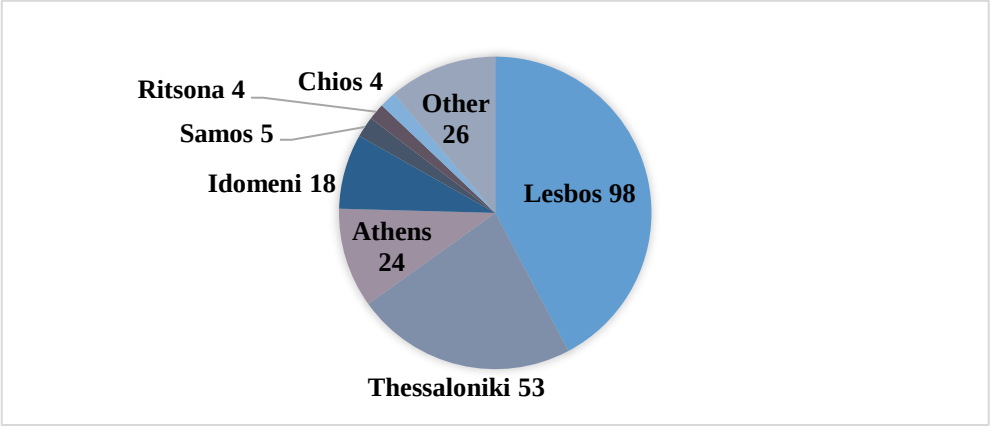

Figure 3:Volunteering Locations

Participants may have volunteered in more than one location. Consequently, the sum is more than 147. All answers that only occurred once or twice were grouped in 'other'. Camp names were used if location is remote and not near a big city. Camps on an

island or in a big city were grouped, e.g. all camps in Thessaloniki or on Lesvos were grouped under ‘Thessaloniki’ or ‘Lesvos’.

When did you volunteer?

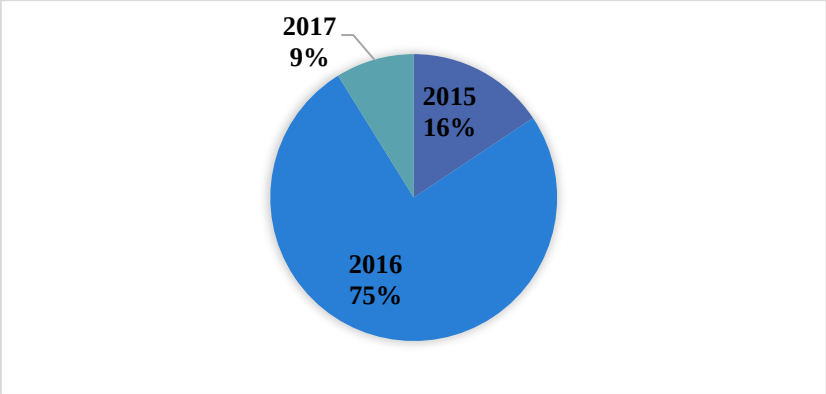

Figure 4: Participants grouped by the year they first started volunteering.

Participants may have come back multiple times and spanned various years. The years 2018 and 2019 have been filtered out, as explained above.

What did you do?

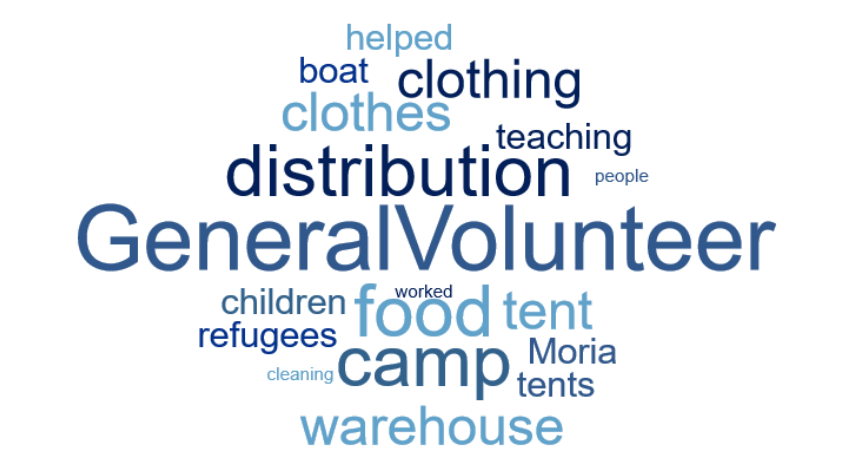

Figure 5:Volunteer Tasks

All words appearing less than 10 times were removed. In the subtext of the question it said “Brief description of your main tasks. e.g. medical, general volunteer, boat rescue, warehouse, teaching etc.”. This could have primed the results in the same way that selecting from categories does. However, an open question allows for more freedom than a category. The results show that the majority of volunteers were not specialists but rather general volunteers doing a wide variety of tasks.

After the main questions, which will be discussed in the findings section, the last section were the participant demographic questions.

Gender

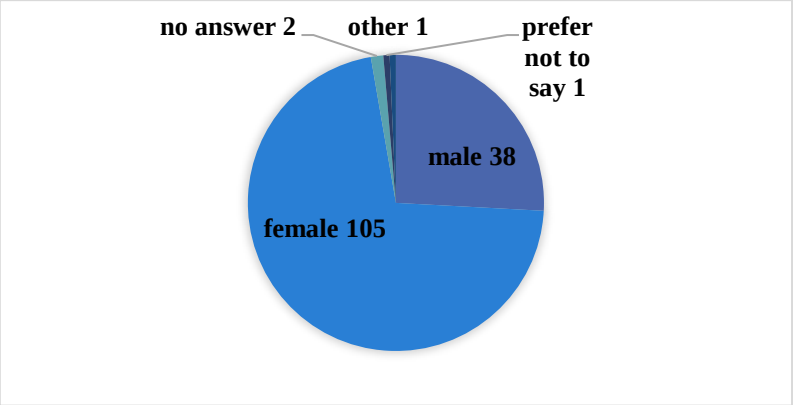

Figure 6: Volunteer Genders

This gender ratio is about in line with my experiences on the ground as a volunteer coordinator.

Nationality

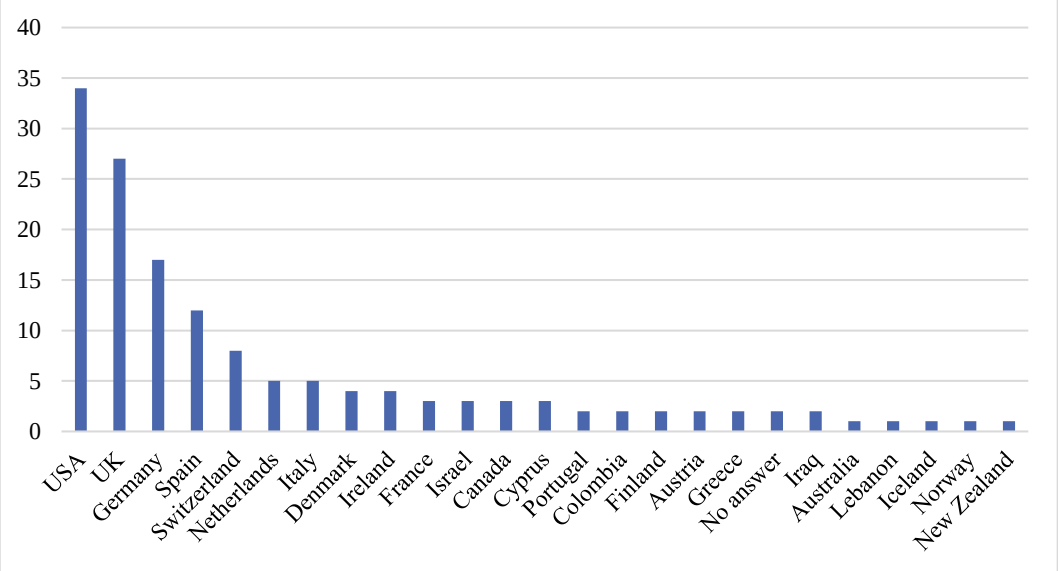

Figure 7: Volunteer Nationalities

When shown on the map it becomes clear that the majority of participants are from the global north and a large percentage are from English speaking countries. This could be due to self-selection bias; English speakers may feel more comfortable filling in an English-speaking survey – but it does also match my experience as volunteer

coordinator. Even back then, I was surprised at the number of US American volunteers who came to Greece.

The numbers on the map represent how many people from the sample came from each country.

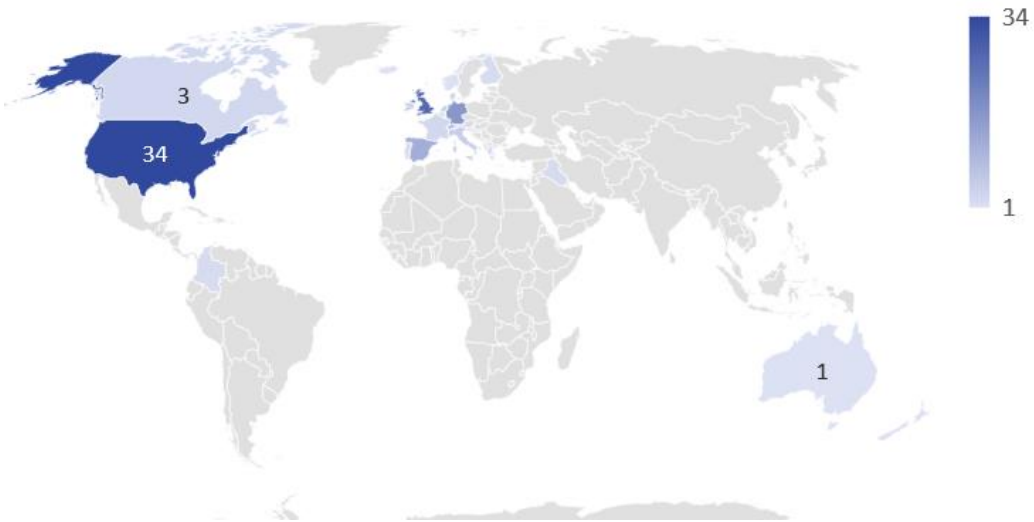

Figure 8: World Map of Nationalities

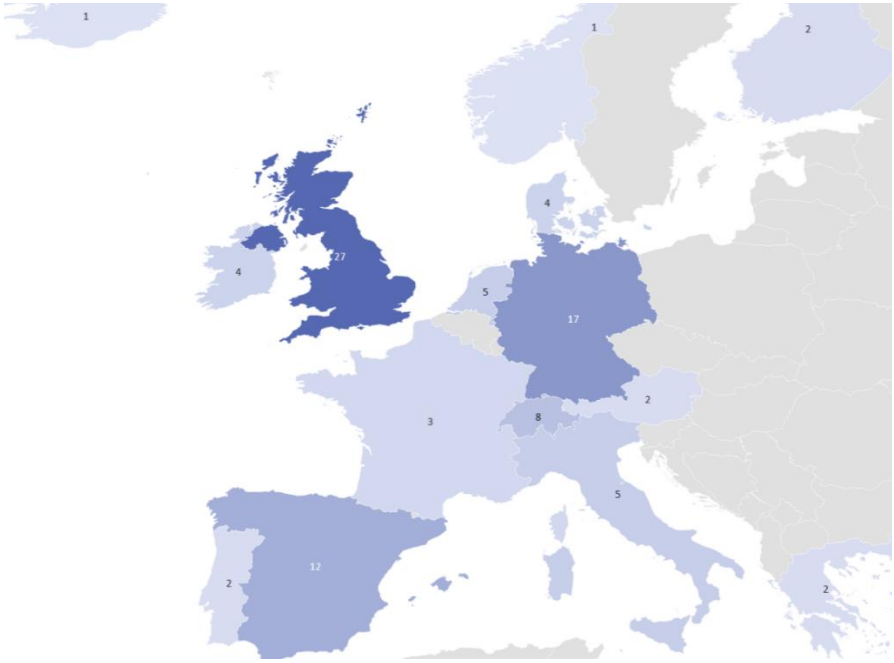

Figure 9: European Map of Nationalities

In Europe the majority of the participants came from the UK. Most European countries are however represented in this sample and it shows the breadth of nationalities amongst the volunteers.

Age

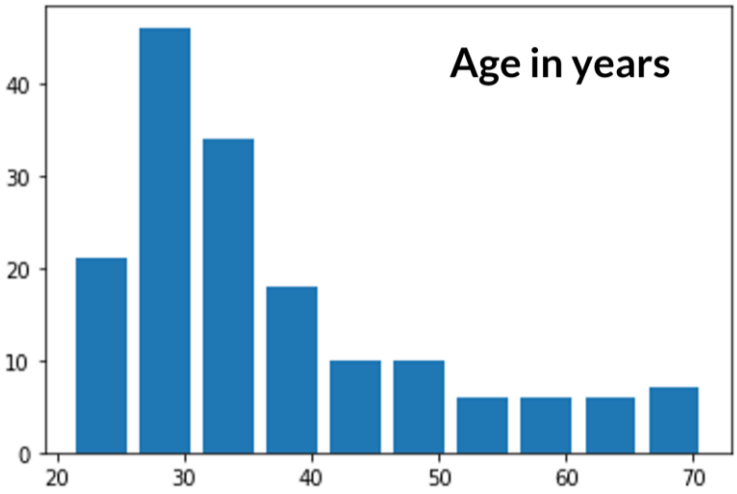

Figure 10: Volunteer Age Distribution

It is worth noting that this is their current age. The youngest being 21. Back in 2015, the youngest could have been as young as 17. The average age at the time of completing the survey was 37 years old.

Profession

Figure 11: Volunteer Professions

All words that appeared less than twice were removed. The software only allows individual words and some very similar jobs were described with different job titles. The most common individual profession was student (9 times). The most common combinations were ‘social worker’ and ‘project manager’ (both 6 times). This word cloud is not an exact quantitative depiction of people’s current professions, but it gives a rough idea of some recurring professions as well as the overall diversity. It should be noted

that the question was: what is your current profession? It may be that the current profession is not the same as at the time of volunteering. Results from my pilot study showed that in some cases the volunteer experience led to a change of career, however researching that phenomenon is out of the scope of this study.

Politics

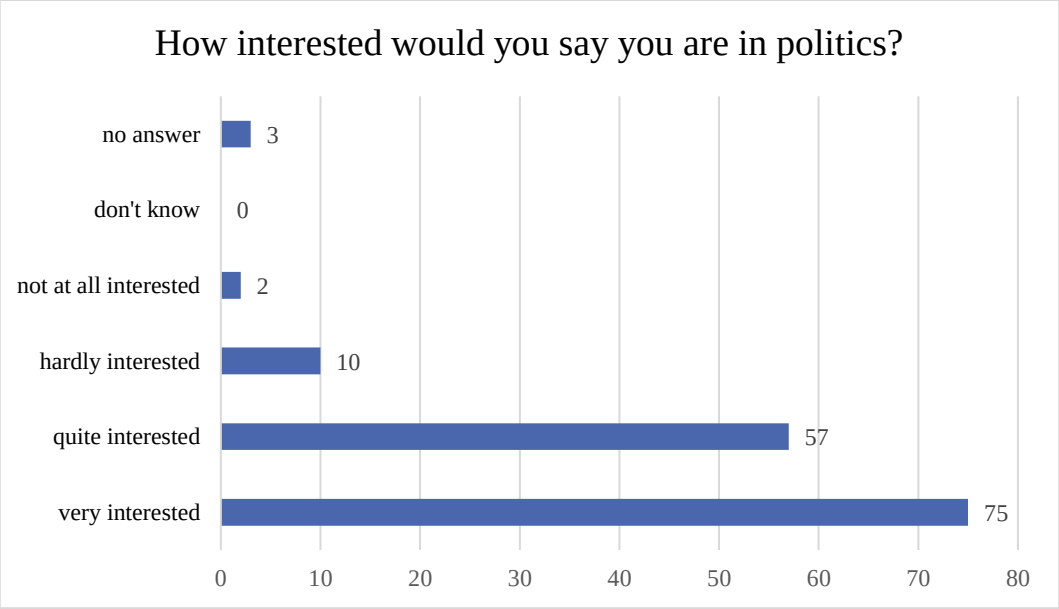

Figure 12: Volunteer Political Interests

By grouping the responses into interested, not interested and neutral (see below) it becomes clear that the large majority of the participants are interested in politics. This could be a key motivation which will be discussed further in the findings in Chapter 5.

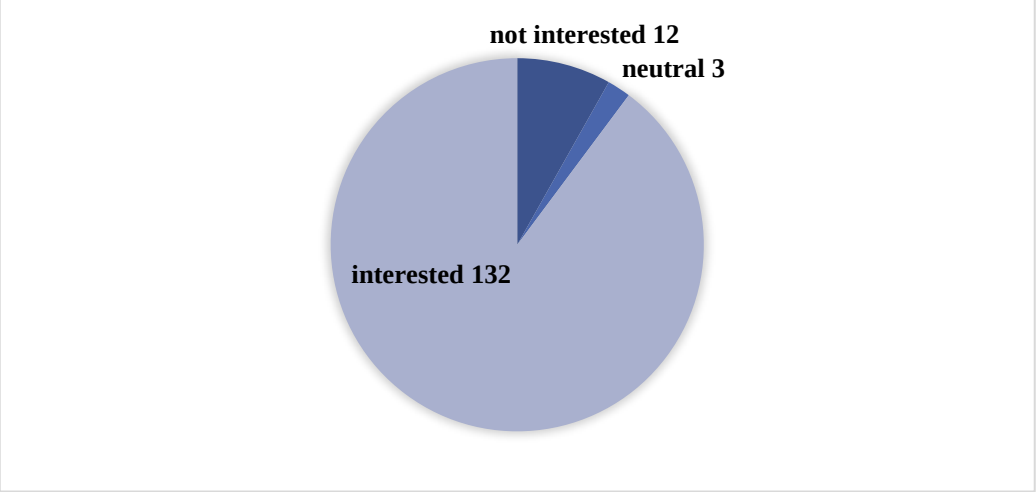

Figure 13: Volunteer Political Interests Grouped

Religion

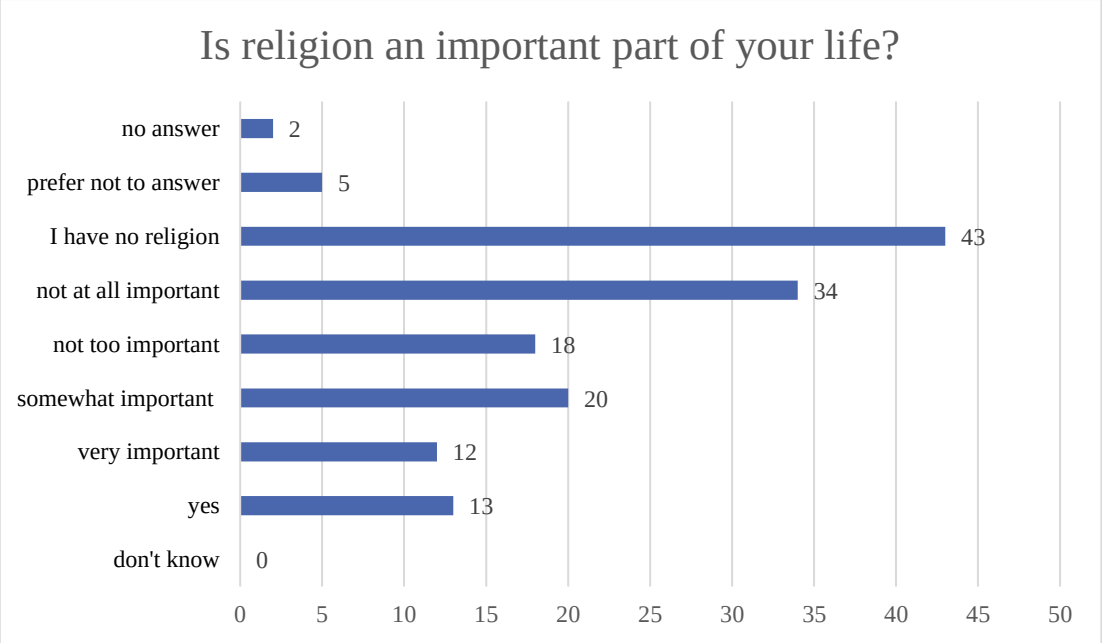

Figure 14: Volunteer Religious Importance

In retrospect I realise that having 'yes' does not make much sense and I should have left it out. In order to get a quick overview whether people see religion as important, not important or neutral, I grouped the responses into three categories. Important (yes, very important, somewhat important), neutral (no answer, prefer not to say) and not important (not too important, not at all important, I have no religion). Putnam (2000:71) argues that religion is a crucial dimension of civic engagement. (Papataxiarchis, 2016a:8) also stated that preaching the word of God was a common motivation for volunteers in Greece. Interestingly the response (see below) shows that religion was not a dominant motivation for most participants of this survey.

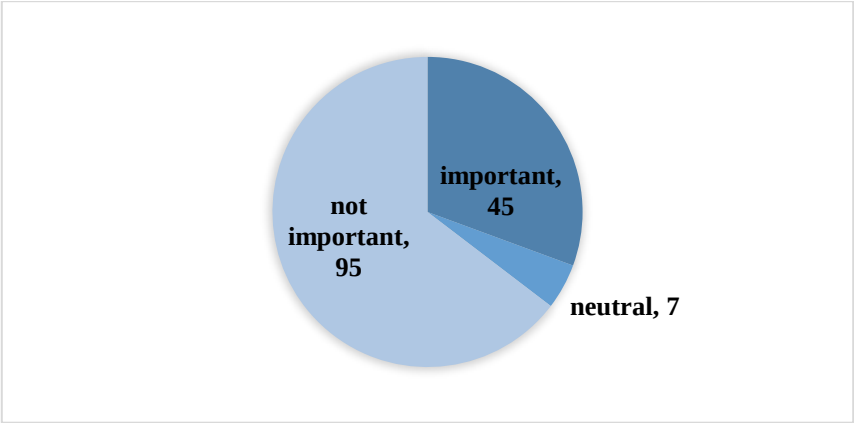

Figure 15: Volunteer Religious Importance Grouped

Overall the volunteer information and demographic data reflects my own experience coordinating thousands of volunteers in Greece. They were a diverse group of people from various backgrounds, nationalities, ages and professions. Some stayed a few days, others stayed months, each played a role. Having analysed the basic information about who the participants were, I then moved onto analysing what they said. The next section will explain my coding method in more detail.

3.5.3 Coding

The coding process was very hands-on. As well as being guided by the general literature on grounded theory, I used the book by Antony Bryant (2017), a colleague of Charmaz, called 'Grounded Theory and Grounded Theorizing' as a practical guide on the steps to be taken.

Charmaz (2006) describes coding as being the process of defining what the data is all about. In grounded theory codes are "emergent", they develop as the researcher studies their data and may take the researcher to unexpected areas and research questions (Bryant 2017:120).

Initial codes may also change as focuses change and understanding is developed. Codes are the first step of the process and essential to get an overview of what the data is about before moving into more abstract themes (Bryant, 2017).

Codes are units of meaning, i.e. a word, sentence or in some cases a paragraph that is related to one concept. Codes are supposed to be entirely descriptive. They can also be understood as a tag saying this is what this unit of meaning is about. Each sentence or thought is assigned a code and then similar codes can be grouped or merged. One sentence or unit of meaning can have more than one code. For example; 'anger made me act' can be coded as 'anger', 'emotion' and 'actively do something'.

To start the process, I copied all the individual answers for each question into one text document. This meant that the author was disconnected from the data and the focus was on what the text said, not its relation to a specific person. I coded the first pages by hand using different coloured pens (see Appendix C for an example) and then typed the results into excel to create the graphics. This method had certain restrictions, so I switched to using ATLAS.ti, a software programme specifically designed for qualitative coding (see Appendix D for an example). Using software made it easier to rename

and merge codes when necessary. For example, the code ‘crisis’ and ‘emergency’ were merged into the code ‘crisis’. It also made it easier to export the results straight into excel and create the graphics as well as creating word clouds.

Coding tries to be as objective and descriptive as possible, however the researcher always influences the results as codes can be assigned and interpreted in various ways. To make sure that the codes ‘made sense’ and could be related to, I had two student friends second code some of the text with me and review samples of my coding. Some adaptations were then made.

The codes that emerged are discussed in more detail in the findings in Chapter 4.

3.3.4 Categorisation and Concepts

Categorisation is “the analytic step in grounded theory of selecting certain codes as having overriding significance or abstracting common themes and patterns in several codes into an analytic concept” (Bryant 2017:121). Coding is entirely descriptive. Categorisation is more interpretive. It is the process of bringing the codes together into a more abstract, theoretical level. The categories are then related to each other and new ideas and theories can emerge. The most significant theoretical categories then become the concepts of the theory (Charmaz, 2006).

I did this by grouping similar codes together and then creating word clouds and mind-maps which helped certain categories emerge as more dominant. Diagrams help to visualise the context and boundaries between the different categories, as well as their interrelations (Bryant, 2017:128). Having done this, I went back through the texts to see if I had miscoded any excerpts and merged a couple more codes to reflect the overall categories.

The categorisation process also went hand in hand with the literature review. The literature influenced some of my categories and the categories influenced some of my literature research. i.e. I searched for literature that spoke to my categories and could give them a more theoretical basis.

In grounded theory the process is very fluid and interwoven. As Bryant (2017:121) explains; “coding is followed by categorizing, and conceptualizing; although there will be overlapping and iterations around these.”

3.3.5 Theory Creation

During the process of coding, categorisation and conceptualising, certain themes emerge as dominant. The process of theory creation or 'abstracting' runs throughout the whole process. Grounded theory is a bottom up approach where many codes are grouped into categories which give rise to concepts which eventually lead to a model based on a small number of core terms that make up the theory (Bryant 2017:122).

3.6 Ethical Concerns and Validity

No research methodology is perfect. In this section I will briefly reflect on some of the potential weaknesses of the approach and what I did to address them.

Ethics are incredibly important in research and should be reflected on in every aspect of research design (Maxwell 2012:22). With this in mind, the survey was conducted completely anonymously. In a couple of cases I could identify the person based on the information they gave, however when the data was analysed all the results were merged together, thus connecting responses to individual people became much harder. Furthermore, as a researcher I treat all the data with complete confidentiality and only write/speak about it in summarised form and never connected to individual people.

One of the key findings from my pilot study was that for many people the experience was quite traumatic. It is possible that asking these questions could have been triggering and, in some cases, traumatic for the participants. This is a downside of an internet-based survey as the anonymity makes it impossible for me to intervene or offer guidance. There were a couple of steps I could take. Firstly, I made it clear what the survey was about so those who did not feel comfortable could avoid it. Secondly, no question was mandatory, and people could break off at any point, so no one was in any way forced to take part. One thing I did not think to do until later is to include a link at the end with details on where people can get psychological support if needed. It could be wise to include this in any future research of this kind.

Finally, the questions were transparent, and the introduction text made it clear what the research was being used for. My contact details were available for anyone to raise concerns.

Another topic of concern is validity. Maxwell (2012) encourages all researchers to ask themselves questions about validity such as; how might the results and conclusions be wrong? What are the plausible alternative interpretations? How can the data that you have, support or challenge your ideas about what's going on? Why should we believe your results? I hope that I have managed to address many of these issues by making the methodology clear and transparent as well as reflecting on the results in the discussion.

4. Findings

As discussed in Chapter 2 on methodology, the data was analysed using grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) to see which pertinent concepts would arise. For each of the three questions, I started with basic codes and then grouped them into categories and thus ended with the main concepts (Bryant 2017:97). Each answer may have multiple codes and thus land in more than one category. The idea of the exercise was not to profile each individual into a 'identity' but rather to explore the themes that emerge out of the lived experiences of multiple individuals (Cresswell 1998).

Overall the findings show that participants responded to a percieved humanitarian gap and expressed a wish to help. They spoke of a duty to do something due to the suffering they witnessed. During the experience, volunteers were motivated by a strong sense of community and a personification of the crisis. The fact that there was a great need gave participants the feeling that they were doing meaningful work. For most, however, the time as a volunteer was temporaly bounded before returning 'home'. In this chapter I will go into detail of the findings from each question.

4.1 What Motivated You to Decide to Go?

The first question had the longest answers on average. It seemed people were eager to share their stories. Before creating codes and categories I made a word cloud out of the raw data to see which words were most commonly used (Fig. 16).

Figure 16: Motivations for Going

From this word cloud it appears that the answer to the question as to why people were motivated to go was to do with people and wanting to help in a refugee situation. As there are many different words to describe the same concept, the word clouds do not always give a just reflection of the content, that's where the codes come in. The codes show a more varied picture (see Fig. 17). Word clouds are only possible with individual words. Therefore, the table is included to see which codes each word represents.

Code	word	cou
Crisis / Emergency	Crisis	56
News / Media	Media	48
Emotion	Emotion	51
Political	Political	56
Wanting to help	Helping	35
Friends / Family	Friends	32
Duty / Responsibility	Duty	42
Education / Understanding	Education	30
Actively do something	Active	28
Civil Society	GCS	28
People suffering	Suffering	24
Solidarity	Solidarity	21
Empathy / Compassion	Empathy	20
Witnessing	Witnessing	24
Skills	Skills	17
Had time	Time	16
Lucky / Privilege	Privilege	17
Personal benefit / reasons	Personal	17
Need	Need	13
History	History	12
Opportunity	Opportunity	12
Travel / Visit abroad	Travel	12
Personal connection	Connection	11
Powerless / Helpless	Powerless	11
Right thing to do	Right	14
Access	Access	7
God / Religion	Religion	7

Figure 17:Motivation for Going Codes

Motivations that emerge include political, emotion, media and the crisis aspect. To get a deeper understanding of the topic, these codes were then grouped into concepts and categories as shown below:

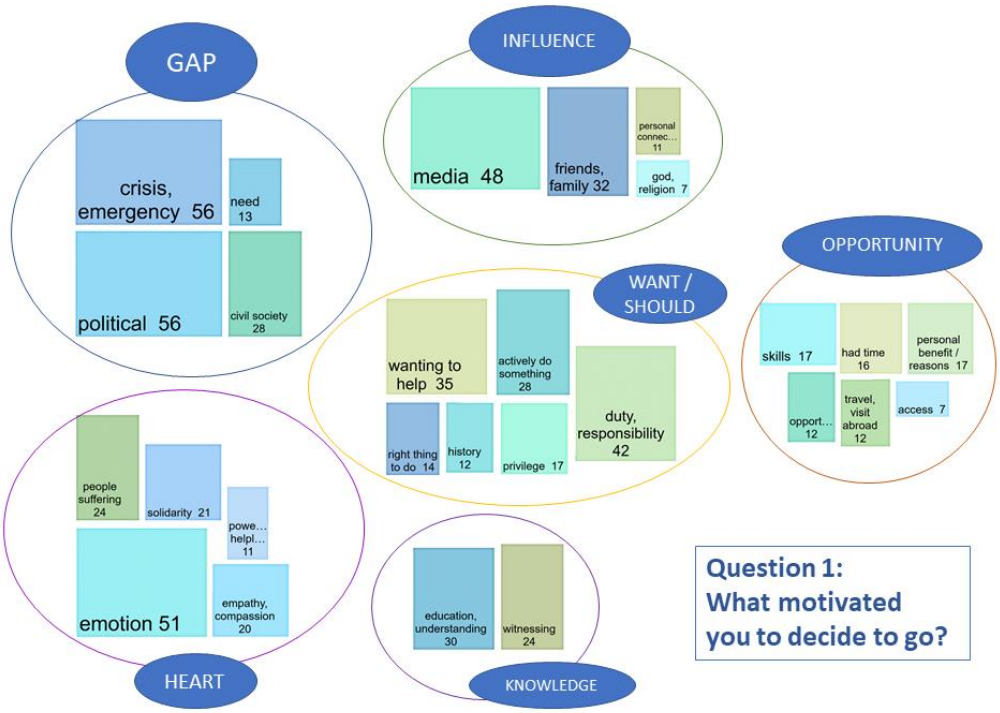

Figure 18: Motivation for Going Categories

Six categories emerged; Influence, Gap, Want/Should, Opportunity, Heart and Knowledge.

In a nutshell the overall representative response to question one, could be summarised as follows*: I was informed that there was a gap that was leading to human suffering, therefore I felt I should get involved. I was also interested to know more so I took the opportunity to go.* However, to get a better understanding of the categories I will go into a little more detail for each one.

4.1.1 Influence

This category is mainly focused on how people heard about the situation. The most commonly stated information source was the media:

"The fact that it was so much in the media was also a factor."[20]

"The day the pictures of Alan Kurdi's body washed up on the beach, a friend told me about it. I googled it later and it was the final piece of coverage in the media that made me want to act".

This second quote includes both the media and the second most common reason; that of friends and family. Many people chose to go after hearing from friend or having a family member already volunteering in a camp. This overlaps somewhat with the category of "personal connection". Other reasons for the personal connection were having been a refugee themselves. The final reason in the influencing category is god:

"I feel that God called me to show compassion to the hurting and suffering."

Although as discussed in Section 3.5.2, the demographic data shows that religion was only a motivating factor for a small minority which is in contrast to Putnam (2000:71) and Papataxiarchis (2016a:8) who argue that religion is one of the main influences for volunteering.

4.1.2 Gap

This concept was inspired by the emergence of the theory of the 'gap' which is not being filled by the state. It includes the two largest categories for this question crisis/emergency and political. The situation was regularly referred to as a 'crisis' that

[20] All quotes without references are taken directly from the participant responses. The full data is available on request, within reason.

needed immediate action and political themes were regularly mentioned. This combined with the mention of a need that could be addressed by going and a duty as a citizen to play a part, fitted well with the theory of a responsive Global Civil Society. It also included direct critic of political policies. Some examples include:

“To support others in an emergency, to support others on the front line at their most vulnerable”

“I felt guilty for my own government for closing the border and keep the people out and somehow had the feeling that I could ""make up"" for it”

“I felt we as Europeans had to show up and welcome people, it was a civic duty for me”

“Also a feeling that the states are failing to address (or not willing) the situation with proper actions and therefore it needed civil action.”

“And it is also a shame how the European Union is managing the current situation of refugees arriving in Europe. Right-wing governments are gaining strength, and a civil society movement is needed to counteract these racist and inhumane policies.”

“I felt helpless and couldn't (and still can't) believe how passive many governments are!!!”

4.1.3 Want/Should

A very common reason given in other literature regarding volunteer motivation is people stating that they “wanted to help” or “to do something” (Watts, 2016 & Melichar, 2018:3). This was no different in this study. It was expressed in simple terms or as a frustration of inactivity and a need to ‘actively do something’ or a feeling of having a duty and/or responsibility to act. Doing the right thing, being on the right side of history and recognising one’s own privilege and feeling the need to give back were also common themes.

Some examples from this category:

“I wanted to take action and help people in need”

“I realised that despite being in the fortunate position of being able to help, I was just talking and not doing anything so I decided to book a one way flight to Greece.”

“We heard that there is a need for volunteers and we felt obliged to help once we started to read more about the situation on Greek islands.”

“I felt it was my duty as a human being + looking back one day at the shameful politics I want to be able to say that I was at the right side of history.”

“It was, simply, the right thing to do”

4.1.4 Opportunity

This is a very rational category. Reasons include having the time and the skills to get involved, seeing it as an opportunity and seeing a personal benefit in going. A final aspect is the fact that there were relatively low barriers to getting involved. Interestingly this category is rather small compared to the others. Very few people reflected on what they would get out of going, but rather wrote about what they would like to give. Some did not plan to get involved but stumbled across the situation while travelling or used the opportunity to volunteer as an impetus to go abroad.

“Was looking for a way to break into the humanitarian sector, but really I didnt know how to go about it. Going to Greece allowed me this opportunity”

“My motivation was to apply my skillset and training to the ongoing crisis”

“Since we both had some free time in the summer we decided to do something more meaningful than going on a vacation.”

“When longtime-travelling with a group of friends in autumn 2015, landing on Hios/GR we saw masses of families waiting to be registered by greek migration authorities.”

“I also wanted to spend some time abroad, in a different country with a new culture."

4.1.5 Heart

This category was initially called ‘emotion’ but that could lead to the assumption that the other categories do not have emotional aspects, which is not the case, therefore I named it heart. It reflects those feelings and emotions that can be felt in the body. Motivations given in this category include seeing other people suffering, wanting to show solidarity and feeling powerless and helpless. Empathy and compassion also got their own concept box as they arose often. A diverse range of emotions were

mentioned. They were all coded under the category emotion. This word cloud (Fig. 19) gives a brief overview of the most commonly expressed emotions:

Figure 19: Emotions Motivating to Go

"I became deeply moved and heartbroken as I learned of the crisis in 2015 and felt compelled to be part of a solution."

"i was so ashamed and infuriated by the way european governments treated the refugee crisis that i wanted to act."

"I felt responsible and passionate about changing border management."

"the more I heard or read about it, the more meaning less my lifestyle became."

"It was important to me to convert my anger and aggression, which arose through the pictures in the media, into constructive work."

4.1.6 Knowledge

Knowledge is a small category that encompasses the responses of participants who mentioned learning about the situation as part of their motivation. This was either as part of formal studies or for personal interest. This category constructs the 'crisis' as a place of learning. Another recurring theme was that of 'witnessing' what was going on. Making sure that the 'crisis' did not go unnoticed. Hirschman (1970) refers to this as using the 'voice' as a form of protest to try and get attention and create change.

"What pushed to go is to witness myself what was happening and learn more about it".

"master thesis"

"With so many opposing media stories, I wanted to go with an open mind and see the situation for myself."

"I expected to learn a lot from the experience (and did)."

"I am very interested in the power of cooperation and the effectiveness and inefficiencies thereof. This was a practical demonstration in a real-world setting."

"I saw a lot of photos on media channels and wanted to understand on a more detailed and intense level what was actually happening there, how it feels to be there, what people must feel, when they firstly enter Europe, what the EU actually does to support, to handle the new situation at this specific border, how they treat people and also : what big role volunteer support plays. I wanted to understand the what responsibilities there are to be taken and who is actually taking responsibility, what states (apart from Greece that was overwhelmed all alone) would be there to support, how volunteer work is being appreciated since I knew it was long ago that volunteer structures started replacing structures that were supposed to be given by governments, but in the end paid by private persons with their own time and money. I wanted to understand all this, at the same time, be close to people in such a vulnerable situation."

In response to those who say they went to Greece to 'try and understand' Papataxiarchis (2016a:9) says "Understand what? Such cognitive ambition is misplaced. The deconstruction of the place has dismantled any easily recognizable 'object of study' besides the self-evident manifestations of the crisis. The place has turned into a rich laboratory for studying almost everything and nearly nothing – the human condition!". And with that poignant statement I will move on to the next question.

4.2 Why Did You Stay?

The second question was; "What were the main motivations for you to keep doing the work once you were there?" The aim of the question was to explore whether motivation changed once the participants arrived in Greece to volunteer. The raw data word cloud is not too different from question one (see Fig. 20).

Figure 20: Motivations for Staying

Following the coding, dominant themes started to emerge and although many motivations remained, they became less potent with many new themes emerging.

Code	word	count
meaningful work	meaningful	44
need	need	44
community	community	42
making a difference	difference	40
connection	connection	36
emotion	emotion	33
situation severity	situation	29
empathy	empathy	28
friendship	friendship	23
postive work	postive	21
people	people	20
personification	personification	16
wanting to help	helping	15
political	political	15
support	support	13
gap, deficit of help	gap	13
helping victims	victims	12
stories	stories	11
important	important	10
gratefulness / appreciation	gratefulness	10
responsibilty	responsibilty	10
structure	structure	9
raise awareness	awareness	9
inspiring	inspiring	9
personal development	flourishing	7
commitment	commitment	7
privilege	privilege	7
education, understanding	education	5

Figure 21: Motivation for Staying Codes

The shift in focus can be seen clearest as the codes become categories and the categories are grouped into concepts as seen below.

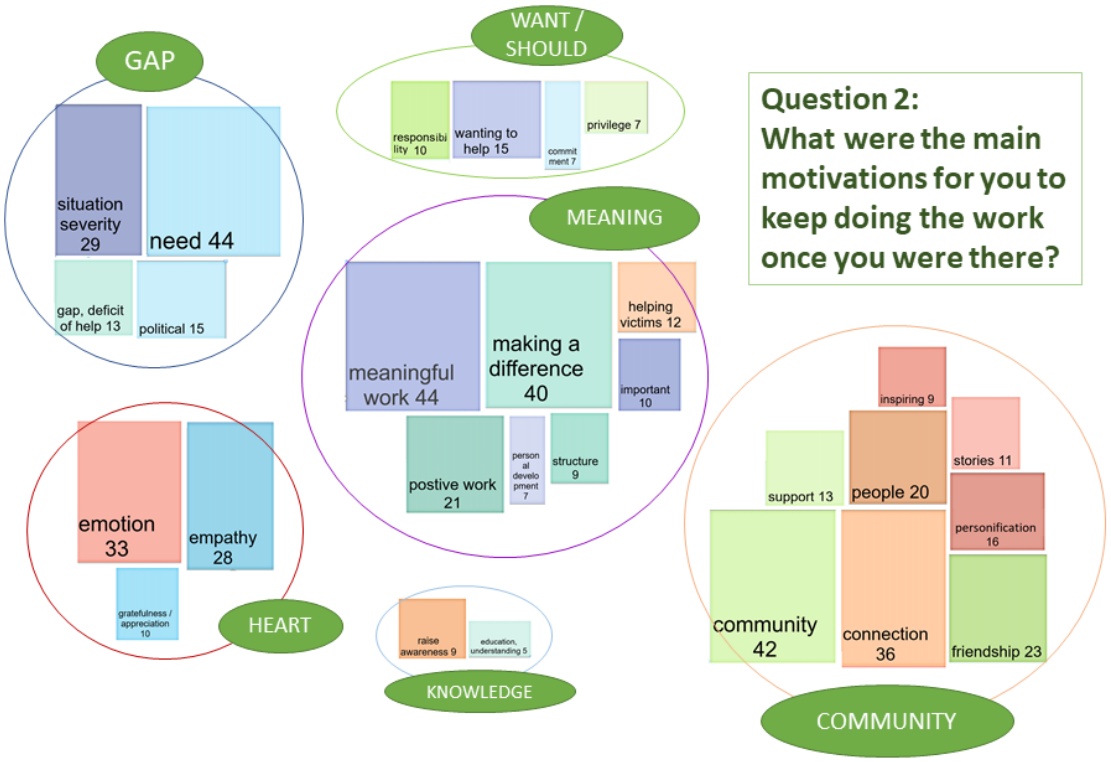

Figure 22: Motivation for Staying Categories

The concept of the gap stayed, though was slightly less present. The category of want / should also stayed but faded into the shadows a little. The heart / emotion aspect shrank slightly too but this could be because the two new categories; meaning and community carry a lot of emotional energy. Knowledge stayed as a small side category.

In a nutshell the overall representative response to question two, could be summarised as follows: '*Having arrived I discovered that there was a great need. The work was meaningful, and I was motivated by the sense that I was making a difference. The close support of the community as well as the connections I developed with the people, also sustained me*.' The rest of this section looks at these motivations in more detail.

4.2.1 Repeated Concepts

Influence fell away as a category as this was focused on how people heard about the situation in the first place so was not relevant for questions two. Opportunity also fell away. This is not as obvious as people could still consider the experience an opportunity on arrival, however it seems that once there, other factors influence participants to stay. As the categories of knowledge, want/should, gap and heart were covered in detail in regard to question one, I will only briefly touch upon them again.

The focus in knowledge shifted somewhat from what people would like to learn to what they did learn; “Also because it is very stimulating and I learned many things from many people every day” or how the situation inspired participants to want to stay and learn more; “After seeing families arrive, I felt the need to gain a better understanding of them and their situation”. The want/should category also focused on more concrete reasons such as “Out of the feeling of helping out while doing basic tasks like information/items distribution and crowd control,” or a sense of responsibility and commitment to the people they met; “I felt compelled and responsible to support people respond to the influx of refugees arriving every day. Then I founded an ngo and stayed longer”. The gap category reflected the severity of the situation on the ground and participants seeing this deficit of help as a motivation to stay involved; “I don't mean to bash officials, having been one myself,, but I point it out to demonstrate that there were zero services of any kind. Everything was needed. When you see that, I guess you get kind of motivated to chip in”. or “The lines for the medical tent were long every single day. There was a great need for volunteers. Seeing the need made the volunteering aspect of it extremely worthwhile” or “to see for myself the reality of a mass exodus of people who in many cases had lost everything, and an inadequate response from the authorities”. Some even reflected on how the experience changed their political views; “During my time there, I also lost all faith in the political party I had been behind my whole life […] because they supported the deal with Turkey. On Lesbos I heard terrible stories of how people were treated there.”

Empathy played an even bigger role in the heart category in question two as well as people mentioning the gratefulness of the refugees as a motivator; “This Syrian guy stopped me and smiled at me and told me how thankful he was and told me that it’s gonna be okay. And somehow that really changed the way I saw my work.”

Emotions continue to play a role; “I felt privileged to be passionate about what I did and if it was paid I would've seen it as a dream job. I cried of happiness many times during my stay” The change in the emotion word cloud is notable. Whereas in question one the main words were heartbreak, shame, meaningless, shock, anger, frustration and curiosity, all with mostly negative connotation, the second word cloud is much more mixed. It reflects the complexity of the situation and the emotional rollercoaster many participants experienced.

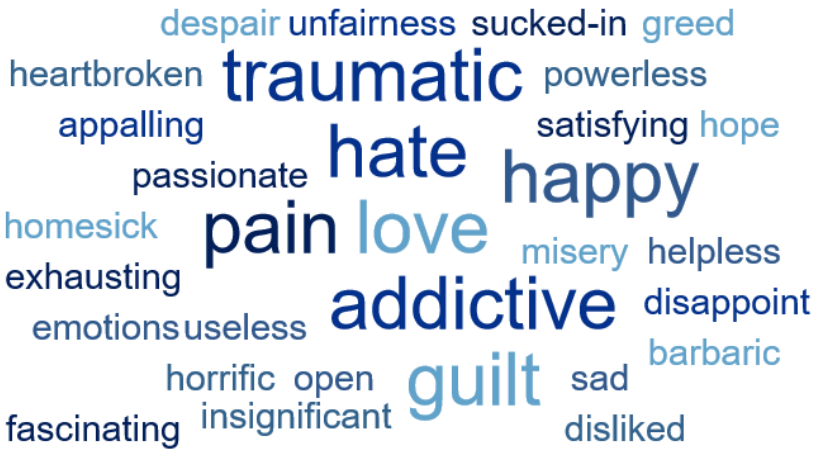

Figure 23: Emotions Motivating to Stay

The two new categories that emerged in question two are 'meaning' and 'community'. Both these categories have a very 'in the moment' feel to them. It shows a progression from what people expected to the reality on arrival.

4.2.2 Meaning

The most common code along with "need" was "meaningful work". It is often the case that when there is a great need, work feels more meaningful. This is developed further by the third most popular code; "making a difference". The category meaning shows that most participants saw the work they did as valuable and something they reflect on positively. The category also encompasses personal development, the idea that the people who were being helped were 'victims' and that the work was important. Finally, a few participants mentioned the structures that were in place that allowed them to engage and feel like they were positively contributing.

"It was very satisfying work and I could see the difference that it was making with my own eyes."

"Felt useful, loved the human touch, was inspired by the civil society from around the world getting organized to solve problems, feed thousands of people a day for instance without water etc."

"The realisation we were making a real difference to the refugees life's was a great motivator"

"I guess it was their innocence in the situation which really drove me. The unfairness."

“I felt the greatness one single encounter can give. I mostly worked in the legal domain, I was answering peoples' questions about the functioning of complicated bureaucratic procedures that me myself had hard time to master. During the limbo in which asylum seekers were constrained in Greece, any person that would sit by them side looking them peer to peer I believe was a positive element to avoid their psychological degradation due to the precariousness of their situations.”

“the feeling of it making sense, it made a difference”

“I started building benches in the camp and saw somewhat of a transformation of social gatherings. I could see my impact sometimes and I was happy to have the opportunity to contribute to a little comfort or a smile”

“I felt like I had a purpose in a way, I’ve never felt before. [...] I felt like I was important and like I was needed in a way, I’ve never experienced before. And also I felt like the community allowed me to grow into this role and version that they needed me to be. There was so many things I would never have been allowed to do other places, because I’m young, but I felt respected and seen for the qualities I have as a person”

4.2.3 Community

Community encompasses the connection between people. This is both between the volunteers and the refugees but also between the volunteers with each other. Behind the codes there are stories of friendship, inspiration, support, connection and a re-personification of the label ‘refugee’ into humans just like us. The motivation is driven through human connection and a feeling of being a part of a community.

“I could relate to the people and didn’t see “refugees”. I saw Mothers, my mother even, fathers, brothers, sisters and children who deserve peace and safety, I saw myself in these little scared girls not understanding why things are the way they are.”

“I really witnessed a community created. A dignified shelter where stories of pain and trauma were exchanged, but also those of empowerment, food, friendship”

“Once you start to form friendships with people, learn their stories, their desires to live life, fight for life, their aspirations. The strength of people despite trauma, despite hardship, despite war, and death and all of the negative aspects and reasons that drive people to leave their homes and families is inspiring. People are not only refugees, they

are teachers, gardeners, poets, architects, parents, grandparents, children, etc. It is so easy to take life for granted and when you hear and speak with people about their lives it woke me up- it changed my lense and for me life is not full if we become numb to the suffering of others, this is what kept me motivated then and still does"

"Everyone who came through the camp could have been one of my friends or family, and I wanted to extend them the very basic decency to treat them like people"

"To be honest, many things motivated me to stay, and I still count the stories. But other volunteers also motivated: On Christmass eve I was preparing food in Pikpa, and joined by maybe 15 people. We sang 'Silent Night' in 5 different languages. At the same time. Even for an atheist it was beautifull. On my birthday, the 28th, I was working in Moria. It was a cold night, kids crying their lungs out amidst the bad smell of people burning plastic to keep warm. Everything was awful. But we got some kids entertained while we waited for a bus to Kara Tepe. New years eve at Moria was special: Some Pakistani men sang and danced in the control tent. They were good and still everything around was shit"

"human connection"

"Another main reason I stayed is Better Days and the volunteers themselves. We had a great team and felt we were doing something that could make a difference. I became friends with the volunteers and formed bonds with our residents too and this definitely contributed to me staying and continuing the voluntary work"

"A real camaraderie of people from all over the world with one common objective"

"A lot of the work was really disgusting - we had to expand filthy sewage drains, for example - but there was such a spirit of camaraderie between the volunteers and the refugees, and it made you want to do what you could to help the community."

"Putting a face and a name to the story. Humanizing what you see on tv and read on the news"

4.3 What Motivated You to Leave?

It is hard to measure tone from written text but on first reading what struck me was an air of defensiveness. This could be explained by the repitition of the use of

justifications such as “I had to / I needed to / I was forced / I didn’t have a choice”. For example; “My main work forced me to” or “I had to go back and study and take the exam” or “my family, work obligations and limited resources made me leave.”

It seemed that asking for motivation for leaving hit a nerve in a way that asking for motivation for coming and staying did not. Six people directly pointed out that they were not motivated to leave. e.g “I don’t know that ‘motivated to leave’ is the right way to describe my experience…” or “I was not motivated to leave but...”. This lack of agency will be discussed later in the chapter.

Unlike the first two questions, the word cloud created from the raw text and the word cloud created from the codes are very similar (see Figures 24 & 25).

Figure 24: Motivations for Leaving

Codes	word	count
Work / limited holidays	work	45
money / limited financial resources	money	36
I had to / I needed to / didn't have a choice / couldn't stay / made me / forced to	forced	31
Family / Partner	family	27
Studies / education	education	24
Limited time available	time	22
Burnout / tiredness / illness / feeling useless / hopeless / home sickness	exhaustion	21
Other priorities / commitments / hobbies / responsibilities elsewhere/back home	priorities	18
I wish I could've stayed / didn't want to leave	reluctantly	17
continued volunteering / returned / plan to return / paid job in field	continued	14
Reflective / no longer needed / can be more use if continue studies / at home etc.	reflective	14
camp closed /change/intervention by Greek authorities	political	10
Guilt / sadness / pain / hard to leave / regret	guilt	9
continue the work back home, influence others back home	advocate	8
time out of life / back to life / life back home	back	8
return ticket booked for specific date	timeframe	6
visa	visa	6
org. issues / inexperienced leaders / "nasty volunteers"	issues	5

Figure 25: Motivations for Leaving Codes

The language used was very straight forward and clear with the main reasons being repeated regularly, making it easy to create codes and categories.

The most common reason participants mentioned for why they left was work commitments (45 participants). Examples include; “As difficult as it was - I left as I had to go back to work.”, “I didn't want to leave, but I have a full-time job” or simply “Had to return back to work”.

The second most common reason was due to financial reasons (36 particpants): For example: “Financially, I could not sustain the life of a volunteer.” Or to the point; “Money, mainly!”

Other common reason were due to family, education and the temporal element - having limited time available for the trip. Figure 26 shows the category and concept groupings.

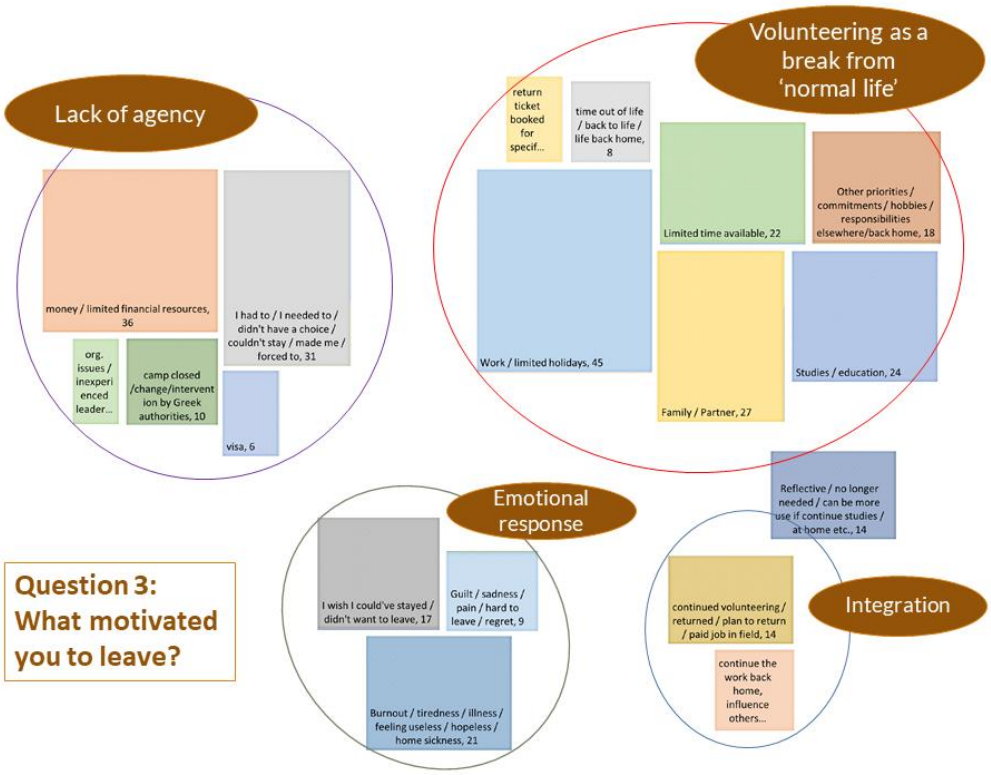

Figure 26: Motivations for Leaving Categories

The size of the box reflects the number of times the codes within each category appeared. The circles reflect the concept groupings. Two main concepts and two smaller ones, plus a category that straddles two concepts. Next I will take a look at the concepts in more detail.

4.3.1 Temporally Bounded: Volunteering as a Break from “Normal Life”

What became clear from the data was that overall participants saw their time in Greece as a volunteer as a temporally bounded, i.e a time limited experience and one outwith their ‘normal life’ experiences. The majority spoke of a need or duty to return ‘home’ or back to their ‘lives’ and, although some expressed a wish to stay longer, this was often followed by a statement that this was unfortunately not possible due to having to

return. For example: “Needed to get back "with my life" work, children, dog, home etc.”, “Continuing with my own life and responsibilities” or “Only could carve 3 weeks out of my life to travel and help”

4.3.2 Counter Concept: Integration

A small number of people spoke of integrating volunteering into their life and either returning to Greece regularly or integrating their experience into their lives back home. For example: “I felt it was now - since I have seen what it was like there, since I heard all the stories and witnessed all the bads in the camps - also my responsibility, or more like a mission, to go back in surroundings that are more familiar to me, where I know networks and people, that can help spread and share what I have learned and seen, to educate, but also to blame politics for their awful inhumane way of treating people on a continent that puts human rights, superficially as of what I know now, so high in all offical claims. I wanted people to think, to be angry and ashamed and become active, in whatever way.” or “I went on to other volunteer ventures, also helping refugees in big cities.” or “There are people in need of help in my home aswell.” or “I'll go back as soon as I can” or “I comforted myself by knowing I would stay involved.”

Some spoke of returning home in order to be more use in the future or they stopped volunteering as they moved into paid employment in the humanitarian sector. For example; “I had one more year in my undergraduate degree of social work and the semester was about to begin. I felt like I could one day be of more help if I finished my degree.”, “The reason I stopped volunteering was not because I didn't want to continue, but because I got the opportunity to do this work as my proper job.” or “I left when I recognized that I could have done better if I was trusting the other who were there to help, and I would have given my self the time to acquire the appropriate knowledge. While I was volunteering in Thessaloniki, I applied for a Master in migrations and I decided that I would have returned once I was ready to be of real long term help.”

It appears that for most volunteering is not part of their standard routine and Greece was something unusual and special. A fixed moment in time. A moment when people from all over the world come to a certain place to help fill a gap and then return back to the normal lives or changed their lives radically to make humanitarian work their focus, but usually in a paid capacity.

4.3.3 Lack of Agency

As mentioned previously, a large proportion of participants spoke of having to leave or being forced to return home. Very few participants framed it as a choice. The reasons given for this feeling of external control was mainly work, financial limitations, education or family commitments but the state also played a small role. There were ten mentions of the authorities intervening for example: “The camp was closed by the Greek authorities and we spent the last week packing up.” or “with the shift that had taken place with the Greek government/UN effectively taking over the compound, I couldn't justify spending more money to be there.”

Another way the state intervened is by the limitations imposed by visas. For example; “I would not have left, but my Schengen Visa ran out and I could not get an extension, although I did try” or “Visa! So stupid that there is no volunteer visa for the EU so people can stay longer. I would have stayed for at least a year if I could have.”

Finally a reason that was mentioned five times was that of issues with the volunteer organisations or other volunteers. A few examples; “the organisation I was working for started off outside of Moria camp, and grew rapidly. The organisation and board members were very inexperienced at running an organisation and also didnt know what direction they wanted to go”, “we left in disagreement with the teams, both times because of different priorities and beliefs.” or “There were a few volunteers who became pig headed and forgot the main reason why we were there. Too many young and ambitious individuals, pushing their non experienced weight around.”

4.3.4 Emotions

Perhaps due to how the question was phrased, most reasons were of a rational nature. The emotional reasons that were mentioned included burnout, feeling useless, frustration, guilt, sadness, regret and a wish to have stayed longer. For example; “I didn't want to leave. I did realise I was becoming more and more tired, but I didn't want to leave. Then I got sick, and it made me so weak that I realised if I really wanted to get better, I had to leave and go home and get rest.”, or “Seeing the situation getting worse and realising that you cant do anything. Seeing so many volunteers come and go and realising we're not really doing anything to change the situation. The project changing due to time and circumstances and knowing my skills dont fit that place anymore, they need other volunteers with different qualities. Seeing other situations in

Palestine and Lebanon and that terrible sensation of feeling youre in the wrong place and you should be doing more somewhere else." or "Exhausted physically and mentally. Emotionally drained. Feeling of hopelessness" or "in some ways I regret leaving" and finally "I'm sure many have said the same thing, but leaving was one of the hardest parts of the whole experience."

The negative emotions dominated the responses to this question. Watts (2016) argues that anyone who has been in the humanitarian field will start having feelings of frustration and futility sooner or later. This was also reflected by the pilot survey where one of the main themes was that of trauma (Keller, 2018). Perhaps this is another explanation for the overall negative tone of these answers, though it was not specifically stated by most of the participants as being the reason.

4.4 Extra Question: Any Further Comments?

I included the final question to allow for anything I had missed and to give the participant the opportunity to say anything they felt still needed saying. 43 people wrote something. The majority were words of encouragement regarding the research. The other categories are listed in Figure 27.

Code	Word	Count
encouragement	encouragement	17
life impact	impact	12
political comment	political	8
continued engagement	engagement	7
reflection	reflection	6
positive evaluation	positive	5
personal message	message	3
other	other	2
question clarification	clarification	2

Figure 27: Any Other Comments Categories

Here are a selection of comments to give an overview of the variety;

"I would do it all over again in a heartbeat"

"i am afraid of the Europe that we are building... thousands of young people living with us but without us....in europe but out of it."

"I don´t want this world and i don´t want my children live in this world"

"Volunteering with refugees is a life changing and rewarding experience"

“I was a victim of Immigration propaganda myself. I was against it, supporting closing borders (in Lebanon over 30% of population is immigrant and politics feed us this fear). This experience changed my views and opinion for ever and I will always be thankful for standing on the right side of modern history."

“Religion is not very important, but the spirituality is another thing.”

“It was a very important chapter in my life.”

“Thank you for carrying out this very important research.”

4.5 Summary

The initial question for the survey was what motivates volunteers? Do those motivations change over time, especially in regard to before, during and when leaving?

These findings have shown that when participants came in contact with the images and stories of what was happening in Greece, they felt a duty to respond. Participants spoke of a gap that was not being filled by the state and so they came in to try and alleviate people’s suffering. Once there, participants spoke of finding meaning in their work and being motivated by a strong sense of community and personal connection. This closely reflect Melichar (2018) and Chtouris and Miller’s (2017) findings who also researched volunteer motivation in Greece.[21] When asked what motivated them to leave, it became clear that the volunteer experience in Greece was temporally bounded. Few participants continue volunteering after a set time frame, usually due to work, finances or other ‘normal life’ commitments. This is a new finding not reflected in previous studies.

Having analysed the findings, they will now be integrated into the theory and the implications will be discussed.

[21] Scholars such as Finkelstein, Penner and Brannick (2005) and Chtouris and Zissi (2018) explore how identity plays a role in volunteer motivation both in Greece and the USA. This is a very interesting field that could be explored further, unfortunately, although there were some hints towards perceived identity in the data, it was not enough to build it into the main theory, and thus remains out of the scope of this paper.

5. Discussion

In this chapter I will connect the empirical findings with the theoretical claims to justify my theory. The current situation and political situation will then be discussed. Finally, I will briefly reflect upon the process.

5.1 The Temporal Dimensions of Volunteer Motivation

Each volunteer has their own story, however the findings show that there are some clear patterns in regard to volunteer motivation. Volunteers came to Greece out of a sense of duty and a moral impetus to help. Once they came in contact with the refugees they had heard about on the news, a transformation came about. The 'refugees' changed from statistics and news headlines into people with personal stories that could be related to and friendships were formed. The terrible conditions they were in became tangible. The need as well as the connection between people made the work feel meaningful and worthwhile. This led to a deeper intrinsic motivation. However, time was limited. The majority of volunteers expressed a lack of agency in their decision to leave. They 'had' to go home. It became clear that volunteering was a 'break from normal life' in most cases rather than being an occupation that continues to run parallel to other life priorities such as family and paid work. The change in motivations over time have been summarised in Figure 28.

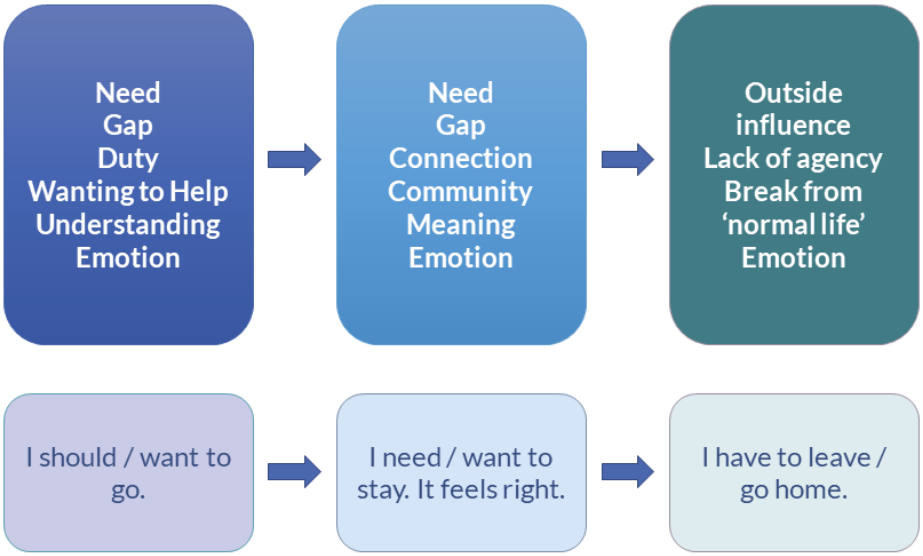

Figure 28: Change in Motivations Over Time

5.2 Global Civil Society – A New Dimension

Volunteers are seen as part of Global Civil Society, which is defined by Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor (2001) as a third sphere parallel to the market and the state. This may well be the case for volunteers who work within their home communities, offering vital public services and filling gaps left by the market and state in a consistent and long-term way (Putnam, 2000). However, it is not the case for the international volunteers in Greece.

The volunteers who came to help during the refugee crisis in Greece bring a new dimension to the understanding of GCS. In some ways they fit within the GCS model. They came from all over the world, therefore are global, and they are a part of civil society as they offer their services voluntarily in order to help others.

What makes the volunteer response in Greece so interesting is the temporal dimension. When there were thousands of refugees in need, thousands of volunteers turned up and filled the gap. However, they perceived their voluntary work as a temporally bounded engagement. This is also reflected by Guribye & Mydland's (2018:1) observation that "thousands of citizens from all over Europe *temporarily* abandoned their day jobs to be of some sort of assistance for the refugees" (emphasis added).

My findings indicate that the volunteer response cannot be seen as a third independent sphere is that the state had a lot of control over it. While the state was not present the GCS response flourished and grew, however once the state started intervening and closing the gap it directly impacted the volunteer numbers and organisations as people withdrew back 'home'. The 'gap' is highlighted in Figure 29 within the yellow lines.

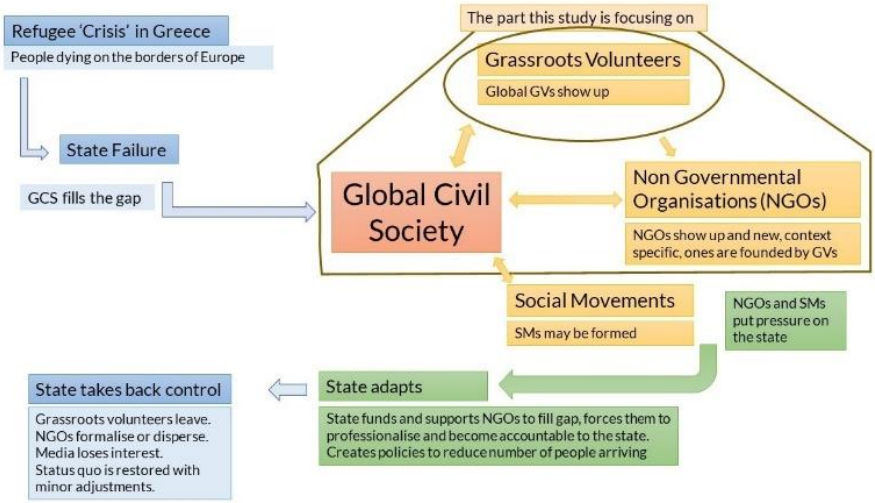

Figure 29: Conceptual Framework

The findings show that once the state reasserts its control, GCS dissipate. Therefore, it cannot be described as a fully parallel sphere in the case of temporally bounded crisis situations. I would instead argue GCS offers surge capacity to support local civil society when humanitarian need is high and official state action is delayed. Whittaker, McLennan and Handmer (2015) argue that surge capacity in the form of informal volunteers will be incredibly important for dealing with crises in the future. Kitching et al (2016) argue that the volunteer response in Greece did just that, and very effectively.

5.3 Reflecting on the Current Situation

The situation in Greece is still a humanitarian catastrophe with children dying while supposedly being protected by the state (Vogt, 2019). There are no longer so many deaths in the Aegean however there are now more in the central Mediterranean. The figures for January to August 2019 from the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) report 57 deaths in the Eastern Mediterranean (the Aegean) between Turkey and Greece and 640 deaths in the central Mediterranean between North Africa and Malta and Italy (IOM, 2019).

There are still volunteers in Greece and civil society still fills gaps, but to a much smaller extent[22]. Based on the findings I hypothesis that this is for three main reasons. First the perception of the gap has shrank. Secondly the media has lost interest and finally, the state tactic of coercion is deterring people. However, further research would need to be conducted to test these claims

5.3.1 Gap Shrinkage

Although thousands of refugees are still arriving in Greece each month, there has been a big drop since 2015/2016 (see Fig. 31, source: UNHCR, 2019c).

[22] Unfortunately, there are no reliable statistics on the numbers of volunteers in Greece. However, fig. 2 in chapter 3.5.1 shows a clear tendency and this is confirmed by volunteer coordinators I have spoken to.

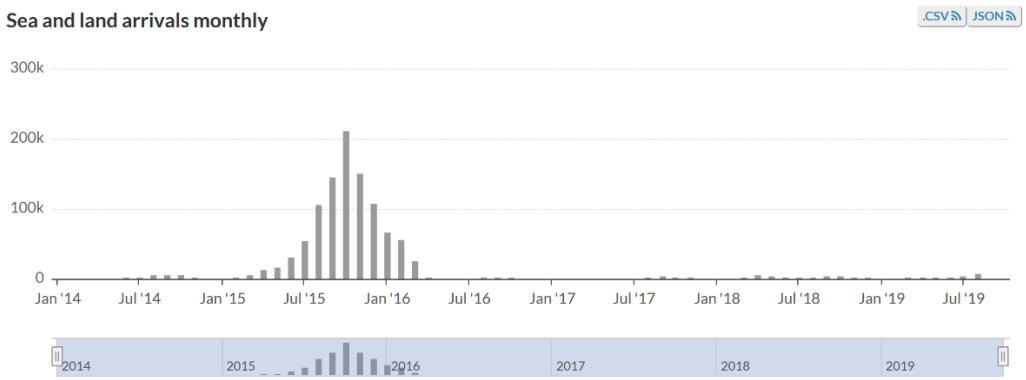

Figure 30: Refugee Arrivals in Greece 2015 - 2019

Most refugees are now accommodated in state approved accommodation. Mostly camps. These camps are managed by the state or state appointed actors. This gives the impression that the state has the situation under control and thus the feeling of an 'emergency' or 'crisis' has passed. In the findings the crisis aspect was given as one of the main motivations to volunteer. Therefore, I hypothesise that the gap is now perceived as smaller. Even though the state might not be doing a good job, it has taken over, and this removes the duty from the citizens. There are some who strongly believe that the job the state is doing is still far from adequate and they continue to protest, volunteer and make up a slimmed down version of GCS.[23]

5.3.2 Media Coverage

Secondly, the findings show that the majority of participants heard about the situation and were initially moved to get involved due to stories in the media or via social networks. The number of refugee news stories has dropped massively. In 2019 the few times it has hit the news is in regard to the Mediterranean with a focus on Italy (e.g Jenkins, 2019). The Italian government response to volunteers is very coercive.

5.3.3 State Coercion

Coercion could be another reason numbers have dropped. Participants spoke of going to Greece as an 'opportunity'. It is no longer as easy to turn up and get involved. Those who try and do so, outside of the state defined boundaries, risk serious consequences,

[23] For example; these 19 NGOs who issued a joint statement condemning the conditions on Lesvos: https://reliefweb.int/report/greece/joint-ngo-statement-conditions-north-aegean-islands-conditions-moria-are-shameful-enel (Reliefweb, 2019)

including prosecution and arrest (Carrera et al 2019, Feckete, Weber and Edmond-Petit, 2017 and Vosyliūtė. and Conte, 2019).

Thus, it becomes more the terrain of established NGOs and activists rather than the average citizen. GCS is made up of locals, activists and 'average' citizens from around the world. The locals and activists are still there. Some of the 'average' citizens became activists and stayed involved[24], but the majority went back to their old lives.

5.4 Political Implications

Amore and Langley (2004:90) argue that GCS is part of the politics of transformation and can have a big impact on state policy. The majority of the participants in this study indicated an interest in politics, however it is not clear if they saw their volunteer work as a political action. The questions is; do volunteers see themselves as part of a political movement?

People who volunteer are more likely to be politically engaged as was reflected in the pilot survey (Keller, 2018). However, Bolton (2015) discovered that volunteering only encourages political engagement in the short term. She also claims that volunteers tend to be well-educated people who have professional jobs and come from middle-class homes, so are perhaps more likely to be politically engaged in the first place.

Melichar (2018:41) argues "that volunteer humanitarian engagement is a form of hors-cadres [out of frame] political engagement". However, there were few participants who directly expressed that they saw their volunteer work as a political act. The majority referred to more of a human duty.

[24] For example this participant "Volunteering in Greece remains one of the best and happiest times of my life and I'm very glad I did it, though also very aware that that good time in my life took place amid the worst time sin the lives of many of the migrants I was in contact with. Since then, as I said earlier, my attitude and analysis of how we should organize has developed and grown, to a model that I feel is less charitable […] This doesn't mean that the solidarity efforts of white Europeans should be discarded, but that they should be subordinated to the demands of the affected people - which is not something I think was happening in Greece. Even today, we see this again with the hype around the arrest and trial of the Italian sea captain Carola Rakete, with her centred as the hero, and the actual migrants who should be at the centre of the story, whose stories have been far more traumatic and carceral than Carola's (while she faced the threat of prison, all the migrants she has rescued have ended up spending time in detention centres and holding camps, all the carceral apparatus of Europe's border logic), once again obscured. […] so volunteering in Greece marks a kind of turning point towards action and activism in my life…"

Volunteers are not trained professionals and were under qualified with too little information and very limited resources. They managed to set up basic structures and most definitely saved countless lives that would otherwise have been lost to shipwrecks, hyperthermia, under nourishment and illness. However, what would have happened if they had not filled the gap?

Would the state then have responded with a more professional response? Or would it have crumbled under criticism and global pressure? Would it have declared it a state of emergency and used war like tactics to stop people arriving by openly drowning the boats? Would the refugees now be better off, had there not been a civil society response? Are volunteers really acting on "the right side of history" as some aspired to, or are they part of a larger political framework they are not even aware of? Potentially even propping up systems they would strongly disagree with?

These are questions that cannot be answered in this study. The findings show that GCS responded from a place of moral outrage. It did not actively try and play politics but rather focused on upholding and striving for humanitarian values. The responses regularly reflected aspects of Kant's (1991, [1797]) Categorical Imperative. Kant uses the famous example of the slave owner not having the right to own slaves, as slaves are human beings with free will and their own rights. This could be said for refugees too. Just because the state does not recognise them as 'legal' does not make them any less human and they should receive the same rights. Many participants saw it as a duty to try and make sure that these human rights were respected, regardless of what label the state gave to these people and what the macro level impacts were.

The market has no moral values and the state favours the needs and wants of its citizens to the rights of those from elsewhere. Therefore, I argue, that the role of GCS is to make sure global humanitarian values are upheld and in the refugee crisis in Greece it played the role of the protector and whistle blower. The volunteers offered extra capacity for a short period in order to reach this goal.

5.5 Personal Reflections

This research has opened up many more questions for me than it has answered. In this section I will briefly reflect on the process and on what I have learnt.

When I started this project, I had the normative assumption that the volunteer response to the refugee crisis in Greece was a good thing. Having seen the situation first-hand, similarly to the rest of the participants, I felt a great deal of connection and responsibility to the people I met and felt that helping was the right thing to do. I still believe that helping is morally correct. However, I have become more critical of the short term versus long term impacts of filling the gap. If I were to extend this research, I would be interested in testing my hypotheses on why the number of volunteers have dropped and exploring the long term impacts.

On a more general level, I believe that it would be valuable to have further research exploring what the alternatives could have been and whether GCS involvement is the right way to respond to humanitarian disasters or whether there are more effective ways of making sure everyone's human rights are upheld.

The struggle between creating a rigorous piece of academic work that has a clear line of argument, while describing a situation that I perceive as incredibly complex, emotional and messy, was very challenging.

I learnt a lot while developing my methodology and if I were to start again with the knowledge I have now, I believe I would be more courageous in using more of my own experiences. I had not realised how much knowledge I had documented through emails, blogs, diary entries etc. which I had at first not recognised as being a potential valid source of data. The line between researcher and participant has become clearer to me and I would now feel more confident treading that path. The main lesson I take away from this process is that volunteers are important and worth studying.

While in Greece, I often encountered the argument from the authorities that the volunteers were a disorganised, heterogenous group of people with diverse agendas that could not be relied on. In some ways this is true. However, this research has shown me that in many ways volunteers are a clearly defined group, with similar motives and meet a clear need. Considering that they have no leader, this is fascinating. It is so counterintuitive to the top down, state led approach to dealing with crisis. Further understanding could really help inform and improve the way disaster response is coordinated.

6. Conclusion

The state led response to the refugee crisis in Greece in 2015/2016 was inadequate from a humanitarian perspective. The state was slow to respond: Official structures did not appear until months into the situation and after hundreds of thousands of refugees had already landed on Greek shores. Refugees were dying on the journey across the sea as well as finding themselves in horrendous conditions in camps across Greece.

My findings show that civil society from all over the world heard about this situation via the media and personal networks. A part of those who heard the news were unsatisfied with the state response. They perceived a large gap between expected humanitarian standards and the reality of the situation. Therefore, they came to Greece as volunteers to fill the gap. They were motivated by a moral imperative to help as well as a belief that they could make a difference. On arrival the work was meaningful, and they were motivated to stay by the sense of community, friendship and a deep connection with the people. The feeling of duty to go was replaced by a feeling of wanting to stay. Emotion also played a role throughout. The motivation for leaving was due to the experience being perceived as temporally bounded and having to return home due to other commitments, lack of financing or state intervention.

After around six months the state began to close the gap through adaptation and coercion. The findings show that volunteers perceive their work in Greece as temporally bounded due to commitments back home or feeling pushed out by the authorities.

I argue that in the case of the refugee crisis in Greece, GCS was not a third sphere parallel to state and market, as commonly defined. Instead the volunteers in Greece bring a new dimension to GCS. The volunteer manifestation of GCS is a temporally bounded phenomenon that offered surge capacity to fill a gap when the state failed to uphold humanitarian standards for the refugees. Had it been a parallel sphere, the state would not have been able to shrink the gap and there would still be a strong GCS presence in Greece.

The state reclaimed its power through regulation and coercion. Volunteers were forced to register and professionalise their operations or leave. Therefore, since 2016 the number of volunteers in Greece has dropped drastically. Another reason could be that, due

to the lack of media coverage, fewer volunteers heard about the situation since 2016, however further research is needed to test this hypothesis.

Volunteers played an important role within the wider political context. However, the majority claimed to be motivated based on humanitarian grounds rather than due to political agendas. Either way, volunteers were crucial as advocates for human rights.

In conclusion, this study brings a new dimension to GCS theory through a study of volunteers in Greece during the refugee crises. The findings show that the volunteers offered temporally bounded, surge capacity to local civil society to deal with the humanitarian crisis while the state was absent. This is an important finding from this research, which enriches and expands the GCS theory to include crisis response by international volunteers.

Further research examining whether this manifestation of GCS within a crisis situation has a long-term positive impact would be welcome. From a policy perspective it would be recommendable to explore how GCS could help improve the way disaster response is coordinated. It is also important to acknowledge that volunteers cannot be relied on to take on the responsibilities of the state over the long term.

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8. Appendices

Appendix A: Personal Memo

As I was in Greece as a volunteer myself, my own experiences will influence how I read the data. In order to help me become aware of my biases, I will answer the questions myself. The aim is to bring the answers from my subconscious to conscious mind to allow me to become more aware of my own opinion and hopefully make it easier to bracket when analysing the data. I will try and write it in depth as if I was being interviewed.

What motivated you to volunteer in the "Refugee Crisis"?

Where did you volunteer? Lesvos and Thessaloniki

When did you volunteer?

- November 2015: Lesvos
- January – April 2016: Lesvos
- April – December 2016: Thessaloniki

What did you do?

General volunteer, Marketing, Shift leading, Legal project set-up, Marketing and communications (internal & external), strategy and team leadership, project conception and implementation, volunteer co-ordination and training, administration and leadership.

Q1: What motivated you to decide to go?

I read about the refugee crisis in the news and saw the photo of Alan Kurdi in September 2015. It was deeply disturbing hearing that this was happening so close to home on Europe's shores. I had just broken up from my boyfriend and left my job, flat and life in Switzerland. I was staying with my parents and trying to work out what to do next. I was job searching and attending a lot of conferences and interviews all over Europe. I couldn't find what I wanted to do. I was also in counselling to help me deal with the break-up and the huge change in my life and to help me focus on what I wanted to do with my life in my next chapter.

In November 2015 a former work colleague posted on facebook that she was going to Lesbos with a Swiss organisation to help. I had been thinking about going to Greece or Calais. At the time my plan was to go to Calais as it's closer to the UK and then maybe go to Greece when I had more time in January. However, my friend offered to pay for my flights and accommodation if I was to go with her, so I said yes. With very little preparation I boarded a flight heading to Greece less than a week later. I had hesitated a bit and not gone earlier because I didn't think I had relevant skills. I wasn't a doctor, psychologist, social worker or lifeguard. The first time I went I took candles and hot chocolate and thought I would focus on supporting the volunteers. Psychosocial support for the helpers so they could continue helping as I didn't think I would be able to help that directly.

What motivated me to get on that plane?

- In the news the situation seemed so horrendous I didn't believe it could possibly be that bad in reality so I was curious to see it with my own eyes.
- When I was a child I learnt about WWII at school. I promised myself I would never close my eyes to such cruelty. I worried that what was happening on the borders of Europe might be the beginning of such cruelty and felt a moral duty to go and witness it.
- I had time. I was between job interviews and conferences and was trying to be open to new experiences. Maybe there was a part of me that trusted in fate and believed that if I said yes to everything, I would find my path again.

Keywords: empathy, duty, curiosity, opportunity

When I arrived in Lesbos, I was deeply shocked by what I heard, saw and experienced. I had only booked to come for 5 days. In those 5 days I realised that it was worse than my fears. A few people asked me if I could stay and I seriously considered it but I was so taken aback by it all I decided to come home first and take stock. I came home because I had other appointments (was volunteering at a tech conference in London) and Christmas was coming up which I wanted to spend with my family. I used the 6 weeks I was back in the UK to prepare to go back to Greece for 3 months – 3 years, that was my target. I gave some talks, began a newsletter and fundraised for my return. I still had plenty of savings from Switzerland, but I knew they would diminish quickly.

The reasons I went back were diverse:

- I felt a moral duty as a European not to ignore what was going on and to take a stand and do my bit to try and make the situation better.
- Kiki (Better Days co-founder) asked me to return to help with founding and running the, in the process of being founded, NGO Better Days for Moria. She said I had natural leadership skills plus she needed someone with a business background to deal with those aspects of running an organisation.
- I had been looking for a job that gave me meaning as well as being a leadership managerial role. Due to my age, I was struggling to find something that interested me. Suddenly here was an opportunity to do exactly those things. I wasn't going to be paid but luckily, I didn't need money at that moment due to having savings.
- I really felt like I could make a difference. My skills were needed, and I could have a meaningful impact on people's lives.
- At that time Lesvos was incredibly chaotic. I have an ability to stay calm in crisis and am good at quickly getting an overview and making connections. I have a strong grip on my emotions and can act rationally in very intense emotional situations. I am also good at networking and building relationships. I quickly take on responsibility and will fight for what I believe is right. I'm not easily intimidated or scared by people. I naturally take on a leadership role and don't have a fear of figures in authority. I believe in human rights for all. All these skills are incredibly important in such a disaster situation.

- The first time I went I fell in love with one of the other volunteers. I felt an affinity to the people who were there and was excited about being part of the volunteer community. I was sort of looking for a new partner and thought that might be a good place to find someone.

Keywords: opportunity, duty, feeling needed, empathy, shock, sorrow, empowerment, sense of purpose and community, needing to be a witness and reporting back.

Q2: What were the main motivations for you to keep doing the work once you were there?

I came with no plan of how long I would stay. I said I would stay as long as I felt I was needed and was being useful. Therefore, my main motivation to stay was feeling that I was needed, that I was doing something useful, that my work made sense. I was directly impacting people's lives in a really positive manner. We were filling the gaps, offering the services the government was failing to offer. Trying to improve the situation in a realistic practical grassroots way, while politicians somewhere else discussed what to do about the situation.

I also made close friends. Our community of volunteers built around our new NGO felt like family. Going through such intense situations together brought us together. The people have always been one of the most important things for me for my work and in Greece I had a really good community of people around me from all over the world.

Also, the feedback from the refugees. It is so fulfilling to get such instant feedback for the work you are doing. Many things were bad and there were many problems I/we couldn't solve but that also motivated me to stay. I wanted to be part of finding solutions!

When the borders closed and the EU Turkey deal came into place I was confused, frustrated and angry at the 'system'. How could our governments leave these vulnerable people stranded? They locked them up like criminals instead of helping them start a safer and better life. We made friends with many of the migrants who lived on our camp for many weeks. Seeing them behind barbed wired fences was painful.

There were moments I felt defeated, but that emotion got channelled into action. We fought. We set-up the legal aid project to challenge the law. I informed myself, tried to understand and then took the best action we could given what we knew and expected. We tried to influence the wider global community through information. I wrote newsletters, posted on social media and gave many interviews to news services. We protested when politicians came to visit to make our voice heard. We invited celebrities like Susan Sarandon and Angelina Jolie to visit our camp (the former did, the latter didn't as her agenda was completely dictated by UNHCR). We tried to carry the voices of the people of Moria worldwide so their suffering would not go ignored and they wouldn't be forgotten.

Meanwhile we tried to adapt to the situation as best we could. After Moria became a prison we didn't know what to do. We looked for new tasks. Elpida was a beacon of hope. We could start a pilot camp. Solve the problems, show how it could be done. By then I was tired, running out of money and feeling very frustrated and hurt by what I had seen. However, Elpida offered hope and hope can be a strong motivator. We put everything into building Elpida and were very successful. I enjoyed creating more stable structures. Focusing on how best to support our volunteers and not just focus on the refugees.

Create trainings and emotional support structures. Create marketing plans and lead teams. I really really enjoyed my work. I loved the mix of operational and strategic work. We worked hard and my body slowly got tired. I was reaching burn out but the hope and belief that what we were doing was important kept me going.

Keywords: community, friendships, hope, meaning, skill development, creating change, belief.

Q3: What motivated you to leave?

(please be as detailed as possible. Feel free to give multiple reasons)

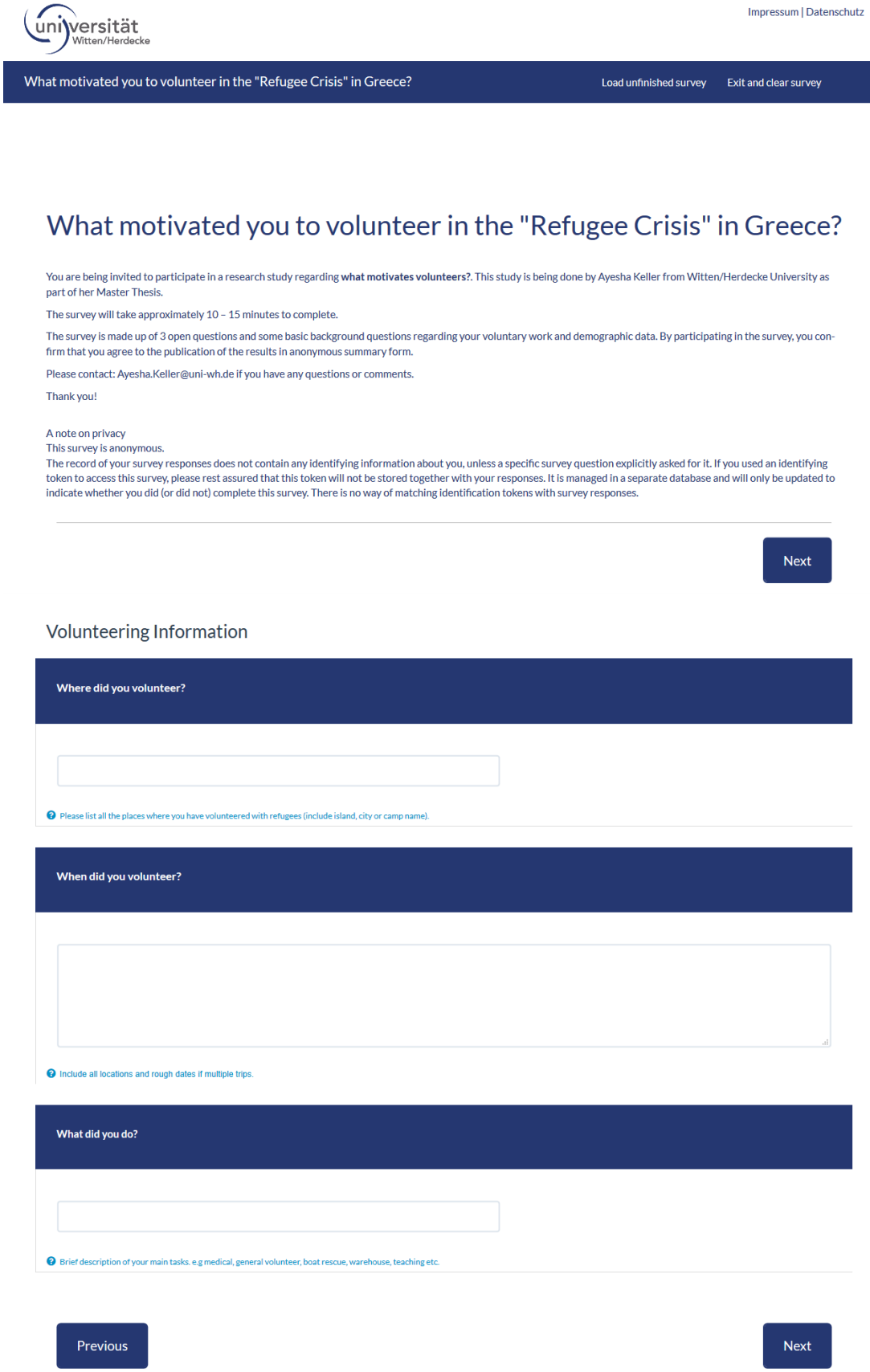
Elpida was supposed to be a pilot project that would be copied until no one lived in squalid camps anymore and everyone had accommodation that met basic humanitarian living standards. We struggled, fought, laughed and cried and made it happen! It was such a relief and excitement to see our hard work pay off. However, the will to replicate did not appear. At first, I kept going by focusing on all the small things that could still be improved. We worked on documenting the whole experience so it could be duplicated. We worked on creating self-managed community structures to empower the residents more and we matured from a grassroots NGO working within total chaos to one with professional structures.

The feeling of burnout was still creeping up on me as I had been pushing my mind and body beyond its limits for almost a year already. When it became clear that Elpida would not be copied and that the state had no intention of taking on our work and scaling it and that there were political processes going on between our donors and other actors that we were not able to influence very much and that although the project was a success the impact was very limited – I started crumbling. I left because I started seeing the signs of burnout and realised, I need a break. I left the organisation because I felt that I was no longer needed. The situation had moved from a disaster response crisis to a political crisis and suddenly my work no longer had such an impact. I felt that my job as a worried European in Greece was done and now it was the time for all Europeans to put pressure in each of their individual countries to change the laws and agreements on the higher level. I didn't understand enough about that so I left Greece and travelled around Europe speaking to different people in different countries, trying to understand what had gone wrong and what could be improved. I decided to go to university to study PPE and get a theoretical insight. I felt my work on the ground was done and it was time for a new perspective. I was also physically and emotionally exhausted. I was traumatised and burnt out so to a certain extent the decision was almost out with my control.

Keywords: exhaustion, trauma, loss of hope, disappointment, frustration, anger, burnout, done, helpless, at a loss, wanted to understand more, needing another perspective.

Gender: female
Age: 29
Nationality: UK
What is your current profession? Student
How interested would you say you are in politics? very interested
Is religion an important part of your life? not too important

Appendix B: The Survey



Main questions

What motivated you to decide to go?

(please be as detailed as possible. Feel free to give multiple reasons)

What were the main motivations for you to keep doing the work once you were there?

(please be as detailed as possible. Feel free to give multiple reasons)

What motivated you to leave?

(please be as detailed as possible. Feel free to give multiple reasons)

Imagine you are telling a good friend about your experiences.

Last questions

Gender

Choose one of the following answers

Please choose...

What is your nationality?

Choose one of the following answers

Please choose...

What is your age in years?

Only numbers may be entered in this field.

What is your current profession?

How interested would you say you are in politics?

Choose one of the following answers

- very interested
- quite interested
- hardly interested
- not at all interested
- don't know

Is religion an important part of your life?

Choose one of the following answers

- Don't know
- yes
- very important
- somewhat important
- not too important
- not at all important
- I have no religion
- prefer not to answer

Any further comments?

Select 'submit' to save your responses and exit the survey.

Previous Submit

What motivated you to volunteer in the "Refugee Crisis" in Greece?

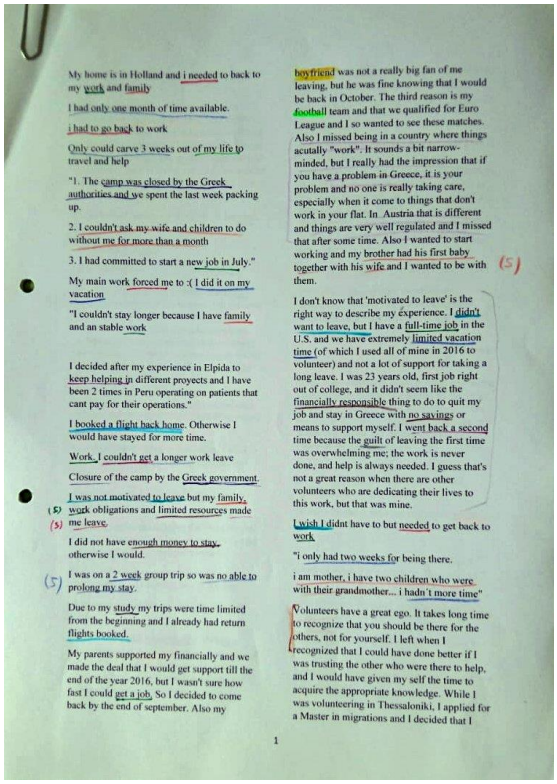
Thank you very much for helping me with my research. You are a super star!

If you could share it with 3 people you know who have also volunteered with refugees in Greece, I would greatly appreciate it.

If you are interested in the results, email me: Ayesha.Keller@uni-wh.de and I can send you my thesis when it's complete (end of September). Alternatively if you would like to stay completely anonymous, I will be publishing a link on my blog: https://medium.com/@ayeshakeller in October 2019.

Thank you!

Appendix C: Coding by Hand Example



My home is in Holland and i needed to back to my work and family

I had only one month of time available.

i had to go back to work

Only could carve 3 weeks out of my life to travel and help

"1. The camp was closed by the Greek authorities and we spent the last week packing up.

2. I couldn't ask my wife and children to do without me for more than a month

3. I had committed to start a new job in July."

My main work forced me to :(I did it on my vacation

"I couldn't stay longer because I have family and an stable work

I decided after my experience in Elpida to keep helping in different proyects and I have been 2 times in Peru operating on patients that cant pay for their operations."

I booked a flight back home. Otherwise I would have stayed for more time.

Work. I couldn't get a longer work leave

Closure of the camp by the Greek government.

I was not motivated to leave but my family, work obligations and limited resources made me leave.

I did not have enough money to stay, otherwise I would.

I was on a 2 week group trip so was no able to prolong my stay.

Due to my study my trips were time limited from the beginning and I already had return flights booked.

My parents supported my financially and we made the deal that I would get support till the end of the year 2016, but I wasn't sure how fast I could get a job. So I decided to come back by the end of september. Also my boyfriend was not a really big fan of me leaving, but he was fine knowing that I would be back in October. The third reason is my football team and that we qualified for Euro League and I so wanted to see these matches. Also I missed being in a country where things acutally "work". It sounds a bit narrow-minded, but I really had the impression that if you have a problem in Greece, it is your problem and no one is really taking care, especially when it come to things that don't work in your flat. In Austria that is different and things are very well regulated and I missed that after some time. Also I wanted to start working and my brother had his first baby together with his wife and I wanted to be with them.

I don't know that 'motivated to leave' is the right way to describe my experience. I didn't want to leave, but I have a full-time job in the U.S. and we have extremely limited vacation time (of which I used all of mine in 2016 to volunteer) and not a lot of support for taking a long leave. I was 23 years old, first job right out of college, and it didn't seem like the financially responsible thing to do to quit my job and stay in Greece with no savings or means to support myself. I went back a second time because the guilt of leaving the first time was overwhelming me; the work is never done, and help is always needed. I guess that's not a great reason when there are other volunteers who are dedicating their lives to this work, but that was mine.

I wish I didnt have to but needed to get back to work.

"i only had two weeks for being there.

i am mother, i have two children who were with their grandmother... i hadn't more time"

Volunteers have a great ego. It takes long time to recognize that you should be there for the others, not for yourself. I left when I recognized that I could have done better if I was trusting the other who were there to help, and I would have given my self the time to acquire the appropriate knowledge. While I was volunteering in Thessaloniki, I applied for a Master in migrations and I decided that I

1

What motivated you to leave?

didn't have a choice.

I had to / I needed / forced / I couldn't stay / made me leave.

Family

Work (took holidays)

limited time available

Camp closed (change due to by authorities information)

continued volunteering / Return / had back / help in the field

CONTINUE WORK BACK HOME / Volunteering

Money / limited resources

Study / education

hobbies

home sickness

Guilt sad (x 2)

I wish I couldn't stay / I didn't want to leave

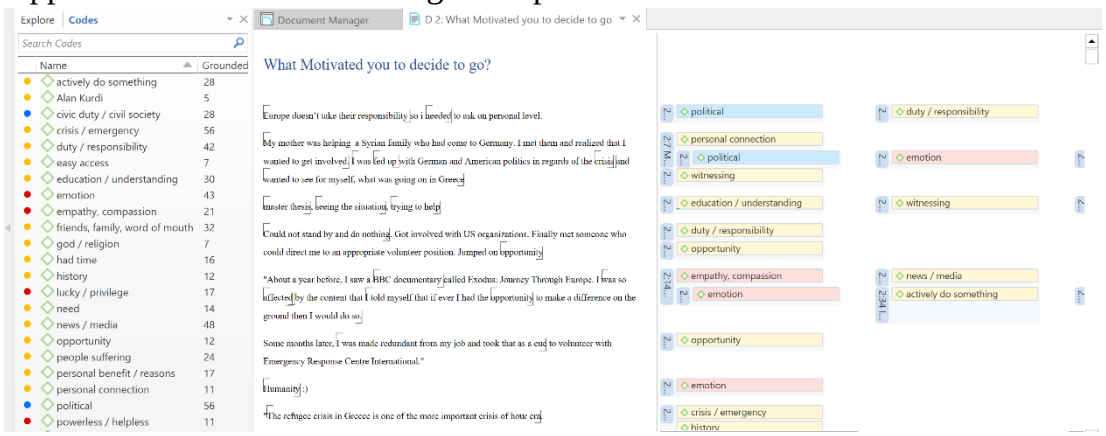
Reflection

other priorities / commitments / responsibilities elsewhere

Burned / frustrations

Visa

Appendix D: ATLAS.ti Coding Example



Explore | Codes

Search Codes

Name	Grounded
actively do something	28
Alan Kurdi	5
civic duty / civil society	28
crisis / emergency	56
duty / responsibility	42
easy access	7
education / understanding	30
emotion	43
empathy, compassion	21
friends, family, word of mouth	32
god / religion	7
had time	16
history	12
lucky / privilege	17
need	14
news / media	48
opportunity	12
people suffering	24
personal benefit / reasons	17
personal connection	11
political	56
powerless / helpless	11

Document Manager | D 2: What Motivated you to decide to go

What Motivated you to decide to go?

Europe doesn't take their responsibility so i needed to ask on personal level.

My mother was helping a Syrian family who had come to Germany. I met them and realized that I wanted to get involved. I was fed up with German and American politics in regards of the crisis and wanted to see for myself, what was going on in Greece

master thesis, seeing the situation, trying to help

Could not stand by and do nothing. Got involved with US organizations. Finally met someone who could direct me to an appropriate volunteer position. Jumped on opportunity

"About a year before, I saw a BBC documentary called Exodus: Journey Through Europe. I was so affected by the content that I told myself that if ever I had the opportunity to make a difference on the ground then I would do so.

Some months later, I was made redundant from my job and took that as a end to volunteer with Emergency Response Centre International."

Humanity :)

"The refugee crisis in Greece is one of the more important crisis of hour era

political
duty / responsibility
personal connection
political
emotion
witnessing
education / understanding
witnessing
duty / responsibility
opportunity
empathy, compassion
news / media
emotion
actively do something
opportunity
emotion
crisis / emergency
history