

MASTER THESIS

International volunteering in the refugee response in Europe

The case of a refugee camp in Greece

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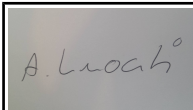
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Explanation of terms

Refugee: A person who is fleeing armed conflict and/or persecution and who could possibly die if sent back to its country. These people are protected under the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 1967).

Asylum seeker: A person who is waiting for a decision considering the asylum request (UNHCR, n.d.). Until a person's request for refuge has been approved he or she is referred to as asylum seeker. If the application is denied, the stay in the country is no longer legal and the person might be deported (Chin & Cortes, 2015).

Migrant: A migrant is defined as a person not fleeing from immediate danger to life but to seek an improvement in life considering economical, educational, emotional or other reasons (UNHCR, 2016a).

In this study the terms refugee, asylum seeker and migrant are used on equal terms, because in most of the cases it was not possible to define the exact asylum status of the people.

Refugee relief & refugee response: The term refugee relief is commonly used in many of the references used for this study. It generally refers to the task of supporting refugees and is used as such in the following chapters (Unica-network, 2016). However, when considering it for the title of this thesis it did not seem entirely suitable. Even though, it is used in a positive way the word relief is defined as the feeling of relaxation after a period of distress and the "*alleviation of pain, discomfort, or distress*" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016a, para. 1-3). In combination with the added word refugee, it could be misunderstood as the refugee being the cause for discomfort or stress. Therefore, the word relief had been displaced by the word response which is defined as "*a reaction to something*" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016b, para. 2) and implies more the proactive nature of the phenomena.

Grass-root organisation: A self-organised group of people that have common values and interests and are united in a volunteer-based, non-profit organisations. They are characterised by a low degree of formality (Anheier, 2005). The term is used in this work when talking about the small volunteer organisations.

Introduction

“Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.” (United Nations General Assembly, Article 14, para.1, 1948, p.4).

This article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights outlines the rights of refugees and the obligation of the signatories to respect them. Additionally, the Geneva convention relating to the status of refugees states that they are *“among the most vulnerable people in the world”* and highlights the need to protect them (UN General Assembly, 1948).

In 2016 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (hereinafter: UNHCR) reports that approximately 65,3 million people are forcibly displaced, most of them in their own or a neighbouring country (UNHCR, 2016b). With 3,1 million people, Turkey is currently hosting the highest amount of refugees worldwide. The European Union (hereinafter: EU), in comparison, received around one million asylum requests in 2015, and until October, 2016 a number of 340,000 additional people arrived (IOM, 2016b). Reasons for the enormous growth of refugee movements to Europe in recent years are primarily the ongoing civil war in Syria that started in 2011. Other factors are natural disasters, famines, terrorism, poverty and other political, ethical or religious conflicts. Due to geographical reasons, the largest part of people arrives in countries which are located at the external border of the EU. In March 2016 an agreement with Turkey started to prevent irregular immigration to Greece by sending back people who made a use of illegal migration flows. At the same time, the Macedonian border closed entirely and left over 60.000 people stranded on the Greek mainland, not being able to continue their journey. In order to manage common procedures for refugees in Europe there are several regulations in place and border controls within the European territory were restarted.

Yet, all of these systems are extremely slow, are generally characterised by a lack of functionality and, most importantly, do not focus on the dignity and rights of the people. The authorities seem unable to provide adequate structures for the large amounts of asylum seekers. As a result, many people are left in miserable conditions in many locations, but particularly in Greece, a country which is still suffering under the economic crisis. Many reports describe the miserable conditions under which people in Greek refugee camps have to live. Some of the challenges are insufficient sanitary facilities, inadequate housing without heating or electricity, a lack of medical services and education such as violence and theft (ProAsyl, 2015).

As a response to these recent developments, civilians started to unite in order to provide assistance all over Europe to those in need. They are usually not affiliated with established non-governmental organisations (hereinafter: NGOs), but belong to small grass-root organisations or are individual participants. These international volunteers fill the gaps of the official authorities, motivated by the frustration about their governments' response and the common intention to show solidarity and protect the dignity of the asylum seekers. They consist of different age-groups, nationalities and backgrounds, and engage in a wide range of voluntary activities. Some of them stay for a couple of weeks, others for months. Their fields of work vary from immediate relief, like the distribution of food, medication and clothing over the provision of services,

information or assistance with bureaucratic tasks, to the establishment of medium-term structures such as education, training and other activities (Amnesty International, 2015).

The phenomena of travelling to another country in order to volunteer is not new and begun already in 1915 (Stebbins & Graham, 2004). A lot of research can be found relating to volunteering and international volunteering. The former is defined as an activity that for the benefits of others (Wilson, 2000). The latter is described as a form of volunteering that takes place abroad and is also influenced by the motivation to experience a new or another environment (Ockenden, 2007). In the light of the trans-boundary nature of this voluntary activity additional models of the tourism research can be applied. Chen (2010) describes the features of voluntourism, a practice of people taking a holiday with the intention to volunteer without getting paid for it. At first sight, the activity of volunteering to support refugees does not seem to be related to tourism. Yet, taking a wider perspective there are relations, as the international volunteers also use the touristic infrastructure, such as accommodation, transport and other facilities. To some extent it can be defined as humanitarian business travel.

Previous studies combining the fields of volunteering and the work with refugees can only be found on a national level. However, the former research reveals that the new formed structures of volunteers are characterised by a lack organisational functions, inexperience and a certain degree of informality (Karakayali & Kleist, 2015). Also other scholars refer mainly to challenges in the work of volunteers with refugees, such as language barriers, a lack of skills or psychological impacts (Hediger, 2015). Yet, they emphasise the importance of this kind of voluntary work.

When looking at the current international developments, the assumptions can be made that people from all over the world will continue to seek asylum in Europe and that volunteers, working within this field, play a significant role within this context. Therefore, it is of particular importance to conduct also research on an international level in order to detect similarities and differences and explorer and comprehend the phenomena of international volunteering in the refugee response. Like that strengths, opportunities, challenges and weaknesses can be detected and managed in a proper way in order to improve the voluntary work in the long-run.

Research questions

Based on the previous arguments, this study aims to explorer the current situation of international volunteers engaging in the refugee response all over Europe and the characteristics of their activities. A particular focus is set on the case of a refugee camp in Western Greece, which serves as an example for the underlying phenomena. Since the subject is relatively new, up to now there is no research conducted about these kind of volunteers. Therefore, it is important to elaborate a first understanding by unravelling the complexity of their voluntary work, especially regarding individual volunteers and their small, newly formed grass-root organisations. In order to assess the study objective, the following research questions were formulated:

1) What is the current status of international volunteers working in the refugee response in Europe?

2) How do international volunteers perceive the characteristics of their work in refugee camps?

This first question aims to comprehend the broader perspective of the phenomena and to get an overview of what is happening in recent years in the field of refugee support. The purpose of the second questions is to get a deeper understanding of the way their work is characterised with the example of a particular setting, a refugee camp in Greece. It intends to explore structures, fields of work, chances and challenges of this specific form of volunteering. Further, it explores the motivations for people to travel to Greece, instead of engaging in their home countries. Lastly, it attempts as well to discover the meaning of the experience for the volunteers and their personal perceptions about what role they play in the whole context.

Structure

This study is divided into eight chapters, each contributing to elaborate answers to the underlying research questions.

The first chapter regards the current state of research in the field of volunteering to outline the multidisciplinary nature and depict an initial understanding of the phenomena. Characteristics, motives, fields of work, impacts such as criticism of the subject are summarized. A particular emphasis is put on two specific fields *international volunteering* and *voluntourism*, and their similarities and differences. These sections serve to understand the international component of voluntary work, which is the topic of this study. Then, a section about former research in the field of refugee relief is added to get an understanding of what is already known in the field. So far, studies were only conducted on a national level, yet they served to comprehend structures and challenges of the work with asylum seekers.

The second chapter gives an overview of the socio-political discourse in the context of the recent refugee movements. It starts by outlining the legal and political framework such as current developments in the field. Next, the situation for refugees worldwide, in Europe and in Greece is described. The last part summarizes media reports about the work of international volunteers in Europe. These sections serve firstly, to outline the relevance of the study and secondly, to describe the context in which the research takes place.

After a short summary of the theoretical part (Chapter 3), which resumes the essential findings for the underlying research purpose, the characteristics of the refugee camp in Western Greece, on which the research is based, are shortly described (Chapter 4).

The fifth chapter demonstrates the methodology of this qualitative work by firstly outlining the study design and briefly stating the research purpose, paradigm, type and the instruments that are used. Secondly, it describes the process of data collection, which was done through interviews and field observation. The last section specifies the way the data is analysed and presents the software MAXQDA 12, which was used for the process.

The sixth chapter depicts the results retrieved from the field observations, conducted by the researcher, and the interviews with 15 international volunteers and one employee of the United

Nations Volunteer (hereinafter: UNV) programme. They are organized into seven thematic categories including several sub-categories in order to present different sections in a logical manner that help to explore the topic of this research.

The seventh chapter discusses the results of the data analysis and interprets them in combination with the theory presented in the first and second chapter. It represents the findings in relation to what was already known about the topic international volunteering with refugees. Similarities with existing theories are outlined, models of other scholars are applied and new findings are presented. Moreover, the significance of the findings with a focus on answering the research questions is demonstrated.

The last chapter concludes the research by summarizing the current status of international volunteers in the refugee response and describing the characteristics of their work in refugee camps and in general. Therewith it offers an answer to the research questions. Lastly, it highlights the relevance of the findings, the limitations of the study and gives recommendation for further research in related fields.

1. State of research – the context of volunteering

This chapter gives an overview of the current state of research regarding the phenomena *volunteering*. It provides a brief summary of existing definitions, fields of action, organizational structure, paradigms, motivations and impacts. In a next step, two of the subcategories, *international volunteering* and *voluntourism*, and their particularities are described. Since the focus of this research lays on the work of volunteers in Europe and particularly in Greece, it is important to understand the context of voluntary activities that take place across borders. Additionally, it is essential to outline the difference between *international volunteering* and *voluntourism*. Lastly, a section about previous research in the field of working with refugees is illustrated. Up to now, scholars only covered the national level of this context.

1.1 Volunteering

The current state of research of volunteering shows many wide-ranging definitions and interpretations due to its multidisciplinary character. It takes place in a variety of settings, among diverse groups of people, communities, organisations or institutions, for a number of motives and on many different levels (Dekker & Halman, 2003; Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996). The lack of standard practice in volunteering makes it extremely difficult to find an all-embracing definition (Bussell & Forbes, 2002). Figure 1 shows four key dimensions of the term volunteering that were identified by Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996), who compared existing definitions and models. It clarifies the complexity of the activity and its diverse categories of interpretation. The model serves to place volunteering in a framework of the four key concepts *free choice*, *remuneration*, *structure* and *intended beneficiaries* in order to understand its characteristics. It reveals that, depending on the context, the categories can differ strongly from each other (Cnaan et al., 1996).

Some scholars define volunteering as an activity that “*benefits another person, group or cause*” (Wilson, 2000, p. 215). Clary et al. (1998) state that volunteering is “[o]ne important

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Categories</i>
Free choice	1. Free will (the ability to voluntarily choose) 2. Relatively uncoerced 3. Obligation to volunteer
Remuneration	1. None at all 2. None expected 3. Expenses reimbursed 4. Stipend/low pay
Structure	1. Formal 2. Informal
Intended beneficiaries	1. Benefit/help others/strangers 2. Benefit/help friends or relatives 3. Benefit oneself (as well)

Figure 1: Dimensions and Categories of volunteering. Source: Cnaan et al., 1996, p. 371.

manifestation of human helpfulness” (p.1516) to those in need, that can be found all over the world. According to Wu (2011), it is the provision of a service, free of choice, and without the expectation of financial or other remuneration. Stebbins (2012) however, does not preclude the fact that some volunteers receive a payment in cash or in-kind, but mentions that it is “*significantly less-than-market-value*” (p.342).

Other scholars agree, that volunteers benefit in either way or the other from their work (Miles, Sullivan & Kuo, 1998; Wilson, 2000; Wu, 2011; Yang, 2013). Some researchers define volunteering as part of a general cluster of helping activities and as a form of social capital¹ that produces public goods (Wilson, 2000; Wu, 2011). Stebbins (2000) comments that “*volunteers intend to generate something of value for both self and other[s] (...), including group or community, if not a combination of these three*” (p. 341). Some scholars believe that they are very important for the functioning of the civil society and the establishment of pro-social behaviour (Dekker & Halman, 2003). Rochester, Paine and Howlett (2009) state that volunteering contributes to social cohesion, personal development and social needs.

Wu (2011) states that volunteering has a cross-cutting nature throughout and between different sectors. However it takes often place in the field of social welfare, in providing “*care, support, advice and other activities for the benefit of people in need*”(Fallis, 2013, p. 11). Musick and Wilson (2007) describe additional sectors of volunteering in “*arts and culture, environment and animal welfare, (...) sports and recreation, education, youth development, business and professional associations*” (p.28). Other areas of activity mentioned by Brown (1999) are religious organisations, human services, the health sector, politics such as private and community foundations. The number of working hours, assigned tasks and professional role vary widely, but usually a person works only for one volunteer organization at a time (Brown, 1999).

For many companies and organisations volunteers are rudimentary for their effective functioning (Finkelstein, Penner, & Brannick, 2005). For that reason volunteering is not only individual engagement, but is often structured, organized and managed (Dekker & Halman, 2003). Some scholars claim that it always takes place in an organisational setting (Penner, 2002). Others

1 The social capital of a society consists of “*social networks, the norms of reciprocity and trust that arise from them, and the application of these assets in achieving mutual objectives*” (Tripp, Payne & Diodorus, 2009).

mention that it may take place in corporate programs or in a self-organized, individualistic manner (Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Hustinx, & Lammertyn, 2003). A growing number of companies get involved in corporate volunteering (Bussell & Forbes, 2002). The work of volunteers is usually defined by the organisation and participants get recruited for specific roles. “*In this context a process of selection induction and [...] training takes place*” (Fallis, 2013, p.11).

Fallis (2013) distinguishes between three different paradigms when it comes to volunteering. The first one is called *non-profit paradigm*. It is defined by the characteristic that people do things to help others for no payment and are operating in an organised structure. The second paradigm he mentions is the *civil-society paradigm*. Within this context the motivation of volunteers is rather based on self-help and mutual work for a common solution than the simple desire to help others. Their organisational structure is mostly based on the work of volunteers and/or self-help groups. Rochester (1997) calls them grass-root associations in which volunteers are not seen as helpers who have a specific skill set but rather as members of the organisation who undertake all activities and then grow into their roles. It is more activism than unpaid help. The third paradigm is viewed as *serious leisure*. That means that volunteering is more a leisure time activity, which is often project-based, short-term and occasional. It takes place in the context of voluntary associations, complex organisations or small community-based groups. Also Stebbins (1996) defines volunteering as serious leisure. Some scholars talk about a transformation from old to new forms of volunteering. The traditional forms are often long-term, membership based and set their focus on altruistic motives. Whereas the modern forms are project oriented, not tied to one single organisation and participants have specific expectations of their work, for an instance personal benefits (Rehberg, 2005; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003).

To understand how a person thinks about his or her work, it is necessary to understand the motivations for the activity (Wilson, 2000). It is difficult to define the term volunteering, consequently it is impossible to find a holistic description of volunteers’ motivations. As many different activities as there are, there are reasons for people to engage in volunteering (Stebbins, 2004). Also people involved in the same activity can have very different motivations and goals (Bussell & Forbes, 2002). One reason commonly mentioned is the altruistic act, the will to help other people, who are less fortunate (Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Fallis, 2013). According to Stebbins (2004), a volunteer’s motivation is always a mix of altruism and self-interest. The results of a study conducted by Clary et al. (1998) revealed some key components as important motivational factors for volunteering. The first one relates to a person’s individual *values* in regards to others and the society, such as humanitarian concerns. Secondly, they mention *understanding*, meaning new learning experiences and perspectives. Another important term is the *social* factor. It implies that some people volunteer because of their relationship with others and see it as a social activity, an opportunity to be with friends or meet new people. Musick and Wilson (2007) remark that people often engage in volunteering because they feel peer pressure or a social obligation. Others are motivated by the *career*-related benefits and think that volunteering can help them to improve their career. Some people volunteer to occupy spare time and to develop skills which may be of use for their future (Bussell & Forbes, 2002). Another

component is called *protective* and relates to the motivational factor of “*protecting the ego from negative features of the self and, (...) reduce guilt over being more fortunate than others and to address one's own personal problems*”(Clary et al., 1998, p.1518). In this case, volunteering is used to escape personal problems and helps people to feel better. Also the *enhancement* of a person’s self-esteem, the feeling of being important and the way people think about themselves is playing an important role when it comes to voluntary engagement (Clary et al., 1998). These statements emphasize the view of other scholars, who state that volunteering does also include egoistic motive and people’s wish to achieve personal social and psychological goals (Bussell & Forbes, 2002). They also add other dimensions such as religious beliefs, community benefits to the dimensions of possible motivations. When it comes to corporate volunteering programs the employees are often motivated by the chance to network and to display creativity (Bussell & Forbes, 2002).

Current research of the impacts of volunteering focuses clearly on the institutional and commercial context (Nesbit, 2008; Martinez et al., 2006; Helms, 2013; Plewa et al., 2015) or on the impact on the volunteer (Charlsworth et al., 2016; Finn, 2009; Guntert & Wehner, 2008). Research about the consequences for communities or others are less common. Yet, volunteering can impact a variety of stakeholders in different fields (Rochester, Paine & Howlett, 2016). The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (hereinafter: NCVO) released a volunteering impact assessment toolkit for organisations who are involved with volunteers, as shown in the following table (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004). They identified four key groups, which are likely to be affected by volunteering: volunteers, organisations, service users and the community. The impact of these stakeholder groups can be categorized in five different outcomes: physical, human, economic, social and cultural capital. Table 1 shows a simplified version of the matrix developed by the NCVO (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004).

	Physical capital	Human capital	Economic capital	Social capital	Cultural capital
Volunteers	Tangible benefits (trainings, events, certificates)	Personal development (self-esteem, skills, employability)	Costs of volunteering vs. Value of volunteering	Trust, higher participation in public affairs	Cultural identity, appreciation and understanding of other cultures
Organisations	Output (e.g. number of meals provided)	Staff development, diversity of workforce	Value of volunteering minus costs of volunteering	Increased reputation	Service more reflective of cultural diversity
Service Users	Increased quantity and quality of services	Personal development, increase of skills	Access to cheap or free services	Networks, trust, participation	Appreciation and understanding of other cultures
Community	Increased quantity and quality of services	Better skilled citizens	Better value for money in public services	Networks, trust, participation	Appreciation and understanding of other cultures

Table 1: Matrix of volunteering impact assessment. Source: Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004.

1.2 International volunteering

International volunteering is a form of volunteering that takes place abroad and involves generally some kind of movement from one country to another, often from Western to developing countries² (Stebbins & Graham, 2004; Holmes, 2010). Some scholars refer to it as international volunteering and services (IVS). It is understood to be an organised time of engagement by volunteers who travel to another country and may be sponsored publicly or privately (Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008). Activities can regard emergency relief work, development, education or conservation (Stebbins & Graham, 2004; Holmes, 2010). Organisations like the UNV programme, the Peace Corps or the European Voluntary Service have a long history of organizing international volunteering as a tool of development cooperation (Holmes, 2010). The UNV programme “*promotes volunteerism to support peace and development worldwide*” (United Nations Volunteers, 2015, p.xv). It requires specific skills of the volunteers and selects them in an application process. Once hired for a limited period of time they even receive a salary (United Nations Volunteers, n.d.). In the destinations they seek to employ local volunteers to create sustainable structures. Some other international volunteer organisations have moved away from using the term *volunteering* because it was perceived as unprofessional and emphasized too much on cultural exchange only. The development sector often does not take the work of volunteers serious and perceives them as unprofessional, even though international volunteering overlaps in many aspects with the technical assistance of development cooperation (Devereux, 2008).

Rehberg (2005) identifies three main groups of motives of international volunteers. The first one is described as “[a]chieving something positive for others” (p.119) and is in line with the motivations of volunteering mentioned by other scholars referring to the will to help and change. The second category “[q]uest for the new” (p.119) adds a new perspectives to the already mentioned ones. It relates to the intention to explore other cultures and people, learn foreign languages and do something entirely different. The last dimension is defined as “[q]uest for oneself” (p.119) and implies mainly personal motives such as experience, professional perspectives and personal limits. Chen and Chen (2011) differentiate between personal, interpersonal and other motivations. According to them, people participate in international volunteering because they want an individual authentic experience, are interested in other cultures and are looking for a challenge. In regards to others they are motivated by the will to help, to interact with locals and to increase their relationships with others.

In general, there is less research done which regards the effects of international volunteering, particularly little about negative impacts (Tiessen & Heron, 2012). Opponents regard it as ineffective, damaging and counterproductive, a reinforcement of inequalities and even call it a new kind of imperialism, that supports the interests of Western governments (Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008; Devereux, 2008). It may lead to “*greater prejudices, less tolerance, and cross-cultural misunderstanding*”(Lough & McBride, 2009, p.7). Volunteers often have limited

2 A developing country is defined as a country “*that is not yet highly industrialized*” with low living standards and levels of industrial production (Dictionary, n.d, para. 1).

skills, experience and knowledge about the local culture (Devereux, 2008). Rehnstrom (2000) criticizes that in many cases the benefits for volunteers may be higher than for the host community. He calls international volunteering elitist since only a certain group of people can afford to take unpaid time off and volunteer without receiving a monthly income. It is expensive because transportation, accommodation, insurances and training have to be covered. Some scholars criticize that these funds could also be invested directly on a local level. Others perceive it as negative because a volunteer might fill a labour gap which could be filled with local employees (Devereux, 2008). Tiessen and Heron (2012) criticize especially the short-term volunteers, who have to get used to the new environment first and often have a greater commitment to their own personal goals due to their limited time. A short-term engagement seems to be insufficient to share skills or complete commenced work tasks. In that case Tiessen and Heron (2012) state that it is an ethical question whether a volunteer does more harm than good. The increase of international volunteers working worldwide accompanied with decreasing living conditions of people in developing countries, questions the actual impact of international volunteering (Tiessen & Heron, 2012).

Proponents highlight the important role that international volunteering can play in establishing cross-cultural awareness, understanding and the promotion of worldwide peace (Sherraden et al., 2008). In addition Lough and McBride (2009) mention its potential to promote shared social responsibility, new perspectives and an improvement of work efficiency in different cultures. Devereux (2008) states that solidarity and mutual learning are the two key outcomes of international volunteering. Sherraden et al. (2008) divide the impact in three different categories, regarding host communities, volunteers, and sending communities. They remark that the impacts of each activity can vary depending on a person's capacities, the program's attributes and the institutional capacity. The outcomes for host communities may be economic, environmental, social and political development, foster intercultural relations and understanding, such as civic and global engagement (UNDP, 2003). They name some examples for development in different fields. It may come to an improvements in health, nutrition or education and an increase of environmental awareness. Economical, volunteers can contribute to market development. The local economy may also benefit from spillover effects like accommodation, food and other infrastructure which volunteers use. Politically, volunteering may raise awareness about human rights, inequalities and give communities grass-root empowerment (Sherraden et al., 2008).

Wu (2011) states that volunteering, among other aspects, makes a contribution to the global economy, enhances social connections, increases social networks, enforces people to civic engagement, delivers public services and has positive impacts on the volunteers as individuals. His research also reveals that volunteering fosters people's interest in development activities in a long term perspective. Another advantage that international volunteers have in comparison to traditional development cooperation is that they engage on a personal level in communities in a manner that enables the development of relationships, interpersonal trust and mutual understanding. This way capacity development can take place on a grass-root level and provide an alternative to the top-down approach of traditional development strategies (Devereux, 2008; Sherraden et al., 2008).

1.3 Volunteer Tourism

Another field of volunteering is volunteer tourism or voluntourism. In the following, the two terms will be used equally to describe the same phenomena.

Whether volunteer tourism is a new tourism niche, just an alternative form of tourism, or a sign of a socio-cultural change is up to discussion (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Broadly spoken “*volunteer tourism combines volunteering and travel*” (Holmes, 2010, p.12). According to the United Nations (hereinafter: UN), in voluntourism the travellers dedicate only a small portion of their time to voluntary services (as cited in Holmes, 2010). Some scholars define volunteer tourism as a completely independent field which should not fall into areas like alternative tourism or international volunteering (Wearing, 2001). Others, in contrast, classify it as a part of alternative tourism, closely related to serious leisure activities as shown in figure 2 (Stebbins & Graham, 2004). Uriely, Reichel and Ron (2003) suggest that it is a post-modern form of tourism and define it as an own segment in which travelling and volunteering are closely connected to each other. In any case, the area of volunteer tourism experienced a rapid growth over the last 20 years and so did the academic research about the topic (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Research was mainly conducted in the field of tourism and is less common in volunteering literature (Holmes, 2010).

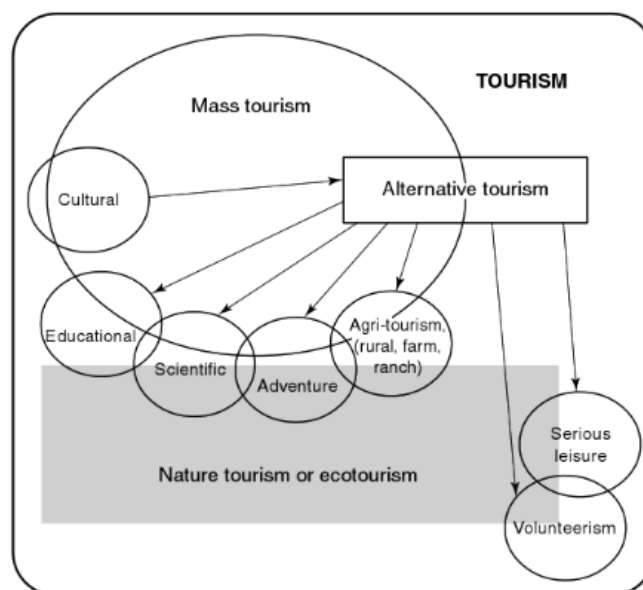


Figure 2: A conceptual schema of alternative tourism. Reprinted from Stebbins & Graham, 2004, p.211.

Cheung (2010) defines it as “*the practice of individuals going on a non-paid working holiday for the purpose of volunteering [...] to worthy causes.*” (p.3). Wearing (2001) adds that volunteer tourism usually happens “*in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding (...) of some groups in society*” (p.1). Others state that volunteer tourists act through a formal involvement within an organizational context (Stebbins & Graham, 2004). In contrast to working tourists, who may receive a payment for their work abroad, volunteer tourists usually do not get a remuneration, instead many pay for the activity (Tomazos & Butler, 2009).

Voluntourism can take place in different destinations and cover a variety of fields, for example in conservation projects, community development, building, animal care, medical aid, education or child care (Cheung, 2010; Rogers, 2007; Wearing 2001). Generally, the central idea of voluntourism is to have a positive effect on host-destinations and deliver benefits for such and the local environment. It is understood to be the counterpart to mass tourism (Sin, 2009). The nature of voluntourism is rather episodic, since it is usually conducted during holidays and may last from a few weeks up to longer periods of a few months, but usually less than a year (Cnaan & Handy, 2005). Even though the volunteer tourism industry is relatively young, there is a growing market for voluntourism products. A wide range of tour operators, environmental and humanitarian NGOs and academic groups offer volunteering travel packages (Cheung, 2010; Sin, 2009). Especially for adolescents and students it is getting popular to engage in volunteer tourism. They usually travel to developing countries to volunteer with either non-profit organisations or commercial tourism businesses (Wearing, 2001).

As for the classical volunteering, the motivations of volunteer tourists vary depending on each participant and activity. For some it is more a different way of travelling with a meaningful purpose, for others it is beneficial for their future career and others want to do something useful (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2010). Sin (2009) revealed in a study with voluntourists that their main objectives are related to themselves and suggests that the sector should rather be regarded as an area of tourism than an altruistic act. Wearing (2001) states that volunteer tourists seek an experience that is reciprocally beneficial and contributes to their individual development but also to the environment in which they work.

Considering the impacts of voluntourism it is more difficult to find research. Wearing and McGehee (2013) state that in the beginning research was primarily done based on advocacy, defining volunteer tourism as ideal with minor negative consequences. Volunteer tourists were perceived as altruistic travellers, different than mass tourists, who wanted to give something back to communities. The experience can have a significant impact on the life of the participant. It may be regarded as fulfilment, self-discovery and self-development (Wearing, 2001). But it can be bilateral, because volunteers interact and take part in local activities and community life. Nevertheless, the scholar states that the most important development in international volunteering is the empowerment and awareness of the self of the volunteer. Other scholars exemplify positive activities in volunteer tourism like environmental protection, medical assistance, educational support and restoration, which may contribute to the improvement of public services (Devereux, 2008; Wearing, 2001). Singh (2002) points out the host-guest relationship in volunteer tourism and the high value of the interactions between tourists and community members, referring to cultural exchange as one of the components of voluntourism. Also Raymond and Hall (2008) remark that it can lead to cultural understanding and a sense of global citizenship. If volunteering programs are well developed and carefully managed they can make a contribution in the communities and help to counteract stereotypes. If locals, volunteer tourists and the intermediary organisation are brought together and interact in a well managed way, social values, cultural identities and strong unities can be strengthened (Wearing, 2001; Zahra & McGehee, 2013).

Nevertheless, there are also critical voices regarding volunteer tourism. Some scholars claim that it makes host communities dependent of Western nations, undermines the locals' dignity and may lead to a congestion of the communities carrying-capacities (Guttentag, 2009; Devereux, 2008; Sin, 2009). Guttentag (2009) lists numerous potential negative impacts of volunteer tourism, like the lack of local involvement, the completion of unsatisfactory work caused by the volunteers' lack of skills, the creation of a dependency of the host community and an increase of the conceptualization of the *other* as discussed below. Tomazos and Butler (2009) criticize that many commercial organisations label themselves as non-profit organisations but find ways through extra offers to make profit out of volunteers. Additionally, they accuse them of depicting a wrong and idealistic picture of voluntourism that focuses only on the bright sights in order to attract customers. Others describe a shift from altruism to hedonism, some even call it new form of colonialism (Tomazos & Butler, 2009). Devereux (2008) describes volunteer tourism as the negative modification of international volunteering, because it is often organized by commercial organisations, who send only short-term volunteers and provide only personal benefits to the consumers and financial benefits to the companies. The commercial approach to volunteer tourism entails a focus on the desire of the volunteer rather than the needs of others (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). That results in less benefits for local communities, seen by some as an exploitation of the poor, where short-term helping outweighs long-term learning.

Sin (2009) mentions that volunteer tourists often use their experience to perform a 'self', showing other people that they are conscious, worldly people. She also describes the phenomena of *othering* by the volunteers towards their peers at home or other co-workers. *Othering* is a phenomena that often occurs when talking about racism, it is defined as a process "*whereby an individual or groups of people attribute negative characteristics to other individuals or groups of people that set them apart as representing that which is opposite to them*" (Rohleder, 2014, p.1306). It is more than stereotyping and can involve positive or negative generalizations about people. People may focus on the similarities of their group, creating categories to which they belong or do not belong, also referred to as in-group and out-group classifications. Members of one group tend to view themselves as 'better' and emphasize on their positive sites while comparing them with the negative sites of others. This approach is called social identity theory, which is used to explain intergroup relations and conflicts (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Klein (1959) describes it as a defence mechanism to protect the 'self' by externalizing the 'bad' to others. As for the tourism settings, Picard and Giovine (2014) state that social or cultural forms of otherness such as different cultures can help a person to define itself by reflecting the order of its society and its daily life. By observing other places, people and cultures their every day routine is broken and they might question themselves and even change their way of thinking and acting. According to Said (1979), *othering* refers to the creation and maintenance of a "*dichotomy between one-self, as marked by a particular (Western) identity, and the Other(s)*" (as cited in Bresner, 2010, p.11). However this phenomena also occurs between different groups of tourists. It is quite a popular reaction against mass tourism, in which travellers dissociate themselves from tourism and regard themselves as superior. Cohen (1979) mentions that it is a common attitude to dislike other travellers and call them tourists whereas oneself does not want to be called like that.

1.4 International volunteering versus voluntourism

For the context of this research it is important to look at the differences and similarities between international volunteering and voluntourism.

As Stebbins and Graham (2004) state international volunteering and volunteer tourism overlap to a certain degree. Both cases are a form of volunteering taking place in another location than the participant's country of residence. The fields of work are more or less the same and the impacts on the host community are criticized in both cases for various reasons such as being ineffective and harmful to societies. The positive effects for both activities are defined as an improvement of cross-cultural understanding, a shared social responsibility and a self-development of the volunteer itself. The differences seem to be considering two categories: the duration of stay and the organisational structure. In voluntourism participants seem to dedicate a smaller portion of their time to voluntary activities (Holmes, 2010). Considering the length of stay, it is rather episodic, conducted in holidays and can last only a few weeks, usually less than a year. International volunteering is also defined as a short-term activity, however it may be longer than only a few weeks since it is not defined as a holiday-activity. Regarding the organisational structure, voluntourism may be allocated rather in the commercial sector with participants paying for travel packages organized by tour operators. Whereas international volunteers usually do not have to pay explicitly for their activity, but for transport, accommodation and other living costs. In other cases they do not have to cover their own expenses and even receive a remuneration (United Nations Volunteers, n.d.). In the field of international volunteering the activities seem to be rather organised by NGOs, academic institutions or the participants themselves.

Talking about the motivations of both groups similarities can be defined, such as solidarity, the desire to contribute and help others. But considering voluntourism the desire to travel and see different parts of the world seems to be stronger. Also the focus on self-development is larger, especially when regarding the fact that many young people get engaged in voluntourism after high-school. The following table illustrates an overview of the main differences between voluntourism and international volunteering, including the above stated arguments and complemented with additional sources (Horoszowski, 2014; Denny, 2014).

Voluntourism	International volunteering
Demand driven (volunteers wanting to go on a volunteer holiday, willing to pay)	Supply driven from the field (organisations are actively looking for skilled people, no charging fees)
Short-term	Length varies (usually long-term, especially for people with no skills)
Group oriented (often travelling in groups)	Groups or individuals
No expertise required	More expertise required
Participation fee	May be required to raise funds for the project
Company run (mostly for-profit)	Run by NGOs, academic or governmental institutions, but in some cases also commercial companies
Emphasis on the experience of the participant	Emphasis on benefits for community
No or little preparation	Orientation and training

Table 2: Differences between voluntourism and international volunteering, Source: Own representation based on Horoszowski, 2014 and Denny, 2014.

1.5 Volunteering in refugee support

Up to now, academic studies about volunteering in refugee support are limited in social research, especially when it comes to grass-root organisations or independent volunteers. This is certainly related to the currency of the topic. The research showed that there is much more work done with a focus on national voluntary engagement. Considering international volunteers the focus lies often on health aspects. Currently no research exists, which focuses on international volunteering of small organisations or individuals in the context of supporting refugees in Europe. Nevertheless, this chapter illustrates some of the research in similar fields.

In recent years a new generation of volunteers in the context of refugee relief developed, that has to face the particular characteristics of the field. As a response to the failure of official structures, voluntary workers took over many tasks to support refugees. Without their help the authorities would not be capable of dealing with the high numbers of refugees arriving in Europe (Efionayi-Mäder, 2015). Karakayali and Kleist (2015) focus in their quantitative study on structures and motivations of volunteers engaging in work with refugees in Germany. Their results reveal an increase of voluntary activities concurrent with the increase of asylum seekers. Moreover, they point out the need for proper structures in volunteering organisation, which were often formed spontaneously in response to the urgent demand. It is not clear if they will develop medium and long term structures or disappear again once there is no immediate need any more. The study also shows that volunteers are taking over essential tasks where official structures fail. However, a lot of work goes also in the organisation of the voluntary activity itself, because they do not have basic frameworks yet. They propose that the structures need to be strengthened and supported from official sides or from established organisations.

Difficulties in the work are the lack of expertise about the asylum system, language barriers, meeting people's expectations and conflicts with responsible authorities. Besides, participants have limited knowledge in how to handle the traumatic experiences of refugees (Guhan & Liebling-Kalifani, 2011). Another research focused rather on the motivations of German volunteers to engage in refugee relief in their home town. A model based on the eight core dimensions: impulse, occasion, resources, understanding of the situation, aim, own biography, gain and loss, and relationships, is proposed. It assumes that volunteers working with refugees are less interested in formal structures, material gains and future careers (Hediger, 2015). When it comes to voluntary engagement with refugees multiple challenges may occur. A recent study of Guhan and Liebling-Kalifani (2011) shows that volunteers are exposed to outstanding high levels of emotional impact like compassion, fatigue traumas, frustration and are vulnerable to develop secondary traumas. They identified psychological impacts and a profound influence on their personal life. Positive emotional impacts may be a sense of reward, accomplishment and satisfaction. Jones and Williamson (2014) found out that the roles of volunteers in refugee relief are broad and cover fields in immediate destitution relief such as providing shelter and food or acting as advocates for asylum seekers to enable them access to public services. The workers were mostly engaged because of humanitarian interests. The greatest challenge for the volunteers was to experience the difficulties that refugees had, for example in assessing health, social or educational services. They also highlight the important role that volunteers play in refugee relief,

especially when it comes to refused asylum seekers. Relationships between asylum seekers and volunteers are often more personal than the ones with professional supporters. Other scholars agree to that and state that voluntary engagement can create more inclusive communities (Erickson, 2012).

2. Socio-political discourse – context of refugee movements

This chapter summarizes the legal, political and social context of the current situation for asylum seekers. Since the research objective is to characterize the work of international volunteers in supporting refugees, it is important to first map the framework, in which they operate. To start with, an overview of the international and European legal conditions and procedures for refugees and critical perspectives about them is given. The next section outlines the situation for people seeking refuge worldwide, in Europe, and in Greece. Followed by a description of refugee camps to outline the particularities of such temporary settlements. Lastly, an insight of international volunteers, who are part of the recent refugee response movement, and their work is outlined.

2.1 International rights and regulations for refugees

In 1948 the United Nations General Assembly (1948) has adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a recognition of the dignity and equal rights of all human beings and as a *"foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world"* (p.1). Based on the Declaration of Human Rights, the UN adopted the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951 after the Second World War in Geneva (UNHCR, 1967). Firstly, it was limited to a certain period of time and people from the European territory. In 1967 these limitations were changed and gave the convention worldwide coverage (Weis, 1961). It defines a refugee as someone who has a *"well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion"* and who is out of his national country or habitual residence and *"as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it"* (UNHCR, 1967, p.3). One of the most important arguments of the convention is the obligation of the signatories not to prevent a person from entering a country, as this would be regarded as *refoulement* (UNHCR, 1967). The principle of non-refoulement is an essential aspect of the convention, because it protects the refugees by prohibiting the Member States to send anyone back to a place *"where their life or freedom may be endangered"* (Da Lomba, 2004, p.5). The following figure demonstrates some of the most essential rights under the convention, which 145 nations are part of, among them all the countries that belong to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)³ (Chin & Cortes, 2015; Weis, 1961).

3 The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is a joint organisation of 34 advanced countries which aims to foster economic development worldwide (OECD, 2016).

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The right not to be expelled, except under certain, strictly defined conditions (Article 32); ● The right not to be punished for illegal entry into the territory of a contracting State (Article 31); ● The right to work (Articles 17 to 19); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The right to housing (Article 21); ● The right to education (Article 22); ● The right to public relief and assistance (Article 23); ● The right to freedom of religion (Article 4); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The right to access the courts (Article 16); ● The right to freedom of movement within the territory (Article 26); and ● The right to be issued identity and travel documents (Articles 27 and 28).
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Figure 3: Rights of refugees of the 1951 Convention, Source: UNHCR, 1967.

The Dublin System

The Dublin System is a regulation of the EU and came first into force in 1997 in combination with the Schengen Convention⁴. In 2003 the Dublin II replaced the former one and introduced some changes considering the determination of responsible member states and implemented it under full EU governance. In 2013, the regulation was revised again (now Dublin III) referring once more to the criteria that determine which EU country is responsible for the asylum procedure of a person and introducing a way to detect potential difficulties in a country's asylum system (Fratzke, 2015). One of the main objectives of the Dublin system is to prevent people from applying for asylum in several Member States at the same time or consecutively. The second one is to prevent the phenomena of *refugees in orbit*, meaning people being sent from one country to another (Da Lomba, 2004). The regulation states that asylum seekers have to get their asylum process in the country “*which played the greatest part in the applicant's entry to the EU*” (European Commission, 2016a, p.1), being in a majority of the cases the country of first illegal entry or stay. However, there are also other criteria to identify which country is responsible for the asylum procedure, such as the issuance of permits or visas, the legal entry into a state or an asylum application in an international transit area. The family reunification directive is one of the most important principles, because it regulates the admission rights for the spouse, children and the spouse's children, if one family member is residing in a European country already. The same counts for unaccompanied minors (European Commission, 2016b). The Dublin regulation was an attempt to establish a common asylum legislation in Europe, based on the assumption that it should not be important in which country a person claims asylum (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015).

Resettlement and Relocation

The EU resettlement programme in cooperation with the UNHCR is the transfer of refugees from a non-European country, where they were seeking asylum, to another European country, where they will get the status of residence as refugees (European Resettlement Network, n.d.). Whereas the relocation programme refers to the movement of people from one EU-country to

4 The Schengen Convention was signed by most of the members of the European Union in 1990. It aims to harmonise visa regulations for non-EU citizens and asylum subjects, to fight cross-border criminality and to create a joint area of security and justice. As a mean of the Schengen Convention border checks within the EU have been abolished (Federal Foreign Office, 2013).

another, as a method to share the burden. This is done mostly with countries on the outside borders of the EU (European Resettlement Network, n.d.). The system is proceeding slowly, the European Commission (2016c) reports that the target was to relocate 20,000 people by May 2016, however only 1,500 refugees were relocated from Greece and Italy until this deadline. The authorities recognize the need to act faster in regards of the high numbers of refugees waiting for an asylum process. Greece aims to prepare a pre-registration procedure to register all applicants who want to get relocated. The Member States are demanded to reduce their response time in order to react quickly (European Commission, 2016c).

The Common European Asylum System

As described in the previous sections the Dublin System forms the framework for common asylum procedures throughout Europe. The Common European Asylum System (hereinafter: CEAS) enables the provision of common minimum standards for asylum procedures, a legal framework covering all parts of the process and a joint support agency called the European Asylum Support Office (hereinafter: EASO) (European Commission, 2016d). The EASO is responsible for the provision of technical assistance like information and training to govern the asylum procedure and assure that every Member State is able to deal with the asylum claims in an effective matter (EASO, n.d.). However; the system did not achieve the goal to create common standards among all EU Member States, partly because they can interpret relatively liberal on how to apply the common EU rules. Thus, asylum seekers and their claims for asylum are treated differently depending on the country (European Commission, 2016d).

According to the European Commission (2016d), along the way of an asylum seeker different rights apply. While an asylum seeker waits for the decision of its claim he or she has to be granted rights under the Reception Conditions Directive. The directive forms a common EU standard regarding the living conditions and aims to assure dignified living standards. Accordingly, it demands that every applicant has “*access to housing, food [and] health care*” (European Commission, 2015a, para. 1). If the status of refugee or subsidiary protection is granted, rights under the Qualification Directive apply. These include, among others, the principle of non-refoulement, the provision of residence permits and travel documents, access to the labour market, education, social welfare, healthcare, accommodation and the possibilities for integration such as language courses. Furthermore, children and vulnerable people have to be provided with special rights (European Commission, 2015c).

The EU-Turkey agreement

The purpose of the readmission agreement between the EU and Turkey was to hinder illegal immigration from Turkey to the European territory and to combat smuggling (Munari, 2016). The statement aims to stop irregular migration flows and offer people legal ways to reach the EU (European Commission, 2016f). It also implies that every migrant who arrives after the 20th of March 2016 in Greece will be returned to Turkey and for every Syrian returned, another Syrian asylum seeker will be legally resettled from Turkey to Europe (European Commission, 2014f; Munari, 2016). Those who formerly did not try to enter the EU illegally will be prioritized in the resettlement process (European Commission, 2016g). Likewise Turkey has to assure, in

cooperation with the Member States, Frontex and the NATO, that no new sea or land refugee routes will be opened coming from Turkey (Munari, 2016). In return the country has been promised financial aid up to €6 billion and liberalized visa conditions for Turkish citizens (Bal, 2016).

2.2 Critics of the European Asylum system

According to Fratzke (2015), the Dublin System has two major weaknesses. Firstly, it allocates the main responsibility to the countries at the external borders of the EU. They are often, especially in recent times, extremely over-challenged with this task. Brekke and Brochmann (2015) state that "*the principle of 'first country of arrival'*" (p.148) puts countries like Greece or Italy, under extraordinary pressure, because most refugees arrive there due to geographical reasons. Additionally, there are large gaps in reception policies and living standards across Europe and the chances to get the asylum status, access to welfare and the labour market can vary significantly from one country to another (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). To circumvent this regulation a lot of people try to continue their journey illegally by getting false documents or paying smugglers. Otherwise the chances for them to reach countries in the centre or north of Europe, like Germany or Sweden, would be relatively low (Cieschinger, 2015). This phenomena is being referred to as *secondary migration* or *asylum shopping* (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015; European Commission, 2016a). The non-profit association Pro Asyl (2015) alerts that putting all the responsibility on the peripheral nations can firstly encourage them to prevent refugees from crossing the borders and secondly to deny sufficient conditions to encourage them to move on to another country.

The second problem of the Dublin System is the fact that it causes delays considering the asylum process, because it adds additional procedures to the evaluation of protection, thus families and vulnerable people have to suffer from long delays before a decision is taken. Furthermore, the procedures are expensive and ineffective in regards to their transfer rates (Fratzke, 2015).

Even the European Commission (2016h) is well aware of the dysfunctions in the European asylum system and mentions its "*poor implementation [and] disproportionate responsibility*" (p.2) which it poses on some countries. Additionally, they name the need for a fair and effective system which provides controlled and safe pathways into the EU and is based on responsibility and solidarity (European Commission, 2016h). One method to counteract the regulations of the Dublin System is the sovereignty clause, which enables Member States to take over responsibilities for asylum seekers who otherwise would be sent back to the first country of arrival (Fratzke, 2015). Some countries made use of this clause in the recent years and stopped sending back refugees to Greece because of the bad reception conditions in the country (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015).

A further criticism brought up by several NGOs is the principle of safe third countries (Pro Asyl, 2015; Amnesty International, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016a). A safe third country is defined as a country which is considered to be safe and an asylum seeker can "*request the refugee status and [...] receive protection in accordance with the Geneva Convention*" (European Migration Network, 2014, p.255). Under the principle a country has to take back every refugee who is

arriving from its territory (ESI, 2014). The European Stability Initiative (hereinafter: ESI) (2014) believes that this procedure helps to save lives, because it undercuts smuggling, establishes a control of movements and is in accordance with legislations. NGOs take a different position and heavily criticize the principle. Pro Asyl (2015) calls the safe third countries, the ‘bouncers of Europe’ and accuses Europe to cooperate with authoritarian governments who neglect human rights. The organisation even claims that Europe is motivating these countries indirectly to disregard universal and asylum rights (Pro Asyl, 2015). Amnesty International (2016) complains that the EU does not have any mechanisms in place to make sure that human rights and constitutional standards are respected in these countries. Hence, the procedure of sending people back there can be defined as an offence against humanitarian law and even be called a ‘pushback’ (Amnesty International, 2016). The term *pushback* is used when it comes to a breach of the principle of non-refoulement (Hessbruegge, 2012).

A further argument against the principle of first country of arrival is the probability that it does not stop people from trying to seek refuge in Europe, it only makes their journey more expensive and more dangerous since they have to take different, often longer routes (Amnesty International, 2016). In this regard the EU-Turkey agreement is beneath a lot of critique, some organisation, for an instance Human Rights Watch (2016a), demand an immediate stop of sending refugees back to Turkey. They state that Turkey can not deal with the high numbers of refugees and does not provide them with protection, security and social services. A lot of asylum seekers live beyond the poverty line and many children cannot go to school. They also report of illegal pushbacks, violence and even murder by Turkish border guards at the Syrian border (Human Rights Watch, 2016a). In a recent report the Council of Europe (2016), an organisation for human rights and democracy, “*raises several serious human rights issues*” (p.1) referring to Greece and Turkey. The organisation reports of serious shortcomings arising from the agreement between the EU and Turkey considering the questionable detention of refugees under inadequate conditions, the return of people from Greece to Turkey considering that a sufficient protection, the principle of non-refoulement and the access to an asylum procedure are not guaranteed and deficits in the Greek asylum system, which does not have enough staff, often conducts failures in the processes and is not capable of processing all the applications in a realistic time frame. By April 2016 the country relocated less than 1% of the number foreseen in the EU Council Decisions in 2015 (p.11). Other critical aspects are the resettlement of Syrian refugees from Turkey to the EU which may take an unpredictable long time since authorities in both territories are extremely slow in processing the cases. Moreover, the principle of giving priority to those people who did not try to enter illegally before, could discriminate vulnerable groups (Council of Europe, 2016, p. 1-12).

2.3 Current situation for refugees

In the year 2016 the UNHCR reports 65,3 million people worldwide, who are forcibly displaced, most of them within their own country. 21,3 million of them are considered refugees under the mandate of the UNHCR (2016b).

Reasons for the rapid increase of people leaving their countries and seeking refuge are on the one hand, ongoing political conflicts like the civil war in Syria, which started in 2011, as part of the Arab Spring⁵, with protests against the President Bashar Al-Assad (UNO-Flüchtlingshilfe, 2015; BBC, 2016). Since then approximately 13 million Syrians are displaced, most of them in the country itself or in neighbouring countries (Syrian Refugees, 2016). Apart from Syria, there are many countries all around the world suffering from civil wars, terrorism and other political, ethical, religious or economic conflicts (UNO-Flüchtlingshilfe, 2015). Additional factors, that are causing more and more people to flee are the climate change, natural disasters and resulting changes in the local environment that can lead to bad harvests and famines (Magrath, 2016). According to a study by Statista (2015), Syria ranks the country where most of the refugees come from, followed by Afghanistan, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. 54% of the refugees worldwide come from the three first countries mentioned (UNHCR, 2016b). Regarding the distribution of displaced people worldwide in 2016, only 6% of the people hosted in Europe. The majority remains in the Middle East, North Africa and Africa (UNHCR, 2016b). The following table shows a ranking of refugee hosting countries.

Country	Number of refugees in another country	Countries' population
1. Turkey	3.1 million (European Commission, 2016h)	79, 5 million (World Factbook, 2015)
2. Pakistan	1.6 million (UNHCR, 2016c)	199,1 million (World Factbook, 2015)
3. Lebanon	1.1 million (European Commission, 2016i)	6, 2 million (World Factbook, 2015)
4. Iran	979.410 thousand (UNHCR, 2016d)	81,8 million (World Factbook, 2015)
5. Ethiopia	735,931 thousand (UNHCR, 2016e)	99,5 million (World Factbook, 2015)
6. Jordan	640,000 thousand (UNHCR, 2016f)	8,1 million (World Factbook, 2015)

Table 3: Top refugee hosting countries. Source: Own research.

The numbers show that a few nations, mainly developing countries, have to deal with a high number of refugees. In some countries like Lebanon and Jordan the relation of local to refugee is relatively small. In 2016 every sixth person in Lebanon is a refugee, in Jordan it is every 12th person. The wealthier countries host only a small percentage of refugees while countries with less economic power host a high number (UNRIC, 2016). Media channels and NGOs report about the inhuman conditions for refugees in these places (Aziz, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016; Luther, 2016). Another important aspect is the high percentage of under aged children, travelling alone, who particularly need assistance and support along their way. Already in 2012 a major part of the global refugee population was under the age of 18 and many are unaccompanied (Fazel, Karunakara, & Newnham, 2014). The people have to face “*exposure to violence, separation from their families, insecurity, inadequate housing, trafficking and sexual exploitation*”(Giannakopoulos & Anagnostopoulos, 2016, p. 1271). Because of the dangerous conditions and the lack of safe pathway for refugees, “[a] growing number of migrants are dying” (IOM, 2016a, p. vii) while trying to reach Europe. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2016), around 3,770 people died or went missing in 2015 in

5 The so called Arab Spring started in 2011 and was an anti-government movement of many Arabic countries to protest against dictatorships, brutal security practices, unemployment, high prices and corruption. (Manfreda, n.d.)

the Mediterranean alone. Up to November 2016 the number of deaths already reached over 3,600 people (Missing Migrants, 2016).

Europe

The EU, in comparison with other refugee hosting countries, received over one million asylum requests in 2015 and until the middle of October 2016⁶ an additional number of around 340,000 people arrived over the sea to the European territory (IOM, 2016b). However, it is quite difficult to estimate an accurate number of all refugees because not all of them register or apply for asylum and others apply more than one time for asylum in different countries (Tagesspiegel, 2015; Meiritz, 2015; Alender, 2015). Over the years the EU has increased its controls at the external borders through controls with ships, fences and treaties with third countries (Faigle et al., 2016). Up to now, legal pathways for refugees are nearly impossible. Opportunities such the principle of family reunion, the resettlement process, humanitarian, student, and low skilled labour visas or private sponsorships exist but are not functioning. A system which enables people to arrive legally and include them into society to make them self-resilient is missing. For that reason thousands of people have no other choice than to pay smugglers to get into the EU (Merminod & Baster, 2016).

A spot on a boat from Turkey to Greece is estimated to cost between \$500 and \$2,000, depending on the season, the quality of the boat, the age of the passenger or the weather (UNODC, n.d). A variety of escape routes are used by refugees to enter the EU. In 2015 around 7,000 people came over the Gibraltar route to Spain and around 2,000 on the East-route through Ukraine. The majority of people fleeing from Africa, around 154,000 people, came over the Mediterranean Route and entered the EU by boat. Greece had to deal with the largest part of people, 885,000 asylum seekers arrived from Turkey in 2015 (Krauß, 2016). According to Faigle et al. (2016), the two last routes are the ones most frequently used by asylum seekers. The Central Mediterranean route starts in the North of Africa, where mainly people from African countries leave with boats, in the hope to reach the Italian or Maltese coast. Especially to start in Libya is dangerous since the country is torn by the civil war and terrorism, and refugees are treated extraordinarily bad. The Eastern Europe route, also called Balkan Route, goes over Turkey, from where mainly refugees from the Middle East get a boat over the Aegean Sea to Greece. From there many try to move on and travel through Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary and Austria up North to Germany or Sweden (Dearden, 2015). In 2016 Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia shut their borders and Bulgaria and Albania increased their border controls as they feared a higher amount of people trying to take the alternative route through their countries. That left many refugees stuck in Greece (Kingsley, 2016). Apart from the two mentioned routes there are many more illegal ways into Europe. Each time that one way is blocked by state authorities, people and smugglers find new routes. Therefore, smuggling can hardly be prevented by closing or securing borders, but only by creating legal ways for refugees (FT, 2016). On all ways people have to face extreme challenges such as insufficient supplies, crime, racist assaults or discrimination (Coleman, 2015). BBC (2016) reports about horrible tragedies in 2015 like the discovery of over 70 dead Syrian

⁶ Update as of 19 October 2016, the numbers are changing daily (IOM, 2016b).

people found in the back of a truck in Austria or a boat off Italy's coast that sunk, leaving about 800 people to drown.

Statistics of Eurostat (2016) display that in all European countries the applications increased from 2014 to 2015. The three countries with the highest amount of applications are Germany, Hungary and Sweden. Countries like Greece, which account for a large number of arrivals, are not at the same time receiving many asylum applications. This can be explained with the fact that the refugees tend to move on to countries in Western Europe where they presume higher economic perspectives (Höhler, 2015). However, countries at the external borders of Europe, especially Greece and Italy have to face an extraordinary burden due to the high amount of people arriving in their countries. Since the countries face themselves economic difficulties the provision of sufficient structures for refugees over-challenges them.

Greece

Most of the people, wanting to seek asylum in Europe in the last decades, arrived in Greece or Italy (Freedman, 2016). Land borders get increasingly secured and people often have no other choice than to come across the ocean. Greece records a high number of arrivals due to the fact that its territory includes many small and big Islands in the Aegean Sea (Lancet, 2014). In 2015 around 860,000 people arrived to Greek Islands by sea, coinciding with the Greek economic recession and high local unemployment rates (Giannakopoulos & Anagnostopoulos, 2016). Already in 2011 many European countries stopped sending back refugees to Greece under the Dublin regulation, because the European Court of Human Rights defined the conditions of reception and asylum processing in the country as undignified in regards to human rights (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). Therefore, the European Commission proposed a relocation scheme for refugees from Greece into other Member States (European Commission, 2016h). The International Rescue Committee (2016) reports that the Greek government “*created temporary housing [but] many of these camps do not meet accepted humanitarian standards*” (para. 1). In March 2016 Macedonia closed its border with Greece and stopped allowing people to travel further North. In September 2016 an estimate of 61,000 people stranded in Greece awaiting an asylum procedure or relocation (UNHCR, 2016g). Many families are spread throughout the EU, not being able to unite (Squires, 2016).

Refugee camps

According to the Cambridge dictionary (2016), a refugee camp is “*a place where people who have escaped their own country can live, usually in bad conditions and only expecting to stay for a limited time*” (para. 1). It is commonly a temporary settlement, set up in an improvised manner, designed to meet basic needs for a short period of time, built and run by either governments, private companies or international organisations like the UNHCR (Chaudhry, 2015; Katz, 2016). It has to be differentiated between closed refugee camps or detention centres, open refugee camps and makeshift camps (Katz, 2016). Closed refugee camps and detention centres are normally run by government authorities and do not allow non-governmental organisations to intervene in the management of the camp. The inhabitants are usually not allowed to leave the camp, or are restricted to certain times (Amnesty International, n.d.). Whereas in detention

centres, in the EU-asylum context, the detainees are awaiting their return procedures and are “*deprived from their liberty*” (European Migration Network, 2014, p.81). Open refugee camps allow the detainees to move freely in and out and sometimes enable NGOs to support the officials with the management (Katz, 2016). Official camps, either open, closed or detention centres are often in arbitrary locations and isolate the people from urban structures (Katz, 2016). People who are refusing to stay in these facilities often build own structures, so called makeshift camps. These provisional spaces can be found all over Europe nowadays and are often demolished by authorities after a short period of time (Katz, 2016). One example is the so called ‘Jungle’ in the North of France, a makeshift camp which at its time hosted around 10,000 people. It was demolished in the end of October 2016 (Jones, 2016).

Talking about Greece, the largest unofficial camp was located close to the city Idomeni and hosted over 10,000 people. In the end of May 2016 the Greek government started to evacuate it and relocated the refugees to other, mostly military-run camps (Saunier, 2016). A lot of criticism is raised considering the conditions of the official camps, that are lacking basic amenities such as running water, showers, electricity, cleanness and much more (Townsend, 2016a). Even the Greek interior minister Panagiotis Kouroubilis expressed that „*[r]efugees in Europe are living in conditions comparable to Nazi concentration camps*“ (Dearden & Worley, 2016, para.1). The camps “*are often appalling and damaging to the physical and the mental health of the detainees*” (Katz, 2016, p.17). The provision of basic supplies like nutritious food, water, accommodation or electricity is not always guaranteed (Cramer-Hadjid, 2014). Challenges that people in these camps have to face are miserable housing, bad hygiene conditions and sanitary facilities, the spread of diseases, a lack of food and water, theft, tensions and violence, overcrowding, dirt, a lack of electricity and much more (Dearden & Worley, 2016; Montgomery, 2015; Landmesser, 2016). In addition, the detainees are “*socially, culturally and linguistically isolated*” (Katz, 2016, p. 18). Some people also end up on the streets, exposed and without shelter, often even getting victims of crime (Cramer-Hadjid, 2014).

After the start of the EU-Turkey agreement people from the Greek islands were brought to camps on the mainland. Every person who arrived later is held in closed detention centres on the islands, awaiting a deportation. The detention in closed facilities applies for everyone, also vulnerable people like children, pregnant women and handicapped or sick people (Human Rights Watch, 2016a). In March 2016 some NGOs such as UNHCR, Médecins Sans Frontières, the International Rescue Committee and Save the Children stopped their operations on the Greek islands to demonstrate against the system of detention and deportation (Banks, 2016). Everyone who arrived before the deal with Turkey has to wait in Greece for registration, hoping for relocation to another European country, family reunification or asylum in Greece (Pro Asyl, 2015). However, the amount of refugees exceeds the capabilities of the Greek authorities, which were already weakened by the economic crisis. Youth unemployment is relatively high and right-wing parties gain power in the parliament due to the dissatisfaction of the population (Cramer-Hadjid, 2014). In 2016 Amnesty International (n.d.) warned of a humanitarian catastrophe and requested of the EU to take responsibility. Up to now, there are over 30 refugee camps in Greece and most of them lack sufficient structures to assure dignified conditions. Apart from the

conditions in refugee camps, there is also the question of legitimacy, the question who is acting in these places and who should be responsible (Katz, 2016). There are many other aspects that need to be considered as well when talking about refugee camps, especially the ones that exist for a long period of time. According to Feldman (2014), they are also humanitarian, political and emotional spaces and “*shape the relationships that emerge among the various actors in these spaces*” (p.250). Different players interact in these settings and tensions as well as positive relations may occur among all of them (Feldman, 2014).

2.4 International volunteers working with refugees in Europe

The previous sections emphasize on the situation for refugees worldwide and in Europe, such as the difficulties and challenges in the asylum systems of the European governments. In response to this crisis a significant mobilization of individual voluntary helpers and organisations from all over the world is developing, which is explained in the next paragraphs (Blaisdell, 2015).

All over Europe volunteers are working together to support refugees in various ways in response to the increasing number of asylum seekers. Some engage for a week or two, others stay for a month or longer. Some quit their jobs, cancel holidays or take extra time off in order to travel to countries like Greece, where the conditions for refugees are particularly bad. Others support refugees in their home countries (Fishwick, 2016; Chaib, 2016).

According to Amnesty International (2015), they are filling gaps resulting from the dysfunctional asylum system of the EU. Without their support it would be nearly impossible to handle the large amounts of people arriving to Europe in the last years (Seibt, 2015). Despite of their importance and outstanding responsibilities most of the organisation do not receive any governmental or international aid and rely on material and financial private donations (Blaisdell, 2015). Most of them are organised in small grass-root organisations or are operating individually. Generally, the volunteers do not receive a salary for their work and even have to cover transport, accommodation and other daily expenses on their own (Walt, 2016). Volunteers operate almost everywhere along the way of refugees in Europe, some even in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. They are supporting refugees on the Greek islands, on the mainland, in refugee camps, along the escape routes and in their final destinations (Urwin, 2016). Many of the people who volunteer in the refugee response are frustrated by the governments’ reaction to the situation, and therefore start to take action themselves (Fishwick, 2016).

For those who engage in the activity it is not only about helping people, in reality it is about treating them in a humane way and showing them that they are welcome in Europe (Amnesty International, 2015). They do not regard their work as charity, but as solidarity with the main purpose of “*re-humanizing a dehumanizing situation*” (Amnesty International, 2015, para. 14). Motivations of volunteers are typically deep compassion with the refugees, frustration about the situation in Europe and how the governments are dealing with it, and solidarity (Walt, 2016). For some people the human suffering was so close and tangible that the possibility of getting active and do something seemed more realistic than ever before. Many, especially young people, come from all over the world to experience the feeling of reduction to essentials and of doing meaningful work. For some it is also a kind of adventure, to see the world and do something

good at the same time while being independent. But also being part of a community that shares a common idea of solidarity motivates many participants. Most of the volunteers become more politically aware in the process of refugee relief (Löffler, 2016).

Their work fields vary from the distribution of food, water, and clothing over the provision of medical or psychological treatment, education, entertainment and information up to the building of shelters or other necessary structures or support with visits to public offices (Amnesty International, 2015; Seibt, 2015; Urwin, 2016). Another important aspect of their work is the defence of human rights for refugees. They seek to find ways to sustain *"dignity, hope, respect, and empathy within the refugee centres and between them and the local environment"* (AYS, 2016, n.p.). In some cases their work is particularly important, for example in illegal refugee settlements, such as the so called Jungle of Calais in the North of France. Since it was defined as an illegal refugee camp established organisations with political mandates do not have legal capacity to act. In this case only grass-root volunteer organisations were capable of providing necessary support in the camps (Walt, 2016). In general the small, newly launched aid organisations have the advantage to be flexible in operational terms, in comparison to the big established organisations, who cannot act quickly in most cases (Fishwick, 2016).

Within their daily work volunteers have to face many challenges, such as conflicts with opponents, political extremism and xenophobia (AYS, 2016). Often, small organisations are characterized by a lack of formal structure and experience. Participants are usually not chosen by a selection procedure and not prepared for their work or trained for the specific context. Some attempts were made to organize the work, for example on social media where volunteer-guidebooks and information about volunteering in refugee relief can be found. However, there is still a need of best-practice and guidance (Bouikidis, 2013). Almost all of the volunteers are confronted with the complicated, traumatic psychological state of many refugees, however the major part of them is not skilled or experienced in providing professional support regarding that issue. Especially after the closure of the Macedonian border and the beginning of the EU-Turkey deal the work fields of many volunteers changed. Before they were providing immediate relief such as food, medication or clothing. With the refugee agreement their work fields changed significantly. The focus shifted to long term relief, like the creation of structures in the fields of education, training and housing. Additional duties are the handling of traumas, the protection of children, especially the prevention of their engagement into criminal activities, and consultation about asylum processes (ASY, 2016).

Particularly refugee camps are very difficult work environments for inexperienced volunteers. Many factors have to be considered, such as cultural backgrounds of inhabitants, tensions between different groups of refugees or other actors such as child and women protection. Additionally, there are different governmental and non-governmental organisations operating in a camp. It is often a complex network of numerous actors. There are various authorities, responsibilities and power relations related to programs and interests of other NGOs that need to be identified. For a small grass-root organisation it is also important to establish credibility to other NGOs and the refugees. Tensions and conflicts may occur between all of the people interacting in a refugee camp (Alam, 2011-2012).

As for many aspects in volunteering, there may also be a negative aspect of their work in refugee camps. Löffler (2016) mentions groups of activists who are exploiting refugees for their own political agenda. Bilal (2016) criticizes people visiting the camp as kind of a tourist attraction and taking pictures and videos, especially of children. Meanwhile, they claim that they came to understand the situation and raise awareness, however do not seem to understand the situation. His appeal to all of these people is: *"Don't be a tourist in refugee camps, a place of broken dreams is not a place for your tourism."* (Bilal, 2016, n.p.). In the Calais refugee camp male and female volunteers were accused to have sexual relationships with refugees, some of them under-aged. There were also reports of volunteers engaging with 'camp' prostitutes. Some people equate the behaviour of these volunteers with sex tourism. Worse enough in the case of unofficial camps it is difficult to control the situation, because there is no authority to check who is entering the camp. This is also a potential threat to children. The NGOs highly disagree with any kind of sexual interaction between refugees and volunteers and call it exploitative since their relationship is not based on equality. Yet, there were also reports about volunteers engaging in serious relationships with refugees, even until marriage (Bulma, 2016; Boyle, 2016; Gillespie, 2016). Julian (2016) criticizes the paternal or authoritarian mindset among volunteers, who are acting in privileged positions. He describes these young people from Western societies who are operating in a context where they end up telling refugees what to do, how to behave and thereby restricting them in their autonomy. As an example he names the process of having people stand in line to wait for the distribution of clothing, medication or food, which is a highly inhumane situation. He states that dignity should be given more weight than practicalities and criticizes non-political volunteers who operate within the given system and become tools of governments, only responding to the immediate need of refugees and not demanding political change.

Papataxiarchis (2016) analyses the flows of people and objects, that are interacting in a village on the island Lesbos, from different perspectives. The study reveals a great diversity of actors operating in the same context, an encounter of East and West, a rapid increase of foreign visitors at once with the refugees. His opinion about some of the actors is rather critical and he describes the arrival of refugee boats as being celebrated like a festival by volunteers, who are all seeking to be at the front line, motivated by a mix of compassion and curiosity. It seems to a special value to the helpers, which he defines more as an obsession. Another group of people are the e-volunteers, people who are very focused on taking pictures and informing on social media channels about the situation, but also about the person's specific role in it. Lastly, also some of the locals have their own benefits in mind and try to profit of something he calls humanitarian tourism. He predicts that this situation is a mini theatre of conflicts, which is exemplary for the whole of Europe. The terms "*voluntourist*" or "*voluntourism*" are often used negatively in order to describe volunteers who rather walk around taking picture or come only for a short period of time, donating things that are not needed (Urwin, 2016, para 7; Gentleman, 2015, para. 27). Especially when it comes to inexperienced, unskilled volunteers the question arises if their presence can even contribute or if it would be more beneficial to simply donate the money they spent on coming. This raises also the question if the motivation of some volunteers is too much influenced by egocentric expectations (Peirce, 2016).

3. Interim summary

The secondary data elaborated in the first two chapters serve as a theoretical framework, which forms a necessary basis to answer the research questions of this study.

The paper aims to understand the current status of international volunteers working with refugees in Europe and in particular the way their work is characterized. The volunteer is the main actor within the research context. Thus, the first chapter emphasizes on the phenomena volunteering and its extensive dimensions and categories. Even though, the study regards mainly international volunteers it was important to regard first the current research about volunteering as such, because it forms the basis for all the following theories. Besides, more research has been conducted in the area of national volunteering than in the fields of international volunteering and voluntourism.

The first part outlines the multidisciplinary nature of the phenomena under consideration. The definitions have in common that it is a voluntary activity, generally with no financial remuneration, that occurs in a variety of fields. A context in which it is predominantly found is the social sector with a focus on helping others. This is sometimes defined as an altruistic act in line with social values, however in other cases the motivations are also based on personal benefits for the volunteer, like self-development, learning or career opportunities. The data shows as well that a voluntary activity can have various effects on different stakeholders. A matrix of the Institute for Volunteering Research (2004) is introduced to outline those and can be applied in an international context as well. It also becomes clear that volunteering can happen under different paradigms, which define the participants, their structure and their actions.

In a next step, a trans-boundary component is added with the section about international volunteering. While most of the volunteers' motives are more or less the same as for national volunteering, an important aspect has to be added: the quest for the new. Participants also want to see and experience other cultures and people outside of their place of residence. Together with this new component the impacts are also discussed much more. A focus lies on the potential negative aspects of volunteering, relating to cultural misunderstandings within the interactions with local communities. Some researchers even condemn it as imperialism or colonialism, because the participants are usually from Western countries and travel to developing countries to support them, assuming that they know more than the local communities. Proponents highlight advantages like the intercultural exchange, enhanced understanding and the gain of new perspectives. For the UN international volunteering is defined as a tool for the support of peace and development and has more characteristics of a professional job in humanitarian aid than a voluntary activity.

In a next step a category about voluntourism is added. In comparison to the other kinds of volunteering, its structure is often company-run, thus the focus lies on the fulfilment of the participant's expectation rather than the impact on the place where it is operating. Also here a lot of critical voices are raised, criticizing in particular the short-term stays and the lack of preparation of the voluntourists. The fact that it is much more commercial seems to influence the altruistic nature of the activity.

Moreover, the two international fields of volunteering are compared. The section concludes that voluntourism is more a holiday including a voluntary activity. Participants usually do not have specific skills and the main desired outcome may be their personal gain. International volunteering however, cooperates often with communities and the participants use their expertise to develop and build capacities. Community development seems to be the main motivation.

These sections are particularly helpful to frame the knowledge and understanding of the study objective, because international volunteers operating in refugee relief may be placed in either of them. They help to interpret the international character of volunteering and are useful to get an initial overview of the phenomena that recently occurred in Europe as a response to the growing number of asylum seekers.

After that, a section about research on volunteering with refugees helps to understand the main challenges and structures of the field. Current academic studies regard the topic only on a national level. But, it can be assumed that the characteristics found in these theories show parallels to international volunteering. There might even be more aspects that need to be considered and added when it comes to the transnational nature of volunteering. Nevertheless, the material is important to understand the main aspects of the work with refugees and challenges that might arise.

The second chapter presents an overview of the socio-political discourse of refugee movements worldwide and in Europe. It is important to understand the underlying dilemma of this study, and the context such as the legal framework, in which international volunteering in refugee relief takes place. By giving an idea about the situation it is possible to get an insight of the complexity of the topic. This way it is easier to understand the extent of the situation and the motives for people to engage in the field and to understand the challenges, that they have to face in their work. It also highlights the responsibilities of the European governments and their failure to commit to them. From there the importance of international volunteers becomes evident, because they take over duties that could not be covered by the official authorities.

The current political agreements are also described in order to explain the geographical focus of this study on a refugee camp in Greece. It shows that the country, due to its location, has been one of the most affected by the waves of people seeking refuge in Europe. Also because of its own economic problems, Greece is heavily over challenged in dealing with the situation. But also other countries are struggling to provide appropriate structures to asylum seekers.

The outlined research on current articles and information on other media channels shows that refugees in Greece have to face miserable circumstances and live under inhumane conditions. In regards to the setting of this study it was also important to specify the term refugee camp to understand the particularities of the research environment.

Then, addressing the first research question, an overview of the characteristics of international volunteering within the context of refugee relief in Europe is given. The phenomena is the response of European citizens to the crisis that was described in the previous chapters. As a basis for the second research question information about people engaging in volunteering with refugees are listed. The research shows that people come from different backgrounds and engage in various fields, many take over immediate relief tasks, in the area of rescue, medical aid, food

or clothing provision or shelter. They are motivated by their frustration about the failure of European politics and their compassion, moreover solidarity with the refugees. The focus on political awareness seems to be much stronger in this field of international volunteering than in others. It becomes clear that the volunteers have to face many challenges in their daily work, related to xenophobia and conflicts with authorities but also due to a lack of knowledge and experience in the field of refugee relief. Additionally, it is striking that most of the volunteering organisations are very new and therefore do not have formal structures to organize their work efficiently yet. Also in this field, critical voices are raised and international volunteers are accused of exploiting refugees for their own agendas, of having an authoritarian mindset and of showing a lack of political will. In the context of refugee relief, the terms voluntourism and voluntourists are used often to describe negative aspects. People, who come to the camps, walk around and take pictures, distribute unnecessary items in an unstructured way or stay only a short amount of time are criticized. There are many actors operating in the field of refugee relief and some vary enormously from others. This awareness is important for the further process of the research. It is taken into consideration that there might be significant differences in the motivations and perceptions of people who travel abroad to support refugees.

In summary, the first two chapters elaborate primarily a broad understanding of the term volunteering and its international components and secondly an overview of the current socio-political situation for refugees worldwide and in Europe such as volunteers working within this field. Herewith, the two most important terms for this research are covered in an attempt to create an apprehension of the framework in which the study takes place. It was used by the researcher to prepare the data collection and analysis, but also serves the reader to understand the thematic environment of this study.

Volunteering is highly multidisciplinary and can be classified in many different ways. When it comes to volunteering in other countries much more aspects need to be respected. Furthermore, the differences and similarities of international volunteering and voluntourism are outlined, because it is important for the objectives of this study to distinguish them. All in all, the theoretical sections clarify that transnational volunteering can have many negative aspects and has to be done with care.

The current socio-political context underlines the relevance of this study. It shows that the European system as such cannot provide sufficient support for those who are arriving in Europe. That is the reason for the phenomena of international volunteer flows that travel to Greece, Italy, Hungary or France in order to show their solidarity and support refugees. In addition, it serves to depict the broad image of what is happening in the last years in the refugee response.

The next part regards one particular setting as an example, a refugee camp in Greece, and analyses the work of international volunteers in this context to get an understanding of their work, experience, perceptions and interactions.

4. Case description – Camp Katsikas

This research aims to characterise the work of international volunteers in refugee relief based on the case of a refugee camp in Western Greece in the small village Katsikas, close to the city of Ioannina. The information in this part is retrieved from the observations of the researcher (see appendix A). Table four shows the refugee camps in Northern Greece and highlights the camp under consideration.

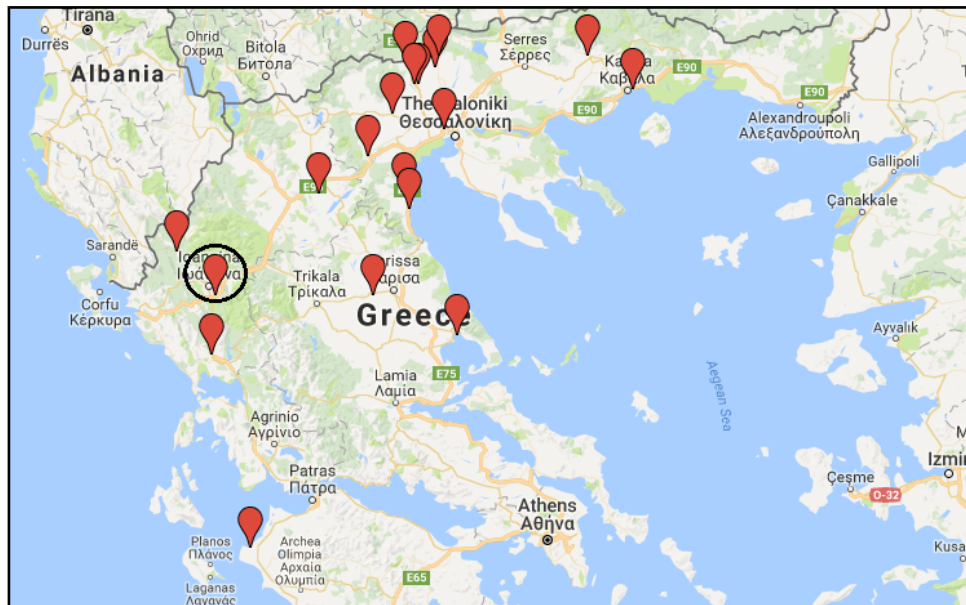


Figure 4: Refugee camps in Northern Greece (info for volunteers). Source: Google (2016).

The refugee camp in Katsikas was established in the end of March 2016 and at that time hosted around 1000 refugees, who were brought to the camp from the islands and Athens. All of them entered the European territory before the start of the EU-Turkey agreement, and therefore were not subject to deportation. The camp consisted only of tents and basic infrastructure such as mobile toilets, showers and water taps providing only cold water.

The police shared two containers with some NGOs, where they stored their equipment. In one tent of the Red Cross a doctor was offering consultation at certain times. The ground of the whole camp area was covered with big white gravel stones, which made it difficult to walk and to sleep on the floor without a mattress. The interior space of the tents was covered with plastic blankets only. Some people had their own underlays, mats or sleeping bags, others did not and had to sleep under these conditions. In March and April the nights were still very cold and the tents did not have any heating system or electricity. Only one tent with various plugs was provided for people to charge their phones and other items. Food was distributed by the Greek military three times a day. Usually it was the same dish every day and it showed a lack of vitamins and nutrition. For infants or people with specific diet needs no extra food was provided. Also there were no kitchen facilities in the camp, thus people did not have the possibility to prepare they own food. Slowly the authorities provided more items for the tents, like field beds and blankets, the food distribution was covered by a catering company and more infrastructure

was built, for example showers and bathrooms with hot water. However, the situation remained critical and the camp inhabitants were demonstrating against the bad conditions. At a certain point, they blocked the local highway in order to attract the attention of the authorities. After having slept there for a night the crowd of people got dispersed by riot police and several people were arrested, among them minors and volunteers. This happening is a good example for the frustration and desperation that people living in this camp experienced. From time to time, buses with other refugees arrived to the camp. They came from Athens and were promised by officials to get accommodation in normal housing. When they arrived in Katsikas and saw the camp's bad conditions, they refused to get off the vehicles. Sometimes these people, under them many women and children, were waiting in the buses for three days and nights, before they were finally brought to another place.

The number of inhabitants in the camp reduced over time, because some people moved on to the cities, tried to cross the borders illegally or were brought to other camps. According to the camp coordinator, 550 people were living in the camp in August 2016. After that date, more people got relocated from the camp to different shelters in hotels, because the weather in winter makes it impossible to live in tents. In November 2016 the Greek authorities provided the camp with containers for people to live in. The official management of the camp was controlled by the Greek government and the vice mayor of the village responsible for the coordination. Police and military forces were present in the camp all the time. Established organisations such as the UNHCR, IOM, Oxfam, Médecins sans frontières (MSF), Médecins du Monde (MDM) and Mercy Corps arrived after a couple of months to support the government's operations in structural work and medical aid. Additionally, a number of smaller non-governmental organisations were present covering diverse fields of action as showed in the following table.

Organization	Tasks	Country of origin
AIRE	Immediate crisis response, warehouse management, distribution of donations in kind	Spain
Arsis	Social support of youth, defend of youth rights	Greece
CALAIID	Organisational work, distribution of medication, clothing, provision of infrastructure	United Kingdom
Independent volunteers	Support in all available tasks of the other organisations	Various countries
Khalsaid	Cooking	United Kingdom/India
Lighthouse Relief	Long term relief for vulnerable groups such as women and children, building infrastructure such as women facilities (yoga tent, women bathing area), constructions and management of school facilities, tea distribution	Sweden
Olvidados	Distribution of clothing and food, run a shop in the camp where people get items for free, provision of baby food and other items for infants	Spain
Pangea	Education, nutrition, support of vulnerable groups such as women and children	Spain
Soup and Socks	Cooking, provision of workshops, vocational training, organizational tasks	Germany

Table 4: Overview of grass-root organisations operating in the refugee camp. Source: Own research.

To manage all the operations and volunteers, one weekly meeting, and shorter daily meetings were organized by an independent volunteer, who was working in the camp since its

establishment in March. Each Sunday new volunteers were given a short introduction of the camp, rules, and tasks. Then, activities were allocated to all voluntary workers, some required long-term participants, most of them involved direct contact with the people, nursing or teaching, others were covered each day by a different person, like sorting clothing in the warehouse or supervising the library. New arrivals also got a tour through the camp on their first day in order to get an initial orientation of the environment. The focus of these meetings was mainly on giving volunteers an orientation and organizing the different fields of work.

Through the support and collaboration of various small and big organisations, many structures have been established in the camp such as a library, a school and child-care centre, language courses for adults and children, a workshop offering tools and vocational training, a cinema tent, a shop for free clothing and other items, a scout group, a washing station, medical support, leisure activities, support for pregnant women and small infants and excursions. All of these offers were developed, funded and performed by grass-root organisations. The Greek authorities in collaboration with the established NGOs were providing additional items for the tents, Internet and sanitary structures. In August UNHCR and Oxfam built many new tents, which were said to be better suited for rough weather conditions. However the camp community rejected to move into them, demanding proper housing for the winter months.

Once a week another meeting was organized by the Greek officials where all volunteer organisations and representatives of the refugees participated. This meeting focused mainly on required facilities, services or resources and responsibilities. This meeting often turned out to be quite chaotic, because of a lack of mutual understanding. Usually accusations were raised between Greek authorities, established NGOs, small NGOs, independent volunteers and camp inhabitants. For that reason these meetings tended to be very long and confusing. As a response to the challenges within this assembly, all NGOs decided to meet once a week prior to it in order to match their demands and prepare their strategy before discussing it with the Greek authorities. It emphasized on informing each other about ongoing operations, challenges and the development of a common state of mind.

This whole situation gives an example of the high complexity that occurs in a refugee camp due to a high number of different stakeholders that all need to communicate and collaborate with each other. Considering the international volunteers a certain kind of fluctuation was identified. Many people from all over the world were supporting the daily tasks in the camp or organizing individual small projects. People came from Finland, Denmark, England, Ireland, Belgium, Spain, Chile, the United States, France, Morocco, Australia, Germany and many more countries to visit the camp. Some of them stayed a couple of months, others only one or two weeks. Many collected funds before coming and were looking for the possibility to donate them directly to people or invest them in a volunteer organisation's project.

5. Methodology

This chapter describes the design of the study relating to the research purpose, paradigm and the set of guidelines and methods that were used to conduct the examination, from the procedure of instrument design over data collection up to the analysis of the collected data.

5.1 Research design

Before starting to describe the empirical research methods, it is important to outline the research design, which forms the action plan of this academic work (Rowley, 2002). The next sections outline the research purpose, paradigm and type. Lastly, the instruments used for data collection are described.

Research purpose

The main purpose of this study is to examine the status of international volunteers working in refugee relief in Europe with the example of a refugee camp in Greece. The subject is relatively new and therefore not much research has been conducted in this particular field. In order to understand the comprehensive context of the situation the first two chapters give an overview of the two important key topics, volunteering and the situation of refugees in Europe. The first part describes the current state of research, such as models relating to volunteering, international volunteering and voluntourism. The second chapter explains the causes, legislations and challenges of the complex topic regarding refugees. Based on that, it becomes clear that structures, motives, perceptions and challenges of international volunteers working with refugees in Europe are still largely unknown, especially when it comes to grass-root organisations and individual volunteers. Yet, when looking at the current international developments, the assumptions can be made that people from all over the world will continue to seek asylum in Europe and that volunteers, working within this field, are covering a range of essential tasks. Therefore, it is important to understand the characteristics and contribution of the volunteers' work within this field. In order to assess the study objective the following two research questions were formulated.

1) What is the current status of international volunteers working in the refugee response in Europe?

2) How do international volunteers perceive the characteristics of their work in refugee camps?

The first question is covered partly in the chapter above by an online research regarding current articles, webpages, blogs and other social media channels to create an overview of the actual situation in Europe, list various organisations and describe the characteristics, structures, critics and challenges of their voluntary work. It helps to identify the broader framework in which volunteering takes place. In a next step the case of one particular setting, a refugee camp in Greece, is regarded as an example for the work of international volunteers. Concerning this context the next subsequent question and sub-questions have to be explained. The second

question intends to explore the structures, motivations and experiences of people who travel to Greece in order to volunteer in refugee camps. Additionally, it aims to detect challenges and chances in their work and in the interactions with others. Lastly, the objective is as well to discover the volunteers' personal perception about their engagement.

Research Paradigm

This research is underpinned by the interpretive social sciences or constructivist paradigm. It seeks to achieve an empathetic understanding of a condition with an inductive approach. Furthermore, it assumes that there are multiple realities and aims to explain a phenomenon in order to create an initial basis for theory building. Empirical materials are collected from an insider's perspective in real world settings. Through this participation the multiple realities can be revealed and views of different actors can be identified and equally valued. That means the researcher becomes a social actor within the field of research in an attempt to understand its various realities. Values are intrinsically embedded within the research since it is defined to be a social process (Jennings, 2001; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

The context of volunteering in refugee camps is characterized by a high complexity within multiple realities due to the presence of numerous people from various backgrounds that are interacting in this small space. This complexity needs to be unravelled by qualitative research in order to make it accessible for further research. One of the many actors present in refugee camps are the volunteers. The researcher was a social member of the study group and used to interact with different people within the research context to understand different positions, perceptions and structures of international volunteers in refugee relief. This way knowledge of their work was developed based on observation, interactions and interviews.

Research type

For this academic work a qualitative research strategy is chosen, because it follows an exploratory approach, and thus can examine the partly unknown field of international volunteering in refugee relief and its characteristics. It takes an inductive or bottom-up approach in which assumptions are generated from the collected data. It understands the reality of a phenomena as socially constructed by interactions between individuals and tries to unravel them in order to gain insights of the social setting (Stebbins, 2001). The case of the refugee camp in Greece is part of the broader social phenomena which occurs recently throughout Europe and was studied on site through observations and semi-structured interviews. Other than research that tries to prove or disprove a hypothesis, qualitative methods may discover unexpected aspects and lead the research to further, even new, directions (Stebbins, 1991). A framework of previously developed knowledge on volunteering and volunteering in refugee relief is elaborated in the first chapters to serve as a basis and also allow comparison with the findings.

Research Instruments

The main instrument chosen for this research are semi-structured interviews preceded by an observation of the social setting.

The observations were conducted from the 11th until the 20th of August in the refugee camp in Katsikas, presented in the previous chapter. They documented behaviour, facts and conversations between volunteers in various occasions in the warehouse, during meetings and while working. The method was chosen because it enables the researcher to gather knowledge about the behaviour of people in their normal social setting. The researcher easily gained entry in the social community and knew the different members and key informants because of former participation in the field. The observations provided a valuable context to further develop and adjust the interview framework and helped to get a holistic understanding of the phenomena in order to increase the internal validity of the study. The data was captured in field notes (see appendix B), that describe the observed such as interactions between participants, activities, conversations and meetings (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Based on the observations and the theoretical framework semi-structured interviews were developed as the main research instrument. A semi-structured interview is a “*verbal interchange where one person [...] attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions*” (Longhurst, 2003, p.143). They have a conversational and informal character and allow open responses in the interviewees own words and own perspectives. This instrument is often used in qualitative research because it offers participants the chance to add and talk about issues that they value as important (Longhurst, 2003; Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Longhurst (2003) states that talking is an excellent way to gather information about a situation, yet it has to be done in a way that pays attention, is non-judgemental and allows different opinions. A defined set of themes and questions was developed prior to the interview based on the elaborated literature and observations of the researcher. It served as an interview guide and led the conversations, but also allowed variance. Through the structured nature of the interviews and a clear set of instructions the research “*can provide reliable, comparable qualitative data*” (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006; para.2).

The object of research regards the characteristics of the work of international volunteers and their perceptions, which is a very subjective topic and can be regarded from various perspectives. Therefore, the instrument choice seemed suitable to develop valuable results. It allows to research on the multiple realities and interactions that occur in the setting of a refugee camp. The following set of themes has been used to guide the interviews with volunteers and to assure a focus on the main important topics.

Theme	Questions
Demographics	What is the personal and professional background of the participants? Were they formerly or currently engaged in voluntary work? What profession do they have?
Preparation	What has been done or learned prior of arrival (about work with refugees/about the local culture)?
Characteristics of work	Are the participants members of a volunteering organization? In which field of work do they operate? How long do they stay? How is the work organized?
Motivations	What are the reasons for engaging in volunteering in general/and in Greece? Why here and not elsewhere?
Challenges	Are there any difficulties within the context of work (structural, emotional, interpersonal)?
Interactions	How are the interactions between different actors in the refugee camp (grass root organisations, established NGOs camp community, authorities, Greeks, other locals)?
Perception of others	How is the work of others perceived? Are there any tensions and/or collaborations?
Self-perception	How do the participants perceive their work, role and responsibility within the whole context?

Tabelle 5: Interview guide. Set of themes and subquestions. Source: Own research.

5.2 Data collection

The following section describes the procedure of data collection from the process of designing the interviews, over the criteria for participant selections and the conduct of interviews, up to the limitations of the method.

Interview data collection

Before designing the sample for a research, the type of universe and sampling unit, size and type has to be defined (Kothari, 2004).

This study is using an infinite type of universe or set of objectives, since it regards all international volunteers engaging in refugee relief and their total number is unknown due to its unpredictable and fast changing character (Kothari, 2004). Additionally, it is important to define the sampling unit that forms the basis of available samples. In this research the geographical sampling unit is a refugee camp close to the village Katsikas in Greece. However, one element of the sample is not located in the unit. The reason for that was mainly the profession and accessibility of the interviewee and is explained more in detail in the following section.

A non-probability sample was used for the purpose of this research. Subjects for the interviews were selected on the basis of the personal judgement of the researcher. More specifically it was a convenience sampling, because participants were chosen according to their accessibility and personal characteristics. These kinds of samplings are often used in qualitative research and seemed adequate to develop assumption about the whole mass of international volunteers working in refugee camps (Kothari, 2004). In qualitative research it is hard to define the optimum number of interviews that should be taken. In fact it depends on the research focus and whether similarities, differences, characteristics and uniqueness can be elaborated (Baker & Doidge, 2012). For the purpose and scale of this research a total number of 16 interviews were conducted. One of them in Germany on the 1st of July 2016, and the others in the refugee camp in Katsikas between the 13th and 20th of August.

Interview selection criteria

Selection criteria depended on two main aspects. Firstly, the person had to be involved in voluntary work in the refugee camp, whether as a member of an organization or as an independent volunteer. Secondly the researcher aimed to interview participants from different age-groups and different nationalities. The selection was made based on the observations conducted in the camp. Some interviewees were known already to the researcher, others were randomly asked in the camp if they would be available for an interview.

One exception was made as stated above: a participant was interviewed in a different setting and according to different selection procedures. The person was mainly chosen for his profession in the UNV programme. The purpose was to add the perspective of a professional working in the field. The person was easier to access outside of the refugee camp setting. Professionals working at the refugee camp were usually very busy and difficult to reach. The interview guide described in the previous chapter remained the same. Due to ethical responsibilities the names of the interviewees have been anonymised as some of them wished not to be mentioned with their name. For the purpose of this study they were named participant 1 -16.

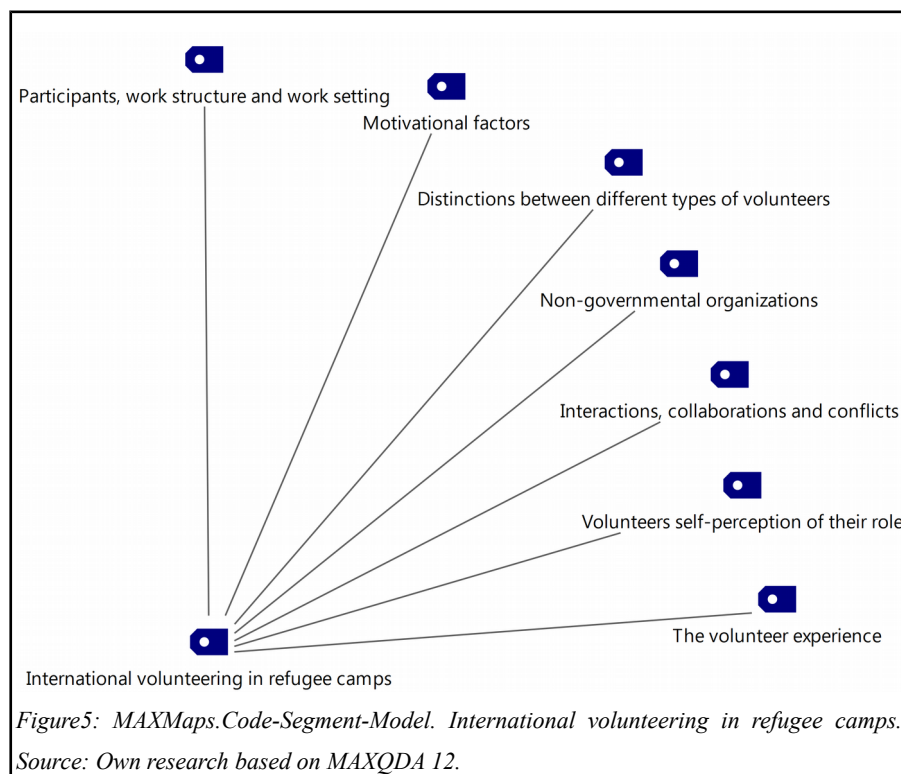
Performance of interviews

The interview with participant number 1 was conducted in a familiar atmosphere in a restaurant in Bonn, Germany. The interviews with participants 2-16 were conducted in the Greek village Katsikas. Participants 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15 and 16 were interviewed in their free time in a workshop building, which also serves as a living space for the team members of the volunteer organisation *Soup and Socks e.V.*. The atmosphere for the interviews was cosy and familiar, in the backyard of the building, where no one else was able to listen or disturb the procedure. Participant 5 was interviewed in the warehouse of the organization *Olvidados* in a work break. The interview with participant 7,8,13 and 14 was conducted in a quiet corner in the refugee camp. Sometimes some people and children were interfering and asking question, in this case the interview was stopped for a while and continued shortly after. It did not significantly disturb the quality of the interview, in fact in some cases the interviewees had more time to reflect on a question and the answers, after short breaks, were longer and more detailed. Participant 9 was interviewed in a restaurant. Also in this setting the atmosphere was familiar and informal. In all the cases the researcher started with some small talk in order to loosen up the tension that builds often when people are interviewed. After a couple of minutes of just chatting the actual interview started while the microphone was already turned on. Like that the familiar conversation did not have to be disturbed by the researchers attempt to turn on the recording device. All the interviewees seemed relaxed and confident about their participation in the interview. Additionally, they all liked the described research topic and assessed it as very valuable for the future.

All interviews were recorded with a smart phone and, shortly after, transcribed. The text was smoothed for better understanding and typed in accordance with the APA transcription guidelines (Humble, n.d.). Later the text was embedded in the software for qualitative data analysis called MAXQDA12 that was used for the post processing of the interviews (MAXQDA, n.d.).

5.3 Data analysis

Thematic analysis was used to identify, examine and report characteristics about the collected data and organize it in detail using the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA 12 (Braun & Clarke, 2006; MAXQDA, n.d.). Through data familiarization, theme generation, coding, and constant revision, different patterns were identified. Thematic coding is a theory-oriented method which is used to analyse data in a structured way. Accordingly, the existing literature was used to prepare observations and interviews. In a first step, the interviews were scanned several times in order to get familiar with the content. Then, broad themes were examined based on, but not limited to, the themes of the initial interview guideline. During the analysis the themes were altered several times until they covered all significant topics in a logical manner. Figure five shows these groups, which are the most basic part of the data and help to categorize the chunk of information into meaningful groups.



Then sub-codes were assigned to important or characteristic parts of the data, in some cases they consisted only of some words, in others of whole sentences or paragraphs. One code could be assigned to different themes and vice versa. Initially, a lot of potentially interesting fields were coded, that were combined, changed or deleted later on. After a detailed process of rechecking and elaborating the data, a final set of themes and sub-codes, that help to respond to the research question, was selected. Then, each group was given a designation and was analysed once more, elaborating the particular characteristics, for an instance differences in opinions or perceptions, of each theme (Braun & Clark, 2006; Kuckartz, 2007). The interview of the first interviewee was regarded separately as the categories and codes did not apply in some cases. The data retrieved

from his interview were rather used to frame the accounts of the volunteers and elucidate an additional point of view such as focus on potential criticism.

Lastly, all data that were elaborated in this research, primary (observations and interviews) and secondary (previous research and socio-political discourse) were combined in order to illustrate the whole picture of the phenomena and answer the research questions. Therefore, the method of triangulation was used to regard the research questions from different perspectives and increase the validity. The term triangulation indicates that the study objective is researched from at least two sides, in this case it is done with theoretical knowledge, interviews, one from the perspective of a professional volunteer and the others of individual or self-organized volunteers, and field observations. This way the scientific knowledge of this study was increased by adding different perspectives (Flick, 2009).

6. Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the 16 conducted interviews and the field observations, that serve to elaborate the status of international volunteers in Europe and the particular characteristics of their work. The secondary data outlines an appropriate framework to comprehend the broader context of the phenomena and which served in the preparation process of the data collection and analysis. In a next step, the primary data was filtered in order to detect significant findings, which are further discussed in the next chapter.

The findings are arranged in seven different categories and their subcategories, which were classified during the qualitative data analysis process with the software MAXQDA12. Each sections starts with a representative quote that relates to the topic of the category. Then, it presents the findings of the interview data and combines them, if applicable, with the observations made by the researcher and the accounts of the interview with the employee of the UNV programme, in order to add other perspectives.

In the following the abbreviation P is used for participant. The interviews are cited referring to the participant number and corresponding paragraph. For data that were acquired during the observation a field diary is used as reference, indicated with the abbreviation FD1. The full interviews and the field diary are attached in appendix 1 & 2.

6.1 Participants, work structure and setting

“But there is a lot of groups, English people, German people, Spanish people, Greek, the Greek social kitchen, so there is so many groups helping the refugees.” (P3, para.3).

This section provides basic information about the volunteers who participated in the interviews. It regards demographic, academic and professional background information, their tasks in the camp, their length of stay, such as their ways of preparing for the work. The sections serve to create a first impression about the people who participated in the research and their roles in the camp. Lastly it reveals their perceptions about their particular work setting in the refugee camp.

Former engagement

For most of the interviewees it is not the first time to volunteer in refugee relief, only P14 and 15 never engaged in a voluntary activity with asylum seekers before. A few people are engaged in the work with migrants in their home countries by teaching language courses or working in shelters (P6, 5, 12 & 11). Particularly interesting is the fact, that six people already worked once in the refugee camp under consideration and returned for the second time (P2, 4, 10, 11, 12 & 15). The others started in recent years to travel to other countries all over Europe to support asylum seekers. P2 volunteered in Hungary and Athens before coming to the camp in Katsikas. Another person was engaged in activities in Athens, the Greek island Chios and Turkey (P3). Others worked in the big refugee settlement in France, close to the village Calais (P5 & P7). Further areas of voluntary engagement mentioned were food distribution to the homeless (P10), arts education in schools (P15), demonstrations and petitions in the field of sustainability (P2) and political activism (P3). Some participants were also involved in volunteering abroad. The locations and activities range from youth work in South Africa (P6), over English lessons in Bolivia (P5), nutrition consulting in Kongo and Niger (P3), up to teaching and playing with children in slums in Chile (P16). To sum it up, most of the interviewees were already engaged in various volunteering activities on a national and/or international level. Only two participants have not engaged in activities that can be defined as volunteering, even though they mentioned blood donations (P14) and a civil service with disabled people (P4).

Preparation

The UNV employee stated that preparation is one of the most important aspects of the volunteering cycle. Their programme provides inductions and counselling for participants prior and during their stay in order to provide technical and cultural knowledge and guidance throughout their work. It also seems to be important to “*give them a more realistic picture of what [they] do*” (P1, para. 51). P13, who worked in development cooperation before, also stressed the importance of informing the volunteers beforehand on how to act and work with people in the context of a refugee settlement. She remarked that the way of acting can have severe implications on others and volunteers should be taught how to work in an appropriate way (P13). However, 6 out of 15 participants did not prepare anything in particular, prior to the arrival to the refugee camp, apart from reading news (P 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 & 16). P4 only got informed a bit about local behaviours and traditions of the people living in the camp. For the rest, he stated that it is basically a “*learning by doing thing*” (para. 44) and one learns things by watching people how they behave. P9 mentioned a guide in the internet about the camp which gives access to information. Some people used online resources such as facebook groups to get informed about the camp, however with a focus on the volunteering work, in terms of what to bring, how to get there and where to sleep, rather than the political situation in Greece or cultural aspects about the asylum seekers (P5 & 7). One interviewee already gained a lot of knowledge through her academic context (P6). Another problem that occurred was the lack of communication with the organisations on site. Some people tried to contact them to get some information upon arrival, but did not get replies (P10 & 11).

Length of stay

Talking about the length of stay the participants are polarized, the majority is staying a relatively short time between two and four weeks (P4,5,6,7,8,10,12,14, 15 & 16), whereas the other half does not express a definite return date or did not have a set time frame (P 2,3,9,11 & 13). All of those staying for an indefinite amount of time have studied something related to their work in the camp. Their nationality does not seem to make a difference in this context. The observation can underline the results of the interviews. It was noted that there is a high fluctuation of people who engage for a couple of weeks during their holidays. On the other hand there are people, who form the basis of the daily work, they are usually committed long-term and many of them say, that they stay as long as the refugees (FD1). P1 states that they “*don’t work with people for only two weeks*” (para.37) and that volunteers usually engage about two years at least. Here he draws the distinction between professional international volunteers and others.

P	Organization	Academic background	Profession	Field of work in refugee camp
2	Soup & Socks	International social work	Development aid in medical support	Cooking (formerly), Organisational work, management of workshop, vocational trainings
3	Independent	Biochemistry and nutrition	University Professor	Cooking (formerly), consultation in nutrition, translations
4	Soup & Socks	Apprenticeship	Chef	Head Chef
5	Independent	-	-	Warehouse
6	Soup & Socks	Social work	Student	Teaching, management of workshop, vocational trainings
7	AIRE	-	Nurse	Nursing
8	Olvidados	Journalism	Journalist for NGOs and development cooperation	Communication (fundraising, webpage, blog) for <i>Olvidados</i>
9	Independent	-	-	Coordination of volunteers
10	Independent	Anthropology	Student	Distribution of food & items for babies, coordination of library, photo-project
11	Independent	Anthropology	Student	Distribution of food & items for babies, coordination of library, photo-project
12	Soup & Socks	Film & Media	Student	Cooking (formerly), filming, management of workshop, vocational trainings
13	Lighthouse Relief	-	Research about rehabilitation of people in difficult settings	Construction and management of a community school
14	Olvidados	Business	Student	Teaching maths, various other tasks (distribution of baby food, shop management, doorman for warehouse)
15	Independent	-	Sculpture, machinist, fabricator	Construction of necessary structures for the camp and the workshop
16	Soup & Socks	Design	Student	Product design, management of workshop, trainings

Table 6: Characteristics of interview participants. Source: Own research.

Characteristics

The age of the participants ranges from 21 to over 50 years, the majority, 10 out of 16, of the interviewees are in their twenties. The group consists of nine female (P2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 & 16) and seven male participants (P1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 14 & 15). They have ten different nationalities, out of them two are non-European (USA and Nigeria) and eight are European countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom). Almost all of the participants (12) have studied, six of them are still enrolled in a university programme. The fields of study are very diverse and range from social work (P2 & 6), biochemistry and nutrition (P3), anthropology (P10 & P11) up to journalism (P8), business (P14), media and film (P12) and design (P16). The others did not make a statement about their vocational or academic past (P5, 9 & 15) or did an apprenticeship (P4).

Table 6 summarizes their membership status, their academic background and their fields of work. P1 is not included in the overview, because he was not an active volunteer in the refugee camp. In 13 cases the participant's tasks in the refugee camp are related to their former job or studies. This shows a correlation between the skill set of the volunteers and their work assignment. 12 participants use their former job skills or academic knowledge to some extent in the work they do. Relating to their membership in volunteer organisations it reveals that six people are independent volunteers and do not have any ties to an organisation. Five are members of the German organisation *Soup & Socks*. One person belongs to *AIRE*, another one to *Lighthouse Relief* and two interviewees came to the camp through the organisation *Olvidados*.

Fields of work

The following sections summarize the descriptions of the volunteers' different fields of work and their responsibilities.

Cooking. The food provided by the government in the refugee camp showed a lack of nutrition, had no taste and did not respect the needs of people with special diets. Therefore, one important volunteer task was to fill this gap and complement the food with an extra warm, tasty and healthy meal a day. Baby food was also provided once a day. A focus was set on involving the camp inhabitants and developing sustainable structures by installing a community kitchen for the use of alternating cooking-teams to prepare meals for the whole camp (P2 & 4). Unfortunately, the kitchen was closed after a couple of months due to hygiene reasons and the volunteers then engaged in different work fields (P4).

Workshop. The workshop offered vocational training arranged in small work shops to the people from the camp. At the same time, it served as a lab to interact, be innovative and learn from each other. It provided learning opportunities for the refugees that they might be able to use later. Furthermore, it was a way to offer perspectives and tackles the boredom such as resulting frustrations and aggressions. The main idea behind it was to do something together with the refugee community (P2, 4, 6 & 16).

Language classes. Some participants gave language classes, because the people were asking for it. Since they were engaged in the same activity in their home countries, they started giving German classes (P6 & 16).

Crafts. The need for craftsmen was very large, because the refugees have nothing in their possession and are eager to learn how to build things, borrow tools or get support in either way. People were also interested to engage in workshops to gain experiences in that field (P2 & 15).

Warehouse. P5 and 14 were working in the warehouse and had to receive, sort, organize and distribute donations that the organisations received. They also installed a kind of shop in one of the warehouses, where people can come and chose clothing for free. It was also their responsibility to work there and help the people to find the right clothing.

Library. P10 and 11 mention that they were responsible for the library, which was installed in the camp. They had to be present during the day, lend books to people and supervise activities, such as for example readings for the children.

Filming. One member of the organisation *Soup & Socks* narrates that she made a short documentary of their work, the way they cooked, they distributed the food and their daily life. While she was filming refugees approached her and wanted to be interviewed as well. Consequently, a second documentary was filmed about the people's life in the camp.

School. Another long-term volunteer mentions that her main project was to build and organize the necessary structures for a school. The primary goal was to establish it as a community-run facility, managed by the people from the camp.

Individual projects. Some volunteers had their own ideas and funding for projects. Two interviewees talked about a photo-project, where they take pictures of families and give them later to them (P10 & 11). One interviewee describes another project that she wants to realize. The idea is to take pictures or videos of children in their daily life in the camp and then show them to children in France (P11). P9 mentions that there are many volunteers who are innovative in developing and implementing new project ideas.

P14, who is a member of the Spanish organisation *Olvidados*, describes the working hours of a typical day in the camp for a volunteer as follows. The day starts with the daily meeting at 9am, that lasts for an hour. At 10am the first commitments start, which can be in various field such as teaching in the school, providing baby food, cleaning the camp, supervising the washing area, working in the warehouse, guarding the entrance to the warehouse or distributing donations. Between 1pm and 4pm there is a lunch break and the volunteers usually leave the camp to get some food in the nearby village. At 4pm starts the second shift which can be in any of the above described fields. Then at 7pm the working day is over, but many people still stay and engage in additional activities with the refugees, like making music together, chatting or playing football.

The setting

P1 compares the work in a refugee camp to an emergency situation and warns of potential safety-risks for refugees and volunteers such as theft, violence, rape or other kinds of crime. Therefore,

he suggests to approach the work in a precisely structured way, prepare volunteers for the particularities and include people from the camp in the process from the beginning in order to strengthen their sense of responsibility and ownership.

A statement of one participant describes his first impression of the camp:

“This is not Europe, this not the truth. It’s not possible in a union which is so rich that people have to live under this kind of circumstances. Never!” (P4, para.18).

The conditions of the camp, when it was first opened in April 2015, were compared to settings in Central Africa or the Middle East. The interviewees heavily criticized the circumstances under which the refugees had to live in the beginning. The tents were built directly on gravel stones without any flooring, the food was bad, the sanitation supply was unsatisfactory and only a few structures or services were provided (P2, 4, 10, 11 & 16). Five months later in August, the participants rate the situation in the camp as better than in other settlements. The camp now consists of satisfactory hygiene conditions, a school, and other services and activities for the inhabitants (P7, 10, 11 & 16). P14 experienced the children as the most interacting people of the camp, because they were always willing to play and get in contact with the volunteers. Whereas another volunteer rates exactly that attitude as a potential danger for the children, who are used to interact with strangers because the camp is open to everyone and does not provide any particular security check for people who enter. This setting is perceived as dangerous, especially for children:

“And to me that is a security issue, because if you have that relation to strangers, and we have quite many cars coming in and out, [the children] are so vulnerable.”(P13, para.27).

It was also mentioned that the interactions with female refugees are more difficult for men and in general it is easier to get in contact with the male people in the camp (P14). Boredom was commonly perceived as one of the main problems in the daily life, therefore the importance to organize activities, establish temporary schools or engage the people into all kinds of activities was outlined. It seems to be a method to hinder frustration and aggressions (P2, 4, 14 & 16). The observations show, that after almost five months of people living in the camp, they started developing some kind of provisional structures. A few tents sell cold beverages, fruits, cigarettes or other consume items. These shop are mainly frequented by volunteers, because the people living in the camp rather save their money, assuming they still have some left. Two volunteers talked about ethical concerns regarding these new ‘commercial’ structures. One person thinks it is wrong to buy goods in these shops. She stated that it only helps the ones that already had a bit more than the others and creates a gap between the people in the camp. Another one thought that it brings in money that will then circulate within the camp, because other people might offer services that do not require investments. Indeed there are other services organized by camp inhabitants, for example a beauty salon and a jewellery workshop (FD1).

6.2 Motivational factors

“So all these violations of the human rights at the European borders made me very angry and I just wanted to get active” (P2, para.12).

This section presents the findings relating to the motivational factors that influenced the participants’ decision to volunteer in Greece. They are classified into different categories derived from the model of Rehberg (2005), presented in the first chapter. It assumes that each international voluntary activity can be classified into three main groups: achieving something positive for others, the quest for oneself and the quest for the new. The last theme has been slightly altered and defined as the quest for the other, because for some volunteers Greece is not a new place, yet it represents still a different or other place. This section is particularly interesting in the context of this study, because it seeks to understand why the participants travel to Greece, instead of engaging in volunteering in their home countries.

Achieving something positive for others

The situation itself was a particular pull factor for many interviewees. The increase in media reports about the high numbers of people who were seeking refuge in Europe, especially in 2015, was one of the main reasons for people to engage in volunteering to support refugees:

“[...] the topic of people coming to Europe in search of safety, dignity, freedom was everywhere in the media. And it was really present in those days in 2015. The situations at the European borders were..., yes were pretty bad” (P2, para.10).

The volunteers’ compassion with the refugees and their will to improve the bad conditions or have at least a positive effect on the situation, was one of the main motivational factors (P2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11 & 15). One participant even perceived it as a professional obligation, based on the international human rights, to support the people who were suffering under the dysfunctional system of the European Union:

“I studied international social work and I see social work also as a human rights profession. That means, that I do not need the order of a state or an office. I even don’t need the mandate of a client. It is absolutely, in my opinion, sufficient to have the human rights. And this is like the mandate of my profession.” (P2, para.12).

The interviewees also describe their strong focus on the intention to demonstrate solidarity and show the refugees that there are people who care about them and who try to impact the situation for the better:

“And I think that is really important here to make the people understand that they are not just rubbish, and just let them here and we don’t know where to put you, [...] and they feel like there is no space in the world where they can be. And I think it is really important to show them that there are people who care. And that we want to change something” (P16, para.4).

Many volunteers also came to understand more about the problems, the war and learn about the way the people live in order to spread the message among the people in their home countries. They were interested in the people’s culture, traditions and stories and aimed to spend as much

time as possible with them, also after they completed their work tasks (P 2, 8, 14 & 16). This fact can also be underlined by the field observations. It was noted that many volunteers stay until late night in the camp to spend time with the people, eat together, drink tea, play football, make music or simply talk (FD1). Volunteers talk about friendships that were created between them and the people living in the camp (P10, 11 & 13).

A few participants were strongly motivated by political factors, or better to say, their frustration about the way the European Union is dealing with the situation (P3, 2, 4, 6 & 8). Some are criticising the whole economic and political system:

"[...]how stupid it is to have free borders for commerce and objects and not free borders for people. It is a big contradiction."(P3, para.25).

One person says that her intention was " [...]to be part of a movement against [the] violation of human rights" (P2, para.18). Some are accusing the governments of not doing anything (P4) and therefore perceive it as the responsibility of all people to work on it (P6). For others the main reason to engage was political criticism. They perceive governments and their politics as the cause of everything that is happening and suggest that only political action, demonstrating and campaigning can help to fight for the rights of refugees in a long-term perspective(P3 & 8).

Quest for oneself

As concluded by one of the interviewees "[t]here is a narcissistic part in everything we do and why we are here" (P 9, para. 37). In line with this statement quite a few participants were also motivated by individual factors relating to their personal life, emotions and actions. One volunteer describes former prestigious jobs in journalism and politics that however did not fulfil him and compared them with the work in the camp that feels more like "*kind of losing less time than doing something else*"(para.27). Others mentioned that it is not only about giving, but also about receiving, that it helps to learn about the self and others and that it is an activity that gives feedback (P5 & 14). P13 expresses that it was also about getting out of the tiring daily life, get 'dirty' and actually do something that makes sense. For her volunteering is an activity which is the perfectly right thing to do and therefore does not require a lot of concerns or reflections about it. This feeling of doing something sense-full, enables an intensive, easier way of living the life without self-doubts (P13).

Moreover, the results show that some participants were interested in the topic because of their professional or academic background (P 2, 8, 10, 11 & 13). The UN employee remarks that volunteering is very appreciated at the labour market and can be an advantage for a person's future career (P1). However, this factor did not seem to play an important role for the motivation of the interviewees as none of them mentions such an intention. Even though, some interviewees wanted to see if their personal knowledge or skills can be of any use in the setting:

"[...]we just decided to go here but just like to see like as anthropologists like what can we do and what is going on [...]" (P11, para.2).

Another person perceives the volunteering as an occasion to try out in practice what she has been working on at home in theory and as a way to try new things in other ways. Additionally, it was important for her to find out how to work in the best way in the humanitarian sector (P13). Others state that they were motivated by the possibility of gaining experience for their future career (P2, 6, 10 & 11):

" [...]my idea is to work like as a multicultural psychologist. To integrate all the cultures and to understand how the refugees can have his culture and then go in the camp and then maybe go to France and other countries and how to adapt to this culture. What can be in his mind and how hard it can be in his mind. So I was really interested by the refugee subject." (P 11, para. 8).

One person was rather focused on the work structure since he wanted to know how it is to work with a Spanish NGO (P5).

The last motivational factor that occurs in this category is the urge to belong to a particular group or project. Some participants were initially attracted by the idea of one particular project and organisation (P15 & 16). On this interest they based their decision to engage in the work. Some interviewees talk about the team as a collective community which becomes clear in the statements:

"Because everybody in the team was completely on the same side for why are we doing this. We did it because everybody in the team had a lot of compassion with the people." (P4,para.10).

Six interviewees mention the high importance of the composition of team members and their shared beliefs and values (P2, 4, 6, 13, 15 & 16). The observations show that groups tend to bond much quicker and stronger under these difficult conditions (FD1).

Quest for the other

Apart from one, all of the participants are not originally from Greece, neither do they live in the country. That fact raises the question why these people travelled all the way to Greece to support refugees there instead of doing so in their home countries.

First of all, the conditions in Greece are perceived worse than in the interviewees' countries of origin, especially considering the high amount of people who arrived on Greek islands and the bad receiving conditions (P2, 3 & 12). Another important issue are human rights violations:

"[...]the thing that made me really angry were those violations of human rights and the refusal, or [...]to deny persons the possibilities to enter a country to apply for asylum. And people, who already made it to Germany [...]they already entered, or somehow entered the country, which they wanted to reach. And I know that the conditions are pretty bad, but it was not such a strong violation of human rights as at the European borders, I felt. And I know that it is also structural violence [but], in my definition it was not such a fundamental violation of human rights" (P2, para.18).

Besides, some consider the situation rather as a European than a Greek challenge and therefore feel responsible as European citizens to react to it (P2, 4, 6 & 12). Since the governments and

organisations seem to be unorganized, they want to be there to “welcome the [refugees] on the European side”(P4, para.6).

P15 remarks that in many cases, humanitarian crises happen in countries which are not easy accessible or even opposed to voluntary workers. But this time the situation is occurring in a European country, much easier to access for Western citizens:

" A lot of the other times that this has been going on maybe I did not feel that I would have had the ability to help out in any meaningful way. Or even more that, maybe I didn't feel it was even possible, as in maybe I get told out of the country as I try to show up. But I knew I would never be able to be tossed out of Greece" (P15, para.16).

Others support already refugees in their own countries and want to get another perspective on the situation by travelling to another place, and see another stop on the route of the refugees (P5, 7 & 13). A reason for people to travel to Greece was also because of the possibility to meet people from other parts of the world who think the same way about the situation and who are as concerned as themselves (P2 & 13). Another interviewee remarks that the experience of volunteering in another country is very intensive. Whereas engaging in a voluntary activity at home, may be only casual, alongside the daily routine or there might not be enough time at all (P13 & 16). The Danish participant wanted to show abroad that not everyone in Denmark agrees with the country's asylum policies (P13). Also a German participant was motivated by the aim to represent her country to some extent and encourage intercultural understanding (P16).

One volunteer mentions that he was meant to spend the vacations in Greece, however the proximity of the situation made it impossible not to help, therefore he spent half of the vacation volunteering in the refugee camp (P15). For P14 it was simply a meaningful way to pass his holidays as he also likes the Greek culture and the country as a tourism destination. For another volunteer it is even more, she defines it as a “*political way of spending holiday[s]*” (P8, para.10). The observations showed that, especially in August during the summer break, the amount of volunteers in the camp raised enormously. Many people from mainly Europe, but also other countries used their vacations to travel to Greece and do something meaningful in their leisure time (P9 & FD1).

Informal conversations with another volunteer revealed assumptions of a different motive that people might have to travel to Greece instead of volunteering at home:

“I know in my country refugees are not welcomed in the best way they should be welcomed. And why did I come here? Because it is like a big thing to go to a big camp in Greece. Not in [my home country]. People think it is less existing, less a big thing to stay in their countries” (P9.1, para.35).

Additional conversations held during the field observations discover that some volunteers seem to be motivated by the excitement of the situation, and the social prestige they gain through their engagement in such a setting (FD1 & P9.1). One person even goes as far as to call it solidarity selfishness and describes it as a new kind of dark trend:

“There is some kind of selfishness, solidarity selfishness. It is like you are cool because you work in a refugee camp and you are very cool and you are with children....,” (P8, para.33).

P3 describes it as a new kind of lifestyle that people want to participate in because other people are doing it as well. He calls it “occasional sensitivity” (P36).

The findings show that seven volunteers created a strong emotional bond to the camp inhabitants and other co-volunteers and returned a second time to the camp:

“Like we fell in love, so we just wanted to come back and for the relations we made here. Both volunteers and refugees. Like it was so strong that, at least we have---I had to see them again---at least” (P11, para.9).

They felt the strong impulse to return a second time to the camp, even though it might have been a motivation based on self-interest, because it was more the intention of the volunteer to reunite with the people than the conditions of the refugees that increased the will to return:

“We asked ourselves if it’s not an egoist decision to come back here because we knew that they were so many people here---volunteers. So in another camp in Greece they need volunteers. So we just didn’t know. And finally, yes, we came back” (P10, para.8).

Others tried to develop new ideas and projects based on the experience they gained during their first stay in the camp and aimed to come back with a better plan (P2, 4, 10, 11 & 12). One participant perceived her first stay as too short, and felt that she did not achieve enough, because the conditions for the refugees were still bad (P12). Other volunteers realized through the learning experience on the first trips that it is important to create sustainable structures and aimed to come back with a different project that creates a greater impact for the camp community (P2 & 15).

6.3 Distinctions between different types of volunteers

“I mean volunteer means something like you do it without getting something back, or?”(P12, para.60).

The results reveal that there are different perceptions about the question what a volunteer is and how the work is characterized. Therefore, this chapter attempts to give first an overview of the characteristics they have in common and then outline the main distinctions between the various types of volunteers.

Generally, there are different groups of people from various countries operating all over Greece (P2, 3 & 9). During the field observations people from many parts of Europe and even other parts of the world such as Australia, Chile, the United States of America or Morocco were noticed (FD1). All of the participants remarked that during August many international volunteers appeared in the camp. The observations showed matching results: Numerous cars were parked outside of the camp, many groups of volunteers were sitting outside of the warehouse and over 50 people participated in the morning meeting (FD1).

P3, who was working in multiple spots in Greece and Turkey, states that most of the volunteers are younger people and/or students. There are structural differences between them, some people are members of volunteer organisations and others are individual volunteers, who are

independent and only engage occasionally with NGOs (P3 & 5). A participant, who is coordinating the voluntary work in the camp, believes that “[...] *all volunteers are really good people*” (P9, para.33). He adds that everyone is giving a contribution by being in the camp, yet some are more innovative and create a greater value for the people than others. P13 praises the fact that so many people show their compassion and interest in the situation and are willing to travel to Greece to support the asylum seekers:

“[It is] extremely beautiful that so many people come from all over the world and basically just want to help. And these people get connections to people from all over the world, so it’s not like them coming to Europe but Europe coming to them. And I think that’s a really nice sign to show.” (P13, para.27).

Others relate certain values and beliefs with it and consider it important to outline the different kinds of volunteers that exist. P3 differentiates between humanitarian and solidarity based help. According to him, the former is rather hierarchical with a superior person who provides help and a subordinate who receives it. The latter is more a reciprocal approach and involves an engagement on an equal level:

“[...]you have two persons, two populations in an equal level, so you share in this case, because what happens to him it happens to you or it may happen to you!” (P3, para.14).

Another term mentioned in the context of volunteering is charity. It is understood to be a way of helping on a different level, more ad hoc and temporary, focusing on immediate support instead of long-term sustainable practices (P1). Apart from the three paradigms humanitarian aid, solidarity and charity, the interviewees describe contrasting kinds of volunteers that deviate profoundly from each other. The composition of the interview group reflects these variations as well, since it consists of eight people who stay less than four weeks, and seven people, who stay for a longer period of time, and some are members of small organisations, others are not. The next section attempts to outline these various types of volunteers and critics based on the perceptions of the interviewees and observations.

The long-term volunteer

Long-term volunteers are perceived to be the people who know a lot more about the work and the camp life than others (P16). They are the ones, who structure the work and guarantee a certain kind of sustainability:

“We have an extreme high responsibility here. And it’s okay that people come and go, but it is so important that there are constant people here under the volunteers.” (P16, para.28).

Usually they are not Greek people, but come from all over the world. Since the locals still have their daily routine, work, household and other responsibilities, “[...]they approach the camp in another rhythm” (P2, para.32). Whereas international volunteers usually do not have other responsibilities, and thus are able to focus all their time and energy on the work in the camp. According to P12, a good volunteer acts reflectively, takes his or her work seriously, listens to

the needs of the people and reacts to it. This requires a certain amount of time, patience and reflection, because all implications need to be discussed with the camp community and other volunteers. Generally, the long-term volunteers are thought to be the better ones, because they spend the longest time in the camp, show the greater commitment and structure the work of the others (P2, 3, 9 & 13).

The short-term volunteer

Additionally to the volunteers, who stay a relatively long time in the camp to support the refugees, there is another group of people:

“But in addition to those long-term volunteers there are persons arriving and leaving, who really use their vacation time to or see the camp, or being supportive, or I don’t know what is the concrete motivation of these volunteers.”(P2, para.36).

The short-term volunteers are perceived to be people who come for a relatively short amount of time between one and four weeks, mostly during their vacations and constitute the work of long-term volunteers. As the answer of P2 shows, there are ambivalent perceptions towards them. On the one hand they seem to be perceived as people who support the daily work, on the other hand their motivation and presence in the camp is not clear or understood. Some participants relate this temporary engagement to tourism and call it social or humanitarian tourism and a political way of spending holidays (P3 & 8). Also P1 allocates touristic features, yet warns that *“[...]tourism is not always respectful. And voluntourism is the same, it is not always respectful”* (para.31). Some interviewees talk about an increase of volunteers in the camp during the month of August, imposingly because of the summer holidays. However, they predict that they would all disappear with the end of the vacation. These circumstances worry the long-term volunteers, since they are afraid of not being able to fulfil all the tasks and activities with less people (P3, 5, 9 & 10).

P3 thinks that there were too many people during the summer months in the camp who stayed only a short time and consequently had no idea how to behave and *“[...] what you should and shouldn’t do and what implications your actions have”* (para.27). The greatest challenge occurs when the volunteers only stay for a very short amount of time like one or two weeks.

At some point there were even so many volunteers that it was hard to find something to do for them (P9). As a result, children sometimes become a tool to ‘entertain’ the volunteers in their search of something meaningful to do, as participants highly criticize:

“[...]some organisations were like “Oh, but we get more volunteers, we have to activate them, get them kids they can play with or something”, so it’s kind of kids become like a tool to actually volunteer at some point.”(P13, para.27).

Another harmful topic when it comes to the interactions with children, is the way they get used to interact with strangers:

“[...] let’s say a person comes into the camp for the first time, at some point all the kids will probably come to him and say “I love you. I love you” and giving him a hug, because they think that is what they expect. And to me that is a security issue, because if you have that relation to strangers, and we have quite many cars coming in and out, they are so vulnerable.” (P13, para.27).

P2 sees four major risks when it comes to this kind of temporary engagement. Firstly, it is difficult to focus on the content of the work with such a great rotation of people, because everyone needs a certain time to gain an insight, to understand the daily routine and how things work. And then when the people are finally getting the rhythm it might already be time to leave again. This is the main problem: *“[t]he difficulty of the rhythm of work and really gaining an insight and not only being superficial in your support”* (P2, para.38). Consequently, their participation may be disturbing regarding the work tasks. Secondly, talking about personal contact the harm may even be profounder, it may cause frustration to the refugees to build up relationships with people and then lose them over and over again, especially considering the fact that they had already traumatic experiences in their past. Furthermore, the people living in the camp could change their attitude towards new arrivals and *“stop getting close to persons arriving to the camps because they don’t want to get hurt or they don’t want to have this feeling of loss”* (P2, para.38). One volunteer outlines that this situation of people coming and leaving again is particularly harmful, because the asylum seekers are in a very unstable part of their life (P10). Thirdly, they could even start to get angry and feel like objects or attractions that are observed like animals. The last threat, may be a complete disengagement of the Greek community to support the work in the refugee camp. If there are so many foreign people working in the camp, they may think that their contribution is not needed. However, it is necessary because the international volunteers will have to leave sooner or later and if the local volunteers are not committed to support the refugees, they will leave gaps behind (P2). P8 suggests there might be better ways to spend money than for a short-time volunteer stay and questions:

“Why should people come here to Greece to a refugee camp all the way to be all day in a warehouse? Maybe pay refugees to do that. 600 € for them and they can do it [...]”(P8, para.38).

In her opinion the money should rather be donated and used to pay refugees to take over the tasks that otherwise volunteers would do. On the other hand, she states that volunteers are really happy to contribute in the camp and that this may have a positive influence as well. They may create awareness among their friends and relatives (P8). In opposition to that, P13 thinks that *“[...]in the summer there have been too many volunteers, [...] too many short-term volunteers that had no idea of how [...] you behave in a refugee camp”* (P13, para.27). Another volunteer assumes that some people are just coming because it is a good occasion to be in Greece (P3). Some of the people who live in the camp express critique as well, even though being very grateful for the support they get, they do not understand why there is no political action taken. The question arises why all the committed people who are traveling around Europe to help in the camps are not raising their voices for the rights of refugees to influence the political decision

makers (FD1). Despite all the critical aspect, the short-term volunteers may contribute positively to the situation if their work is well organized and structured (P9 & 10).

The other volunteer

The terms '*the other*', '*them*', or '*these kind of*' occurred in many interviews to describe the negative behavior or failures of some people (P2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12 & 13).

Quite a few interviewees have a relatively clear picture in mind of how an incompetent volunteer may be defined. For P12 bad volunteers are firstly people, who do not take their activity serious and who relax more than work. Further they only engage in supporting refugees to gain social prestige, "*[...] improve themselves, or to feel better [and who do not act] because they are pissed off [by the] situation and they want to change something*" (para.70). Besides, she assumes that some people only come to take pictures to show them to their friends and relatives and even when talking with refugees do not really care about them. By others, the act of taking pictures is also regarded as a negative and harmful thing to do, because like that the camp becomes kind of an attraction and its 'inhabitants' objectives, that are observed like animals, as mentioned already above (P2 & 10). Some people are walking through the camp taking pictures of everything without respecting other people's privacy. One volunteer suggests

"[...] to ask to someone who wants to come to the camp to come without his camera. Like: "Just come to the camp but without a camera!"..., And to see after who is coming and who is not coming." (P10, para.22).

She implies with that statement that a certain group of people is mainly curious about the way people live in these camps and want to have footage to prove that they were there (P10).

They do not reflect much on their role and their behavior in the camp and perceive their stay more "*[...] like an excursion*" (P12, para.72). One interviewee who is already working in the camp for the second time, remarked that she does not visit families in their tents anymore as often as she used to do during her first stay. She implicates that there are too many *other* volunteers who do the same, and that she does not want to disturb the families in their free time (P10). It was also criticized that some people do not understand the main objective behind the whole work:

"For me it seems that a lot of people are right now here who did not really know what is the main thought of being here. The main thought is to give hope and help and not to look around and walk through the camp and talk to the people and touch some little children because it makes them feel happy or whatever. For me it is difficult to accept or to see that people come down here for one or two weeks wearing sunglasses and short pants walking through the camp and feel somehow important or whatever." (P4, para.28).

Other interviewees criticize the inappropriate behavior of some people, who are not respecting basic codes of conduct and are, for an instance, consuming alcohol in front or even with the refugees and do not show any cultural sensitivity (P4 & 13). In other cases, volunteers were spending donated resources for their own benefits:

“We had one case we had a small truck for work to bring food. So what happened that sometimes in the afternoons or at nights they took the van to go outside and take beers or go around the Island and they spent a lot of gasoline. One, two, three times, several times it was happening. And police told me one time, that they caught people drunk. [...]it is about the money of donors” (P3, para.27).

He objects to the misbehavior of these people and their missing discipline and suggests that the selection of people has to be more careful. Further it was also observed that the dress code of some people is not appropriate in regards to the culture of the people who live in the camp. Some girls were wearing short pants, belly tops and a wide cleavage (FD1).

The professional volunteer

According to the UNV Program a professional volunteer is a person who takes volunteerism serious. It is a professional approach, structured by a detailed cycle, which regards the strict selection of people and how to motivate, activate and acknowledge them. They are regarded as a tool to promote development and peace and a part of international development aid. Most of the people are specialists in a certain field and commit in average for about two years. Their engagement is institutionalized by the United Nations, which provides them with preparation, counseling, insurance, protection and safety assistance (P1).

6.4 Distinctions between non-governmental organisations

“There are different teams, different organisations. We work different, but we share a lot of opinions..., [...]” (P14, para.36).

Various actors are interacting in refugee camps. Besides the local authorities, non-governmental organisations are taking over the largest part of the work. The results reveal two different kinds of these organisations. Firstly, the small grass-root NGOs and secondly, the large established NGOs. Their particular advantages and disadvantages are presented in this section.

Small (grass-root) non-governmental organisations

Several small organizations are operating in the refugee camp in Katsikas with members from all over the world, who either knew each other before or met on the spot (FD1). Nine of the interviewees are members of small NGOs and all the others work with them. P3 worked with several grass-root organisations and describes them as follows:

“[...]they are very diversified. According to their objectives, according to their origins, according to their organization. [...] There is no salary first, there are small groups, not big ones” (para.14).

According to him, they are particularly strong, when the people already knew each other beforehand, because then they do not have to spend extra time and energy to connect as a team (P3). The size of the group is also perceived as a strength, since it is usually small and therefore enables the organisation to take decisions collectively and create a strong sense of participation and ownership among the participants (P14).

Another of their advantages is the ability to react very fast and flexible to the individual needs of people (P2, 4 & 14). Also, the members of small NGOs often show a certain kind of homogeneity because of their common beliefs (P3). Furthermore, they sometimes work harder than professional volunteers, because they have strong emotional motivations (P5).

At the same time, P5 perceives them "[...] a lot more disorganized and sometimes less reliable [...]" (para.20), because they show a lack of experience. One of the interviewees, who worked in development cooperation before calls them naive and doubts that they could run the camp on their own (P8). However she thinks that they can complement the work of big NGOs.

P1 warns that their unorganized way of operating and interfering with unknown systems can even become a burden for the work of established NGOs and development cooperation. Another strong accuse is raised suggesting that some small NGOs make an economic activity out of their help and always try to find reasons to get more donations. One of the main difficulties was also their and their lack of knowledge and expertise (P1, 3 & 8).

The Greek volunteer criticizes about the small European NGOs that they are only focusing on the problem itself, but not on the cause of it:

"They focus a lot on refugees and countries who are receiving refugees in the first steps, but they are not so critical about their own government and the national policies of the countries where they are coming from. Not all of them, but a majority." (P3, para.16).

He outlines that the protest should not only happen in Greece, but also in the other European countries because they are all to some extent involved in the conflict and he misses the sensibility and awareness of small NGOs about this topic. Another aspect he is missing are ways for the participants to express feedback (P3).

Some organisations are also accused to accept too many participants and then to not have a purpose for them (P4, 11, 12 & 13). In some cases they use children as a tool to occupy their volunteers for a while (P13).

Establishes non-governmental organisations

Established NGOs are perceived to have a more professional approach to the work. They have selection procedures to acquire competent skilled staff, prepare them for their work and offer assistance at any stage (P1). Their structure is usually hierarchical, they have a lot of funds, but consequently also a lot of bureaucracy and procedures (P3, 4 & 12). Their scope of action is greater, because they have the financial means and often the political mandate to act (P3, 6, 8 & 12). Therefore, some of the interviewees agree that they are needed on a global level (P3 & 6). Their members receive a salary and have structured working hours with clear assigned tasks and times (P3 & 5). Due to their rigid hierarchy it takes them usually quite long to take a decision, which is perceived as negative by the volunteers, especially regarding the fact that they are operating in a temporary emergency setting, which requires quick decision-making (P2, 5 & 15). P4 states, that the big NGOs are aware of what they are doing, because they are specialist in it and they know about the implications of their actions. Lastly their involvement and interventions may also lead to getting more attention to the situation (P4).

Critics about the established NGOs are raised frequently by the grass-root organisations, independent volunteers, Greek authorities and the refugee community (FD1).

Volunteers point out that they do not take the time to understand the whole context of the situation. They are not often seen in the camp and do not have much direct contact to the people, who live in the camp (P10). The following example for their unsophisticated practice is repeated throughout the interviews: UNHCR built new tents in the camp without coordinating with the camp community. Once they were done, nobody moved in, because the people already lived in tents and wanted to move to houses, not to other tents. (P2, 3, 4, 10, 11 & 12).

However, one of the volunteers has the opinion that the established NGOs should not get the blame for everything because

“[...]they just do what the politicians tell them to do, and we are the ones that influence the politics, so that’s also on our side to change---we can’t just complain about the work they do, if they are governmental organisations and we choose our government.” (P6, para.30).

Herewith, she is referring to the responsibility of everyone to get involved and shape the way of how the society deals with the situation.

Besides, it is assumed that volunteers working for big NGOs are not passionate in what they are doing, because it is just a job for them (P12).

One interviewee thinks that they are essential in providing material and structural support to people in emergency situations. For that reason, she does not understand the reason for them being in Greece and blames the European politics:

“Why do organisations have to come in that work in catastrophes? Actually it is not necessary here, because we are in Europe and Europe has such a lot of money that it could be easily done by the government and the politicians here and we would not need organisations that also support maybe Somalia and Kenya, countries where no structures are” (P6, para.30).

6.5 Interactions, collaborations and conflicts

“Alone you can’t do much, but together everyone’s expertise can do more.” (P7, para.26).

This section regards the interactions of small volunteer organisations with different actors in the refugee camp. In order to understand the work characteristics of international volunteers engaging with refugees, it is important to outline the interactions that take place between the various actors who are involved in setting. This chapter aims to give an insight of the ways the people and organisations interact with each other, and potential collaborations and conflicts that arise from their interaction.

Interactions with locals

Locals generally operate in another rhythm than foreigners in the refugee support activities, because they still have to manage their normal everyday life. Whereas *“people who are constantly engaged or committed in the camp [...] come from other countries and use their holidays”* and therefore have different time resources (P2, para.32).

The majority of interviewees describes the encounters with Greek people as positive. They outline the Greeks' open-minded behavior, their great hospitality and their willingness to help as well as their tolerance and sensitivity to what is happening. They are appreciated for the fact that, despite their economic crisis, they are supporting the people as much as they can (P11). The Greek volunteer explains that, due to their history, Greeks are very sensitive to social questions and have already experienced other great waves of people fleeing to their country (P3). There are also interactions outside of the context of the camp, for example in retail, accommodation, transport or other services (P2, 4, 7, 12, 14 & 16). The collaboration with Greek volunteers is regarded as essential because they can serve as a bridge to connect with the locals and are also a sustainable resource, because they will most likely not leave as many of the international volunteers (P2 & 4). P4 describes the Greeks' engagement as follows:

"[...] we met a big group of women from the Ioannina University and they were really, really kind and we were very grateful that they came nearly every week. One day they brought cake for everybody in the camp. One day they came and cared about the babies to take a proper bath with them. They were really engaged in the situation [...]" (para.38).

Their support is regarded as very important to create connection with the refugees and the other way around, because once the volunteers are gone there should still be a bond between Greeks and their 'visitors' (P2 & 4).

Two interviewees are wondering why there are so few Greek people engaged in the work in the camp. One is even very critical towards them as she knows about some people in the camp who had bad experiences with a Greek family. Therefore she makes the hard statement *"I know all refugees hate Greece."* (P8, para.29).

Other participants are very aware of how they present themselves in Greece, because they want to avoid being seen as *"the rich Germans coming here to help because we don't have anything else to do"* (P4, para.40).

As it was described by P3, there is a relatively large solidarity movement for refugees in Greece. Its members are very engaged in political activism and refuse to work together with established NGOs due to their linkage to governments. When it comes to smaller organisations they are also critical and even accuse them of having economic instead of social interests. Many seem to criticize the way they try to impose their opinions on locals:

"I was there for several months and I have an overview of the problem and I was stressed by this people coming and going, who tried to impose their opinion on us, and they spent a lot of money without finally helping refugees" (P3, para.15).

For these reasons he describes the majority of relationships between locals and small volunteer organisations as rather bad. He is also criticizing the accusations of some volunteers towards Greeks in regards to the bad conditions for refugees in the country and is claiming that many volunteers have a lack of political and historical knowledge and prejudices. He recalls that even if it is the European Union, it is still also Greece, and volunteers are still visitors, therefore they should be respectful and listening. In his opinion, it is of great importance to improve the

interactions with Greek people, because the whole setting is *“a kind of cluster. If you lose one piece of the cluster then it collapses”*(P3, para 52).

Interactions with the camp community

The majority of volunteers perceive the interactions with the camp community as positive (P2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10 & 16). Only in a few occasions minor conflicts are described, but they were usually resolved in short time (P9 & 15).

The field observations describe many interactions of refugees and volunteers. People were eating together in tents, chatting, having tea, playing football, even going on short holiday excursions together and becoming friends (FD1 & P14). Many volunteers perceive the people in the camp as very friendly and open-minded as they were immediately narrating about their life and backgrounds (P6, 12 & 16). It was also noted that many former volunteers came back to the camp, not only to work again, but also just to visit the friends made in the camp for a couple of days. The refugees appreciated the fact that people are coming back to see them (FD1 & P4). One volunteer states that if the refugees are not allowed to move on to other countries, the people from the other countries will come to see them at least:

“And these people get connections to people from all over the world, so it’s not like them coming to Europe but Europe coming to them.” (P13, para.27).

P16 thinks that the refugees *“[...]have a positive view of the people [...] like the volunteers, which is really important because it would be horrible if they wouldn’t trust”* (para.20).

The interviewees perceive the children as especially interactive, since they were always approaching everyone very openly, trying to interact as much as possible, even with limited language skills (P12, 14 & 16).

The results show as well that relationships between volunteers and refugees are very complex, because, based on the circumstances, an entirely equal level between the two actors can never be achieved. If friendships develop it makes it difficult to respect the motto of the camp, which was frequently repeated during the volunteer meeting:

“It’s easy to be nice, it’s hard to be fair [meaning that] all people should be treated the same way. No extra treats for anyone. In such a setting it would not be fair to favor some people” (FD1, para.41).

Difficulties regarding this topic can occur in various ways. Firstly, refugees who have close relationships with some volunteers may be very frustrated if suddenly treated like anyone else again. In one case, it happened that an organisation treated one of the refugees like a member of the group, but when he wanted to enter their warehouse he was refused, because only volunteers were allowed. This situation upset him a lot and was also an unpleasant situation for the volunteers (FD1 & P8). From the perspective of the refugees some friendships may be used to call in favors, because *“if people are vulnerable, in difficult circumstances they want to take advantage for sure”* (P8, para.23).

Interactions among grass-root organisations

According to most of the interviewees, the small organisations that operate in the refugee camp are generally well connected, aim to work together on solutions and learn from each other (FD1, P2, 3, 12, 13, 14 & 16). A key to their good collaboration is communication and their shared beliefs (P12 & 14). There are several meetings a week among them and they are sharing work space, storage, tools, information and responsibilities (P2). There are quite a few tasks and activities that they manage all together or in coordination (FD1). P13 is fascinated by the fact how strongly the groups can support each other if they collaborate. Even if noted a lot of chaos, there was still perceived to be a lot of cooperation and people were collaborating in order to reach a common goal (P6 & 15).

Yet, among the interviewees it became clear that there is also a high potential for conflicts, even though actual incidents were relatively low in the daily work routine in the camp (P2). According to P2, it is normal to have tensions among actors, especially if you work in a small setting with such a heterogeneous combination of people. Everyone has its own perspective, experience and way of acting.

A few volunteers had the impression “[...] *that there was some kind of competition going on between the different organisations*” (P2, para. 28). In some cases, each team seemed to focus solely on its particular outcome and benefits, forgetting about their common purpose and even being jealous of the work of others (P2 & 3). Some participants think that they are also fighting because “[...] *they have different goals and also different ways of acting*” (P8, para. 18) and are not communicating in the right way, which was also assumed to be related to cultural differences (P5 & 8). In addition, each organization is accountable for their individual impact, in many cases results have to be reported to donors or on social media channels (P8). One reason for that seems to be that the financial aid NGOs get comes in line with some requirements. That means, people have to put their label on a project in order to mark it as the result of their own work (P13). Therefore, different organisations

“[...] are competing all the time, like somebody is starting something up, other people coming to duplicate it and so many different organisations just want to claim the rights to that actual project. That is like so tiring. It’s also a conflict that we kind of try to work a bit against each other.” (P13, para. 22).

Two participants warn that refugees sometimes become an economic activity or a kind of business, due to the structures that organisations have to be part of if they want to receive donations (P3 & 13). P13 calls this phenomena “*planting a flag*” (para. 22) and even compares the situation to some kind of colonialism, where every actor tries to get the best and largest piece of the work. It is assumed that most of these conflicts come down to the two key terms power and hierarchy, which can cause tension among the organisations and among the members of one group. According to P2, it is very important to communicate and reflect on that to ensure a good interaction and cooperation between all the actors.

An interesting result in the findings is the perception of different organisations’ members. While a volunteer of one small NGO says: “*It’s really about collaborating with people. And that’s also*

why quite many have been interested in like working with Lighthouse. Because somehow we got the trust of people.”(P13, para. 25). A member from another organization states: *“For example here they love Olvidados people but they hate Lighthouse people. Maybe because they don’t interact with people, I don’t know.”*(P8, para. 23).

These two very contradictory statements are a good example for the jealousy and competition between different grass-root organisations.

Interactions with established organisations

The opinions about the established NGOs are polarized. A part of the group sees advantages in a collaboration, because of the different restrictions and abilities of small and big NGOs, which can enable them to achieve the best possible results in specific fields together (P2, 6, 7 & 13). There are weekly meetings for all the volunteer organisations and the camp community, which serve as a platform to exchange information, raise complaints or doubts and communicate (P2). One of the volunteers believes that:

“[...] every organization is part of some kind of structure that makes them capable of doing something and incapable to do other things. And [...] when working together it gets new possibilities” (P13, para.25).

Another volunteer agrees to that and states that you need both, the big ones with their professionalism and the small ones to react flexible and fast to the immediate needs (P2, 5, 6, 7, 12 & 13). As among the grass-root organisations, also relating to established NGOs the interviewees sense a kind of competition:

“It []might be like a little competition. People from smaller organisations that have basically been living with the people in the camp for months they feel like “Hey, we are the experts, because we have been here with the people right from the beginning” and [...] the big organisations might have the feeling “No, we are the experts, because we are professionals. It is our profession!””(P2, para.44).

P13 is frustrated about the fact that, despite the possible advantages, the organisations often do not work together, even tend to work against each other. The suggestions are made to let the established NGOs organize a training for volunteers at the side and make a use of them, instead of working against them (P13). Because of their slow decision-making process, they are perceived as bad in interacting with other organisations. Besides, established NGOs, due to their restrictions, do not get really close to the people on a personal level, they do not mix. Whereas grass-root organisations do and therefore create a much stronger bond with the people (P8).

On the contrary they judge small NGOs for their unprofessional behavior and to have a kind of hostile behavior towards them (P2, 4, 5 & 16).

6.6 The volunteer experience

This chapter regards the experience international volunteers made during their work in the refugee camp. Moreover, the results present challenges and suggestions for improvement.

The findings show that some volunteers had no idea about what to expect of the work in the camp before their first engagement (P2, 10 & 16). One volunteer describes the emotions when she first entered the refugee settlement as a mix of curiosity, frustration and compassion:

"[...] I was really impressed by the way they were developing the camp. Like they have plants and everything. You saw that they are trying to make their life a bit better but at the same moment I thought that it's horrible --- how can it be that they are living here for months? [...] It was just too much feelings"(P16, para.22).

The first days in the camp seemed to be the most stressful, emotionally and physically, because everything had to be organized, for example the search for accommodation, the work, the gathering of information about the camp and the people and other circumstances such as agreements with authorities and other volunteer organisations (P2, 4 & 12).

Most of the participants perceive the work as extremely tough and tiring, but as a meaningful and amazing way to support the refugees (P2, 4, 12, 13 & 14). People were happy and even proud to participate in giving the refugees new perspectives (P16). It was an omnipresent topic that covered every second of their life during their time being there:

"We did our work and then in our free time we still talked about the whole topic. This showed me, personally, how interested everybody was in the topic. We didn't even speak about anything else except the things happening in the camp during this time."(P4, para.52).

Even if it was experienced as difficult, it is outlined that there was good energy and karma and everyone was trying to give the best (P8). Some describe the situation as kind of 'parallel world' in which all the actors are good people with noble intentions and were shocked about the way other people behaved outside of this setting (P9). They define the experience as *"another space time where you are just completely disclosed from the rest of the world"*(P13, para.6). Everybody is concerned with the same issues, interacts and works together due to a common belief. According to P13 it also makes the life easier, because in this setting there is only one concern and everything else does not matter, whereas in the 'normal' life there are always many aspects to worry about. One volunteer loves the fact that there is always something to do and he never has to stop moving (P15). Another one says that it is the perfect work, because he enjoys it and loves spending time with the families in the camp or go to the bar in the evenings to play pool with some of the male refugees (P15).

For some volunteers the experience, in combination with the strong motivation to support the refugees, became so strong that they decided to cut their responsibilities at home and stay in the camp:

"So it really..., I really have the feeling that this is the focus of my life right now. This is my working area, even if I am not paid for it. This is what my life is about. [...] it is a big part of who I am." (P2, para.20).

In this case, it seems like the experience got so intense that it became an identification for the person in which she found a purpose for herself. There are also others who perceive the time in

the refugee camp as so complex and rich that they cannot put it into words how they are feeling about it (P8).

Challenges

The data reveals quite a few challenges that may occur during the volunteers' work which are listed in the following section.

Lack of organisation. Especially the volunteers, who were working in other refugee camps before, criticize the level of disorganisation, a lack of assigned roles, and the insufficient induction of new volunteers. The system of some organisations did not seem to be very developed, there was a lack of communication, explanations were perceived as unclear and misleading and meetings as inefficient and too long (P5, 7, 11 & 15). According to P5, reasons for that may be the fact that the organisations are relatively new, but also because they are mainly from South European countries that have a different way, a less structured way of working. Also the assignment of tasks between different organisations seemed to be a problem at times (P4).

Structural changes. With an increasing amount of people engaging in the work, the structures of the volunteer organisations may have to change. If they want to keep taking decisions collectively like most of the NGOs, they have to communicate a lot more, hold more meetings and generally invest more time in their internal structures (P3, 4 & 8). This may result in a loss of flexibility and a growth of the complexity of the structure, which can be compared to the established NGOs, that are usually heavily criticized by the grass-root organisations. A volunteer describes his opinion about this change as follows:

“Our group is changing, it’s not any more the super helpful, super fast acting NGO. We are becoming more like these heavy big organisations, who always need to have a meeting two or three hours before they decide anything. In my opinion I am very against this change [...]” (P4, para.50).

Lack of preparation. One issue, when it comes to the work with refugees, is the lack of information that many volunteers have in regards to their traditions, culture and origins. They should be sensitized and understand the different perspectives of the context (P3 & 8). Some interviewees even think that the selection should be better and only people with valuable skills should be allowed to volunteer (P8). Interviewees complain also about a lack of preparation from the organisations for the volunteers. People usually do not get many information regarding contact details, where to live, transport, what to bring and the work itself (P8).

Fluctuation of volunteers. The fact that there is a high rotation of volunteers caused distress for some of the participants, because they were using a lot of energy to integrate them and communicate (P2, 10 & 11). Especially the interactions with people from Spain sometimes caused difficulties for other nationalities as one volunteer describes:

“[...]it was a lot of Spanish people and I think it’s part of their culture to communicate a lot, but not really focus.” (P11, para.30).

Another challenge is to assure that there is a continuity of people who take over specific tasks and manage the activities for people who only stay a few weeks. Their time needs to overlap so that new ones can learn about the task before overtaking it (P9). At some point, there were even too many volunteers in the camp and not enough activities to occupy them all. However, there is no way to stop people from coming, because it is a free camp open for everyone to enter (P9).

Language barriers. Only a few of the refugees spoke English, additionally, there were many Spanish volunteers, who did not speak English either (FD1). Therefore, the language turned out to be a challenge within the work and interactions with refugees and fellow volunteers (P12 & 16). One person says that she understood basically 20% of what was happening (P13).

Misunderstood ways of helping. P13 describes situations which are rather disturbing than supporting. For example, people entering the camp without having an assigned task or role. Furthermore, she criticizes unorganized distributions of items which can be mentally very harming for the refugees.

“So in this case the volunteers have no idea of what position they put people in, because---first of all it is really undignifying [sic] to put people in a line and making them fight over nothing. Because they are in a situation where you are just so frustrated and by like volunteers coming in and acting in a specific way, then you just push to that behavior. No kids want to see their parents fight another man over an umbrella. And that’s when volunteerism is not okay!”(P13, para.27).

These are the kind of situations when volunteering actually can become harming to the people and should be avoided.

Emotional challenges. One of the strongest difficulties they experienced is the emotional exposure to the people's suffering, frustration, sadness and violence, which is, together with the actual work, extremely energy consuming. The participants warn that as a response or a strategy to deal with that, some people start to become cold to protect their mind from the impressions (P8 & 13). For this reason, it is important to “*go back [home] and remind yourself that you also have another life outside the refugee camp*” (P13, para.6). There is also a kind of competition between different volunteers. Everyone seems to be under pressure wanting to perform, give the best, have innovative ideas and show commitment. Additionally, it is quite frustrating for many volunteers that they cannot help the refugees in a more meaningful way, for example by giving them access to real housing or supporting them to cross the borders. Coping with this injustice in combination with the inability to change it, is very exhausting and frustrating for the volunteers (FD1).

Physical challenges. Apart from the hard emotional component, the work in a refugee camp is also physically very challenging and can push participants to their physical limits (P4). In many cases there is no structure in place, which defines working hours, breaks, free time and there seems to be an endless amount of work to do. People are usually working for long hours and sleep and eat little (P2, 4, 5, 8 & 13). P4 outlines that it is especially important for long-term volunteers to find a balance and take care of themselves. Tensions between volunteers occur often because of exhaustion (FD1). An important component of good work is the well-being of the person itself, which is not always guaranteed for as interviewee eight warns:

“I think here we are so focusing on the refugees that we are not taking care of our volunteers. We are eating badly, we are sleeping on the floors without fridge, without washing machine, without car and that’s [...]not the best conditions.” (P8, para.31).

Also by others this is understood to be an issue of concern as one mentions “[y]ou can’t help somebody if you don’t have the relevant strength and clarity in your mind” (P3, para.36).

Crime. There were some reports of theft, where refugees stole items from the volunteers (P2 & 4). In addition, people also talked about violence and other crimes that may occur in refugee camps (P3).

Interactions with children. Three participants mention a challenge in the interaction with children, because they were often disturbing the work or trying to enter the warehouse, because they usually have nothing else to do. For some volunteers it was hard to keep patience and also to communicate with them (P12, 14 & 16).

Unsatisfying outcomes. In a few cases the volunteers realized that they can not fulfill the needs of the refugees, because of a lack of means or possibilities (P2, 4, 10 & 14).

Suggestions for Improvement

The interviewees mention some suggestions to improve the work of international volunteers in refugee relief in order to combat the challenges summarized in the previous chapter. A strong focus has to be put on structure, as P1 outlines several times. Every single step should be planned and coordinated for a volunteer not to become a burden. There should also be communication with the local authorities and other important stakeholders. When it comes to the preparation of volunteers, inductions should be organized before the people even leave their country in order to guide them and give them a realistic picture of what to expect (P1, 2, 8, 12 & 13). P8 agrees with that opinion and adds that the international volunteers need to be coordinated better, to know what skills they have and how to structure their work in the best way for them and for the camp. One particular resource that is needed are volunteers with language skills to improve the communication with the camp community, since most of the confrontations are perceived to be because of language barriers (P8 & 12). P13 suggests that established organisations like the UNHCR should provide on-site training for volunteers to actually make a use out of their workforce.

6.7 Self-perception of their role

“I do think the role of the volunteers is very important, very positive and I think that it should continue” (P5, para.26).

One of the central objectives of this research is to elaborate how international volunteers perceive their work and how they assess their contribution within the context of working with refugees. This section gives an overview of the volunteers’ perceptions of their role, such as positive and negative effects they might have within the context of supporting people living in the refugee camp.

Beforehand, it has to be said that many of the interviewees responded quite humble to the question which contribution they have within the situation. Initially, they referred the question to themselves personally and stated that they are not special in any way, but only one of many volunteers. It was important for them to outline that it is not about them personally, they could be replaced with anyone else (P2, 4, 5, 6, 12 & 16).

Interpersonal relations

Almost all interviewees agree on the fact that the interactions with the refugees and to show them that people care about them is the most important aspect of their work (P2, 5, 8, 13, 14, 15 & 16). Some think that the simple action of traveling to the refugee camp is already a sign of willingness to contribute and positive in itself as a way to demonstrate compassion, support and love for the people (P5). Volunteers have the role to understand the people's culture and show them theirs. This is perceived to be the very first step of integration, a preparation of the asylum seekers for their further stay in Europe. It may simply be through intercultural exchange and the creation of relationships between volunteers and refugees or through language courses and other training (P16). Some even say that the only helpful aspect of their entire stay is to show the people:

"[...]We don't forget you here in this area. We really care about you. And we want to improve your situation!" (P4, para.18).

P4 outlines as well, that it is not about the physical tasks that you fulfill for the people but about humanity. He states that as long as the intentions are based on humanity, people will notice and respect it. That is how a mutual basis for communication and equal respect develops. Accordingly, it is sufficient that a volunteer's behavior is based on basic human conducts and respect in order to achieve positive outcomes.

The interpersonal component of the volunteers' work is what distinguishes them from the established NGOs, who work functional and respond to basic needs such as food, medication or infrastructure. International volunteers in contrary:

"[...] get to know people and have like [...] a relationship to people and that kind of makes them allowed to be human beings as they were before and like actually being someone. I think basically that's the most important thing about being a volunteer." (P13. Para.29).

Raising awareness

Additionally, a lot of international volunteers think that their role is as well to spread the message about the destiny of the people and raise awareness among their social networks to strengthen understanding, tolerance and maybe even change something at some point (P2, 3, 6, 13, 14 & 16). P3 says that even if a person does not behave in the best way while being in the camp and the work does not influence his way of thinking straight away, it will later. He says that it will be *"[...]kind of a memory. And this memory never disappears."* (P3, para.23). The fact that people witnessed the situation with their own eyes creates a kind of sensitivity that will not disappear and maybe influence them to engage more in their own countries (P3). They might talk to people, create awareness, raise money and establish networks which can be supportive for the refugees (P8).

Improving conditions

Apart from the interpersonal aspects volunteers do believe as well that their work improves the conditions in the camp (P2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12 & 15). One participant states that “[...]the camp is built like half by refugees, half by volunteers. Without the volunteers the camp would not be the same at all” (P11, para. 36). She compares the initial state of the camp with the current situation and concludes that thanks to the work of volunteers a lot has changed. Another person also perceives the volunteers’ role as essential:

“I can’t imagine how horrible this would be if it was only the army food they provide and people having to live by their wishes. I think the volunteers take a lot of pressure off the people from the camp. Without the volunteers it would be a terrible situation.” (P15, para.56).

One person even assumes that the camp might not exist anymore without the support of volunteers (P12). Another describes the work of volunteers as:

“[...]the camp, thanks to volunteers, is running better; [...] sometimes you think volunteer is nothing, like it’s a drop in the ocean, but here everything was improving thanks to volunteers. So, that’s a real way of thanking volunteering in that sense.” (P8, para.10).

Furthermore, *“the volunteer initiative kind of preserves the dignity of people”* (P13, para.29) by involving them in tasks and facilitating that they can take over a certain role– a teacher, a chef, a translator – other than just being a ‘refugee’. Since they are stripped off everything while being on the run, this is a very important way to restore their personal identity to some extent (P13).

P5 believes that volunteers certainly improve the situation at site and apart from that *“are a channel for the money and the support and the love of other people in Europe that would like to come and help, but are not able to because of the circumstances”* (para.26).

Critical thoughts

P1 warns that many unprofessional people who engage in international volunteering receive much more than they give. Besides, they tend to underestimate what they are capable of doing, but also of bearing. Despite of the fact that they have the best intentions, they should be more conscious about the complexity of the situation. The work in refugee camps is extremely challenging, socially and technically. People might fail and then become demotivated or even cynical for the wrong reasons (P1).

Also some of the volunteers themselves are aware about the possible antagonistic effects and make assumptions about potential negative consequences their work might have. The fact that people are rotating quite frequently may cause emotional stress to the refugees and especially to the children, because they build relationships with people and lose them again (P2, 6 & 16). It may also influence the efficiency of work, because a continuous work flow cannot be guaranteed if people are not staying for a long time (P2 & 9).

7. Discussion

The objective of this study is to elucidate an understanding of the current status of international volunteers in the field of refugee support in Europe. Furthermore, it aims to explore the characteristics of the work of international volunteers in refugee camps, in particular their motivations to travel to Greece and their interactions, experiences and roles.

At first sight, the field of volunteering with refugees seems to be uncorrelated with tourism. However, taking a broader perspective and regarding the whole cross-sectional area of tourism, it is possible to find a relation with the phenomena. Firstly, as in business travel, it is characterized by an individual travelling to another country to fulfil a duty. In the context of this study the only difference is, that the task is not commercial, but humanitarian. Secondly, it shows close parallels to the phenomena of voluntourism, which is regarded as a combination of volunteering and travel. Therefore, theories of tourism research apply also in the fields of international volunteering. The results outline several correlations.

This chapter interprets the results, revealed from the interviews and field observations, and relates them to findings, theories and models of the theoretical part. It illustrates the significance of the findings with regards to existing research and adds new insights about the phenomena. It starts by briefly summarizing the status quo of international volunteers working to support refugees in Europe, followed by the discourse about the particularities of the work in refugee camps, which is portrayed in the same order as the data analysis in the previous chapter. Each section discusses the particular finding, its relation to the theory and presents the underlying meaning to generate a deeper understanding of the phenomena. In some cases solutions to problems are proposed to show the applicability of the findings.

International volunteers supporting refugees in Europe

The first part of this study reveals, that since recent years a new movement of volunteers, who support refugees all over Europe, is developing. The current academic literature reflects this new trend primarily on a national level and clarifies that volunteers often take over important tasks that usually should be covered by official structures. The sudden growth of small volunteer organisations can be explained by the strong increase of asylum seekers coming to Europe. Due to the fact that these structures are commonly very new and yet inexperienced, they often lack organisational functions and are characterized by a certain degree of informality. The members have to face emotional and functional difficulties, that are particularly challenging due to their lack of preparation and expertise. Considering the international nature of the phenomena, academic research does not yet exist. However, a lot of information can be found in other sources, such as social media, articles, newspapers, blogs and further media channels. They confirm the same trend for international volunteers, meaning people who travel to other European countries with the purpose to engage in humanitarian work. They primarily choose countries where the conditions for refugees seem particularly insufficient, like Italy or Greece, located at the external borders of Europe. Their motivations are often based on frustration about the situation and the deficient political response, such as compassion and solidarity for the

asylum seekers. The tasks, they are taking over, range from immediate relief to the creation of medium to long-term structures. The same challenges as for national volunteers can occur in their work, however, due to the different setting, they may have to face additional difficulties. Even though, their work may appear purely positive, criticism is raised regarding potential negative impacts.

The results of the qualitative data depict this new movement of international volunteers as well. It seems to be kind of a trend in recent years and the number of people from all over the world getting involved is steadily increasing. Additionally, the participants do not only involve in one voluntary activity, but are active in different settings and locations. Their operational structures are often informal, in opposition to other international volunteering projects. The volunteers have diverse backgrounds, and accordingly engage in many different fields of work. Evidently, they are not a homogeneous group and differences can be detected between the volunteers and organisations. Each of them can favour positive and negative effects in the context of refugee relief. Other particularities of their work are the interactions with the numerous actors, who are involved in the work, and the resulting collaborations or conflicts. The emotional impact seems to be the strongest experience for people who work with refugees. Besides, there are many emotional, technical and functional challenges relating to their work and involvement. International volunteers perceive their most essential role in the relations to asylum seekers and the creation of awareness among their social networks. Additionally, they mention their contribution to the improvement of the refugees' conditions in Europe.

The following sections narrow the perspective down to a particular setting and explain the characteristics of international volunteering with refugees with the example of a refugee camp in Greece.

Participants, work structure and setting

The composition of the interviewees reflects the assumptions made in chapter 1.1, that volunteering has a multidisciplinary character and takes place among diverse groups of people with different backgrounds and nationalities. Since the research is qualitative and the sample was not chosen randomly, only assumptions about the demographics of international volunteers can be retrieved from the data, yet it does not automatically mean that it counts for all people who engage in the refugee relief work. However, this part is important to understand the individual characteristics of the interviewees and to understand what kind of people may engage in volunteering.

The results of the interviews show that a majority of volunteers are younger people and students in their twenties. This might be related to the fact that they have longer periods of vacations and can generally take more time off than people who are working. However, there are also people in other age groups committed in the work, especially in tasks with more responsibilities. The largest part of the group has an academic background and also makes a use of their skills in either way or another. This can lead to the assumptions that many volunteers, who engage in refugee support, have a higher educational level, which is a new aspect that has not been mentioned in the theoretical review.

The literature reveals that international volunteering usually takes place in an organizational setting, within corporate programs, academic or governmental institutions or commercial companies. However for most of the interviewed group that is not the case. Many people are individual volunteers who are not affiliated with any organisation or with newly formed grass-root NGOs. This may be connected to the location of the job site, because Greece is easy to access and safe, whereas other forms of international volunteering often take place in countries which are not easy accessible without an institutional structure.

In line with the theory, the length of their engagement can vary enormously. It stands out that people either stay a couple weeks or engage intensively without defining a return date. Those who are engaging for longer time have often academic or professional knowledge in the field. It can be assumed that people may have different motivations for their work and also contrasting perceptions of the role they play, which is discussed later in this chapter.

As the secondary data shows, volunteers cover many working fields. With the start of the EU-Turkey agreement the responsibilities shifted from immediate relief to long-term support. The findings reflect this change, as most of the activities consider immaterial work fields, such as culture, education and learning, whereas in the beginning it was more about material support like food, clothing and medication. Thus it can be derived that the tasks are more challenging and require a greater extend of expertise of the participants.

An exceptional feature of the volunteers' work is the particular setting: the refugee camp. The challenging conditions described in chapter 2.3.3 are in line with the accounts of the interviewees. As Feldman (2014) describes the settlement are humanitarian, political and emotional spaces that shape the relationships of the different actors. The results show that there are numerous relations and interactions between different actors: volunteers, different groups of refugees, several organisations, authorities and locals. Consequently, it is particularly challenging to work in such an environment, physically, because of the bad conditions and mentally, because of the encounter with many stakeholders and the resulting complexity.

Motivational factors

The findings underline the assumption of Bussell and Forbes (2002) that the motivations of people engaging in the same volunteer activity can vary to a great extend from each other. In conformity with the first chapter the participants' motivations were influenced by altruism and self-interest, in most cases by both factors equally. Yet, another dimension occurs in the context of international volunteers working in Greece. The question arises why they travel to another country instead of engaging in national voluntary activities. The following table combines the model of Rehberg (2005) and Clary et al.(1998) to briefly outline and structure the entire extent of motivational factors.

Table 7 summarizes that the participants were motivated by a variety of factors, which are related to many different fields that are in line with further research in the field. However, two new values appear in this context, political values and relationships. This leads to the assumptions that they are significant for the motivation of volunteers in refugee relief.

The situation itself and its strong presence in the media was unacceptable for many participants and influenced their decision to engage in the refugee response movement in Greece to achieve a positive contribution for the refugees and also the Greeks. In this case, the most obvious motivation was their frustration about the socio-political situation and their intention to support others. The results clarify that the volunteers did not only want to engage in refugee support to provide immediate material relief like food, medication or clothing, but also strongly focus on showing them their solidarity simply by welcoming them, being there and treating them as human beings.

Motivational key component	International volunteers' motivations to engage in the refugee response	Dimensions
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Compassion and solidarity with the refugees and the Greek people - Frustration about the conditions for refugees in some parts of European 	Achieving something positive for other
Understanding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intercultural understanding between refugees and volunteers - Learn more about the refugees' situation and background - Get another perspective of the situation - Get knowledge in order to raise awareness among others 	
Political values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Being part of a movement against violation of human rights - Frustration about the way the situation is managed by the official authorities - Intention to improve the situation and fight injustice and the violation of human rights 	
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meeting people who think the same about the crisis - Being a member of a particular group 	Quest for oneself
Career	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aim to use/test academic and professional knowledge - Gain experience for the future career - Try different working environments and interesting projects 	
Protective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Losing less time - Doing something that makes sense and does not require reflections - Chance to live a while without self-doubts 	
Enhancement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gaining social prestige - Being part of a new trend - Learn about the self and its personal role 	
Das Ferne	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conditions in Greece are worse than in other countries - Urge to act as European citizens - Easy accessibility of the country - More intensive experience - Combination with holidays because of existing tourism infrastructure - Act as cultural ambassador for the own country 	Quest for the other
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creation of strong emotional bond with refugee community and others volunteers - Return with a better plan after having gained experienced 	

Tabelle 7: International volunteers' motivations to engage in the refugee response. Source: Own research based on Clary et al. (1998) and Rehberg (2005).

This fact of volunteers wanting to show solidarity, rather than charity and their desire to re-humanize the situation, was already revealed in the secondary data. It seems to be one of the most important aspect for this kind of volunteering, because it adds a different component to their normal duties. The focus lays not only on the work itself, but also on the message the volunteers want to transmit. That is also a reason for them travelling to Greece, because they aim

to be where the conditions are the worst and the people first arrive to show solidarity, not only with the asylum seekers, but also with the Greeks. Along with the other immaterial values mentioned above, the volunteers were also motivated by understanding the situation and the people more. This fact can lead to the assumption that they will stay engaged in the field and create awareness among their social clusters or even beyond that, when they come back to their home countries.

The fact that also self-centred motives can play a role is not new to the volunteering research and has been described by many scholars. Accordingly participants also volunteer to protect themselves from negative self-perceptions, for example when it comes to the right choice of work. It is an easy way to do the right thing that does not require many reflections, because it is generally accepted by the society as the right thing. Lastly, being a volunteer in a refugee camp can also be a means to increase a person's self-esteem and the feeling of being important. That means that some volunteers might be motivated by the possibility to change or influence what other people think about them and gain a certain kind of social prestige. It is almost self-explaining, that people who had related expertise in the field of flight and migration or similar ones, were also motivated by the opportunity to apply their knowledge in reality or inversely use the gained experience in the camp for a future career in this area. That means that the situation can be reciprocally beneficial; the volunteer can increase his or her experience and can use his or her knowledge to improve the work in the field.

In line with Forbes' (2002) model for international volunteering the third category relates to the search for another, new experience and the intention to explore other cultures and people and do something different. However the model has to be altered for the context of this study, because only a few interviewees were interested in Greece as a destination. The country's culture plays a minor role for the interviewees, however there is a strong focus on the culture of the asylum seekers and the quest to understand them, their background and their circumstances. This relates to some extent to the idea of the host-guest relationship suggested by Singh (2002), which regards the interactions between visitors and community members as motivational factor of high value. In this case, however, the community may not be the local population, but a third actor, the refugee population. Of course they cannot be defined as hosts in the usual sense of the word, especially considering the fact that they are also guests to the country. But the way the participants described their interest in the refugee's culture and traditions is similar to the one that international volunteers expressed about visited host communities in different volunteer environments. This is a very important particularity when it comes to the motivations of international volunteers in refugee relief. For them the *quest for the other or new* might not be related to the country, but to the micro-setting of the refugee camp and its cultural attractions. The reasons for most of them to come, are to show solidarity to the refugees and Greece. Greece is not perceived as a country as such, but as a region in Europe. Consequently the volunteers feel responsible as European citizens for the things that are happening in Greece. This circumstance stands in contrast to other current movements in Europe, that rather focus on national interests and increasingly take a distance to other countries. The failure of procedures like the Dublin system, or the relocation programme show that each country tends to regard more its own

interest instead of acting as a unity. Additionally, also the countries' populations are polarized and recently developing extreme right-oriented tendencies. On the other side stand the strong refugee response of many people from all over Europe that is forming strong networks to fight together for their common values.

Another very important motivational factor is the possibility to access the location to volunteer. Greece is perceived as a safe country, easy to reach and known to most of the participants as a tourism destinations. Thanks to its touristic infrastructure it is very easy to get around, find accommodation and other services required for the stay. In most of the other cases refugee settlements are located in very different parts of the world, mainly in developing countries, which might not be perceived as safe by the volunteers or where they might not even be allowed. Whereas Greece can be accessed easily for Western citizens and is not a completely new environment to most of the volunteers. This fact motivates many people that otherwise would not be able or daring to engage in volunteering.

As Löffler (2016) yet mentioned, motivations are also based on the chance to be part of a group which shares the same beliefs. Consistently some interviewees were attracted by the kind of volunteer-community that formed in the recent years and enables people from different nationalities with the same interests and standpoints to meet, interact and work together. This kind of new trend, as summarized in chapter 2.4, consists of a rapid increase of new volunteer organization and a growing interest of people wanting to engage. It is also correlating with the assumption of Clary et al. (1998) that social factors are important for the participants, because they see volunteering as an opportunity to meet new people, be with friends, and strengthen the relationship with others. The harsh conditions under which the volunteers work favours the development of strong bonds between team members. As summarized in chapter 1.3, also a few of the interviewees were motivated by the different style of travelling with a meaningful purpose and social interactions with other cultures. Volunteering in a refugee camp is perceived as an adventure and a way to gain social prestige. Therefore, many volunteers can be found in the camps who stay a short amount of time and/or combine it with a holiday. It seems to be a new form of 'social' tourism that many engaged or interested people use in order to get informed, participate or experience a very different kind of holiday.

Another motivation that is particularly strong among the interviewees is based on political criticism and frustration which constitutes their will to overtake the tasks that the European governments fail to fulfil. The refugees' human rights, explained in detail in chapter two, are perceived to be neglected or disregarded. Volunteers, who engage in the refugee response, have knowledge about the legislations and are motivated by the intention to show other countries and the asylum seekers that they do not agree with the management of the European governments. It is a factor that unites most of the participants and can also be noticed among other volunteers who work with refugees, as summarized in the socio-political discourse. This motivational factor is barely mentioned when it comes to other forms of volunteering. It leads to the assumption that one characteristic motivation of international volunteers who engage in the refugee response is their political activism and their will to contribute to a better society as a whole.

Many volunteers also travelled for a second time to the same refugee camp, regardless the fact that their workforce was needed. The motivation to return is mainly based on emotional ties that were created with the people from the refugee community and other volunteers. The personal wish to re-experience the same occurrence with the same people is in these cases greater than the altruistic fulfilment of immediate needs. However, it may also be assumed that the work is easier to conduct if the environment and its actors is already known. This and the fact that some people quit their jobs to support refugees, show the strong emotional values and bonds that volunteers relate with the situation.

Distinctions between different types of volunteers

The findings are a very good example to display the high complexity of the phenomena volunteering in refugee camps and its wide-ranging interpretations that are also summarized in the first chapter. The interviewees describe and perceive contrasting kinds and paradigms of volunteers within the same setting.

The four categories revealed in the data analysis all show characteristics of the different kinds of volunteering that are summarized in chapter 1.2 and 1.3.

The ***long-term volunteers*** fit more in the description of international volunteering, because they seem to have more expertise in the field, stay for a longer period of time and have a stronger emphasis on benefits for the refugee community. In addition these kind of volunteers show a greater interest in development activities and sustainable practices. They also seemed to have a certain kind of knowledge in the field of humanitarian work beforehand. The general perception about them is positive, even though chapter 1.2 also lists possible negative impacts.

The ***short-term volunteers*** show characteristics of the voluntourists, since they engage for relatively short time, usually do not have special expertise, and combine their stay to some extent with leisure or holiday activities. Criticism is mainly related to their lack of expertise and length of stay. Yet, the literature defines two aspects about voluntourism that do not fit in the context of refugee support: The participants do not pay a fee and the organizational structure is not commercial. Also the fields of work in voluntourism are usually not in emergency relief, but rather in conservation, community development or education. Their contribution may be beneficial for the work in the camp, especially when it is well organized and structures. Nevertheless the terms related with the word tourism were rather used with a negative connotation by the participants. The theory reveals the same findings, as the word voluntourists or tourists is usually used to describe rather disturbing than beneficial behaviour.

The ***other volunteers*** characterize negative features, that are also summarized in the literature review, such as incompetent or inappropriate behaviour, a lack of knowledge, cultural insensitivity and too strong personal motivations. These are mainly related to people who stay a short amount of time, yet are also transferable to long-term volunteers. Therefore, this category stands alone and represents the interviewees' perceptions about 'bad' volunteers. Summing up theory and qualitative data it appears that there is a group of people who do not behave reflected, and are even harming for the work and the refugee community and who should rather donate the money they spent on coming. It is striking that whenever the participants talk about negative

sides they use the word the *others*. The phenomena of *othering* as described by Sin (2009) occurs when people focus on the similarities of their group and generalize negative attributes to other groups. It also happens often between different groups of tourists when travellers dissociate themselves from mass tourism and regard themselves as more reflected. The same phenomena occurs in international volunteering, where the individual volunteer distances the self from all negative sides and projects them onto others.

Another strong critical point that is presented in the findings and also in the theoretical part is the way a certain group of volunteers approaches the camp. People who walk around and take pictures and videos, preferably with children, are criticised by the interviewees. They seem to be mainly interested in the particularities of the refugee camp, its structures and the way people live. This implies that the miserable conditions of the refugees become to some extent a pull factor for some people and is particularly alarming in terms of ethical questions. The curiosity about the 'misery' of others, the way they live is and the adventure of exploring it parallels to the phenomena *slum tourism or voyeurism*.

Digression 1: Slum tourism

Chhabra and Chowdhury (2012) define slum tourism as "*an organized tour of a run-down area of a city characterized by standard housing and squalor*" (p.69). In recent years slum tourism experienced an overall growth. The phenomena started in South Africa and Brazil and then spread to many other destinations (Burgold, 2014). Proponents regard it as means to foster development, improve security and encourage cultural exchange. However in many cases it is heavily criticized and morally judged. Poverty seems to be the main attraction. That means it is no longer about the effects that tourism may have on poverty, but implies poverty as a tourism attraction (Frenzel, 2013). This fact increases concerns about ethical components of the new tourism form and raises the question whether it may rather be called voyeurism. Voyeurism in this context is referred to as the "*staring at poverty, showcasing backstage lives of slum dwellers and intruding personal spaces*" (Chhabra & Chowdhury, 2012, p.70).

Opponents call slum tourists "*immoral gawkers, and [their] gaze on poverty is compared to a visit to a zoo and judged as distasteful*" (Frenzel, Steinbrink & Koens, 2012, p.9). Urry (2012) calls it the tourist gaze stating that tourists are predefined to stare on landscape, nature, but also people and their living spaces. This way they try to encounter the *other*, in search of a real, genuine and authentic experience, often a mix of desire and fear. It appears to be the search for inverted aesthetics, where people are looking for the drama of the places and people. The slum seems to unconsciously impress the visitors, especially in its physical being, because it is such a different urban and social setting compared to the usual environment of the visitor (Frenzel, Steinbrink & Koens, 2012). Other motivations mentioned by the tourists are the thrill of the unknown, the will to contribute to the development, to help, to learn and see the real picture. Additionally, slum tourists aim to gain an experience in terms of smells, sounds, contorted streets and the overall atmosphere (Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink, & Rogerson, 2015). It is often about the exoticism of poverty, the poor living conditions of residents and a certain way to romanticize the situation (Steinbrink, 2012). For the local residents however the impact, especially in monetary

terms, remains relatively little. Some people perceive it as commercialization of poverty and feel intruded in their privacy, particularly when people take photos. But some residents perceive it as positive as well and say it helps to challenge stereotypes, breaks their isolation and they feel proud that people come to visit them (Frenzel et al., 2015). Some scholars point out that slum tourism has overlaps with other forms of tourism like volunteer tourism or development tourism. In some slums short-term volunteer tourism offers were even developed (Frenzel et al., 2015).

The last category regards professional volunteers and disassociates them from the other kinds of volunteers by defining it as a professional, serious approach, that is a tool of development aid.

The boundaries between the different types can not be distinguished perfectly clear. A volunteer may have features of all categories and it might be difficult to allocate some people to one of the sections. But, it is important to know that the characteristic of international volunteers in refugee relief can vary drastically from each other. The difference between long and short-term volunteers reflect the data summarized in chapter 1.4 that compares voluntourism and international volunteering. It may be assumed, that some people can be more defined as tourists, others as development workers. The classification into the different types can help when regarding one specific group of volunteers and indicates in which field of research information can be found. However, it has to be considered that volunteering and serious leisure are located very closely to each other and overlap even in some cases as shown in figure 2 of Stebbins and Graham (2004). Also, it is interesting, that the term *voluntourist* or *tourist* is used rather in a critical sense in the socio-political discourse and the interviews. It leads to the assumption that people project negative features to the term and would never define themselves as tourists. This is in line with the findings of Devereux (2008), that describe volunteer tourism as the negative modification of international volunteering. But it has to be outlined that he names the commercial structure as main reason for that, which is not applicable to the situation under consideration. Moreover, it can not be proven, that any person, who is combining a holiday with voluntary work in the camp, is automatically a worse volunteer than others. It is however a common practice of people to distance themselves from others and regard themselves as superior. The same phenomena happens in tourism, as described by Cohen (1979) and also in volunteering, where some development aid organisations do not use the term *volunteer* any more, because, due to all the individual people engaging in it, they perceive it as negative and unprofessional.

Regarding the three different paradigms for volunteering of Fallis (2013) it becomes clear that the members can be distinguished from each other. Most of the short-term volunteers can be classified in the *serious leisure paradigm*, as the work is occasional and is generally using the structures of an organisation. Many long-term volunteers fit in the *civil-society paradigm*, because their support is based on solidarity. Their motivations are much profounder as for the others and they aim to achieve a mutual goal in society, in this case it may be the fight against the violation of human rights. This kind of engagement is closer related to activism. Those, who are not as much committed in political change, but are still focusing on humanitarian based

support, may be allocated in the *non-profit paradigm*. The classification can help to get an insight of their various characteristics and may be used as a framework to understand, prepare and improve their work.

Distinctions between non-governmental organisations

The results show that there are not only various types of volunteers operating in refugee camps, but also different kinds of organisational structures. Besides local authorities and civilians, other external institutions are involved in the work. The main players are small grass-root organisations, like the ones presented in the case, and large NGOs, like UNHCR or Oxfam. It is important to outline their characteristics in order to understand the various fields of work, responsibilities and classifications in the field of international volunteers.

As findings and theory reveal many new small grass-root organisations formed in recent years, as a response to the high amount of refugees arriving to Europe. International volunteers, who are the key group in this research, are usually members of these structures. Their advantages are their shared beliefs, flexibility and their close relations to the refugee community. Disadvantages are a lack of structure, disorganization and a certain degree of immaturity. Opponents accuse them to misappropriate donation money, disturb development work and regard volunteering as economic activity. Other accusations, as listed in chapter 2.4, are the political, economic or even sexual exploitation of refugees and the authoritarian mind-set of some volunteers towards asylum seekers. The primary and secondary data clarify that these organisations form a new generation of international volunteers who engage in refugee relief and fill in gaps that could not be occupied by the governments of the European union. The challenge is to decrease the possible negative consequences by improving the selection and preparation of volunteers, their implications and their organizational structure. The study of Karakayali and Kleist (2015) reveals that national volunteer organisations are often founded spontaneously, in response to the need, and therefore are lacking a formal operational framework. Consequently a lot of time is spent for the organization of the volunteering activity itself. The same applies for volunteering with refugees in an international context. Thus it can be assumed that the structures of small NGOs have to be strengthened and supported by the official side or established organisations.

The other big player in refugee camps are the established NGOs, which are working professionally, have skilled and carefully selected staff, expertise, sufficient financial means and, in some cases, political mandates. Nevertheless they are often criticized for being too slow in decision-making, distant and lacking communication with other stakeholders. The employees are not emotionally bonded to the situation, as the international volunteers are, and have a different approach to the work. Yet, in general the findings show that the big organization are needed in the context of refugee relief, especially when it comes to material and structural support.

Interactions, collaborations and conflicts

The findings show four important interactions of small volunteer organisations with (1) locals, (2) the camp community, (3) other grass-root organisations and (4) established NGOs. As also

stated in chapter 2.3.3, it emerges that refugee camps are enormously complex work settings with many actors who have different roles, responsibilities and intentions.

Generally, the interactions with Greek civilians are positive in and outside the refugee camp, especially when comparing them to other places in Europe, as the theoretical part shows. Criteria for good relations appear to be the Greeks historical experience and sensitivity towards social questions. On the other hand relations are especially good when the volunteers are respectful in their behaviour and recognized that they are guests in the country. Even though the interactions with the Greeks, who the volunteers met in their daily work were good, there seem to be other groups that stay away from the international volunteers, mainly because of their negative features explained above. Another reason may be that their support is not required, because there are many foreign people who take over the tasks. However, the involvement of Greek people is particularly important, since they are the only sustainable resource among the workers. At some point, the volunteers have to leave and if the refugees stay in the country it should be assured that they have a good relationship with their hosts. The importance to include the local people is also mentioned by the UNV programme stated in the theoretical part (United Nations Volunteers, n.d.) Consequently the need arises to foster a good relationship between Greeks and refugees.

The findings show that the interactions with the camp community are one of the most positive aspects in the work of international volunteers in supporting refugees, especially considering informal contact. Apart from some conflicts, often caused by the refugees' frustration about their situation, the encounters are described as very valuable for both sides. Strong emotional ties develop between refugees and volunteers. Nevertheless the results warn that these friendships do not develop on an equal level and therefore, can be very complex and even harming.

Positive interactions between the small organisations are an essential factor for the success of the work in refugee relief. Through communication, shared expertise and resources such as interdisciplinary collaboration common goals can be reached. Yet, the results show that there is a high potential for conflict between the different NGOs. The findings prove that there occur competitions between them, and some behave hostile towards others. This fits again to Sin's (2009) theory of *othering* which counts also for groups of people as they create so called in-group and out-group categories, meaning that people within one group compare their positive sites with the negative ones of others. This can explain intergroup relations and conflicts between them. A solution for this issue could be an increase in community and clear assigned tasks and role to prevent competitions.

The last important interactions is the one with the established NGOs, where two opposing sides emerged. On the one hand, small and big NGOs criticize each others for their particular structures and also reflect the theory of *othering* in their behaviour. On the other hand, exactly their differences can be an advantage in the work. The result outline that the two players have different, yet reciprocal essential roles. Whereas the big NGOs have sufficient funds to provide material and structural support and the professional expertise, the small NGOs are focusing more on small-scale projects and inter-human relationships with an emotional approach. This is a particular striking aspect that was not considered in former research, but can be primary new standpoint to shape the collaboration between these two actors.

The volunteer experience

The accounts of the volunteers are in line with the assumptions of Guhan and Liebling-Kalifani (2011), stating that volunteers who work with refugees are exposed to an outstanding high level of emotional impact. They relate to a sense of reward, accomplishment and satisfaction that are experienced by the volunteers. But the findings reveal, that the experience for international volunteers who operate outside of their place of residence is much more intense. Despite the hard physical and mental challenges that they are confronted with, the interviewees still describe their experience as very positive and meaningful. It seems to be so intense, that people even talk about another *space time* or *parallel universe*. This new circumstance shows that volunteers who operate in other countries are much more emotionally affected by the situation than others. An explanation for that could be that they engage full-time and often have long working days, whereas national volunteers work less because they still have other responsibilities. In many cases they are only exposed to the camp or the refugee community and even spent their free time there. Consequently they only live and communicate within this micro-setting. Additionally, people interacting in refugee support, despite of their differences explained above, are still a homogeneous group in regards to their common beliefs, which increases the sense of belonging. These aspects favour a condensed feeling about the place and the work, that differs strongly from their 'usual' reality. For some people it is even so strong, that they decide to stay.

Despite or maybe because of, the strong emotional bonds, the volunteers have to face many obstacles in their work. The findings show eleven fields of challenges in regards to the individual experience, organizational issues and the particular work setting.

In line with the result that the emotional component is the strongest part of the volunteer experience, it is also one of the main challenges. The literature illustrates that the work with refugees can have a profound influence on their personal life and even cause secondary traumas. The participants are exposed to the challenging situation of the refugees as well as to the competition with others. This is a very difficult setting, especially considering that they do not have any psychological or thematic preparation for the work. Some volunteers described that they even distanced themselves from the suffering of the people by becoming kind of unapproachable. This is an alarming finding, because it can influence the people's intentions and perceptions drastically. The results show that inter-human relationships are one of their most intensive and important tasks and a change in their behaviour would most likely have negative effects. To prevent this it is absolutely necessary to conduct some kind of training beforehand in order to give them some tools to handle the situation in an appropriate way.

The high level of disorganisation such as the lack of preparation and expertise are already elaborated in the academic literature. The informal, disorderly structures of many small organisations can be explained by their relatively recent founding dates. Since they developed spontaneously in response to the increasing numbers of asylum seekers in Europe, they did not have enough time or experience to develop formal functions. The small NGOs or groups of volunteers do not have standardized procedures for their members yet, which explains the lack of preparation and expertise of the participants. However, the data reveals first attempts of organisations to prepare their members, like facebook pages or other social media channels.

Another explanation for their structure can be that it is their intention, because they are often operating in legal grey spaces and do not want to lose their flexibility. Further, many are opposing to the bureaucratic structures as the established NGOs have, which slow down decision-making process. The assumption is also in line with the fact that the interviewees perceive structural changes as a challenge.

The fluctuation of volunteers and the resulting challenges are not yet regarded in the academic research. However, the issue is discussed by media channels already as chapter 2.4 illustrates. It appears that the new trend 'volunteering with refugees' attracts many short-term volunteers, also referred to as voluntourists. They might have negative effects on the work, especially considering inter-human relations. But also in regards to the ways of helping, which require a certain experience and sensitivity that cannot be acquired in such a short time. On the other hand they complement the activities in the camps. As there are not as many people who stay for a longer period of time, it can be assumed that their work is a valuable component. The issue raises the question whether or not the involvement of short-term volunteers is harmful or if it would be better to donate the money they spent on coming and invest it in the relief work. This dilemma is a new particular finding of this context and requires further research in this particular field.

Challenges relating to the work setting are also a particular finding in the context of this research. Working under these conditions is hard and can influence the emotional mind set of a person as well. Being directly in the camp means an increase of exposure to the situation and having to deal with its particularities, such as children disturbing the daily tasks, crime or the daily suffering. Volunteers have to be aware of the characteristics of such a work setting and all the possible difficulties in order to be a helpful supporter. The findings outline as well the importance of the well-being of the volunteer itself, if that is not assured the person cannot support others either. Therefore, it is important to assure good living and working conditions for the volunteers.

Theory and qualitative data reveal that in many cases the reason for challenges is related to the volunteer. It may be a lack of thematic preparation, emotional sensibility or the length of stay. A solution to many of these issues could be an intensive induction for new volunteers and the provision of normal living and working conditions. To prevent other difficulties the development of a certain operational framework is essential.

Self-perception of their role

In the findings three distinct roles international volunteers emerged, even though the participants are quite humble in consideration to their particular role in the context.

In accordance with the existing literature one of their roles is to take over functional tasks to improve the conditions for refugees. This can be regarded as a very important duty, because they are filling the gaps of the dysfunctional official systems which are illustrated in the second chapter. For the international volunteers it is a significant work, but in their opinion, it is not their main role.

According to their perception the most important argument for them being involved in supporting refugees is based on immaterial values, it is about the personal contact with the asylum seekers and the capability to raise awareness about them. This circumstance is elaborated in other research in the field, yet not as the most significant part of their contribution. The emphasis on the interactions with refugee can be related to the desired effects of international volunteering, clarified in chapter 1.2, that focus on cross-cultural awareness and understanding. A study of Devereux (2008) shows similar findings and states that solidarity and mutual learning are important outcomes of international volunteering. Going back to the challenges and conflicts between different actors, some of them do not seem to matter any more in the light of this purpose. For example a volunteer's lack of skills are not a significant weakness if the main purpose of the stay is to communicate with the refugees. Developing the thought a bit further, the role of international volunteers can even be regarded as the first step to integration. Therefore, the need to travel to Greece also becomes a greater importance, because it enables them to show people their solidarity right from the start. It can be assumed that this is a very important factor when it comes to the perception of asylum seekers towards the European communities and their willingness to integrate. In this light, the differences between small and big NGOs seem minor, even favourable. It proves the significant value of their two distinguished roles, that were elaborated earlier in this chapter. Considering this the established organisations provide a material and structural contribution, while the small ones focus on the individual, personal part of this work. This does not preclude that volunteers also take over necessary tasks, but the way they do it and their interaction with the refugees seems to be much more important and valuable as for the big NGOs. One can not work without the other, as they are serving two various fields. This arguments could also be used to soften the accusations from both sides. From this new perspective it is not a large problem any more if big NGOs do not show a lot of interactions with the beneficiaries, as long as the volunteers mediate between them. On the other hand small NGOs could not be criticised of being unprofessional, as long as there are specialists who have the capability of working highly professional.

Even though the length of stay would still matter relating to the personal contacts, it might not considering the fact of raising awareness. Assuming that creating awareness is one of the most significant roles of volunteers, it can be speculated that it would be better if more people engage in the work, even only for a short amount of time, to create a wider network of awareness.

These findings change to some extend the perception of the volunteers' role in the context of working with refugees and add an important argument to the existing literature. In order to shape and improve the work in refugee relief this phenomena should be further researched to make recommendations to the involved actors. The perspective of the refugees is still largely unknown and needs to be explored in order to understand their perceptions of the work of the various actors in the field. Further to continue the argument it needs to be elaborated if the contribution of international volunteers influences the integration of refugees in their final destinations. Regarding the second important immaterial role to create awareness a research should be conducted on how and to what extend volunteers spread their message when they return and what effect it actually has on their social clusters and even on themselves.

In a last step the matrix of the Institute for Volunteering (2004) is used to illustrate the role that the engagement of international volunteers plays for themselves, for the Greek community and for the service users, the refugees. It includes findings of the other sections as well.

Table 8 proves that the two factors physical and economic capital play a minor role in the context of refugee support. A significant emphasis lays on the social and cultural capital. The findings show that these aspects are the most meaningful in the experience of international volunteers. Throughout the whole sections the inter-human relations play an important role for independent volunteers and volunteers of small NGOs. Whether they stay for a long or short time does not influence their focus on social interactions. Lastly, the table reveals as well that human capital is a common consequence of volunteering. Many people with related academic or professional experiences engage, which is definitely an advantage for the work they are engaged with. Also these skilled people are needed to structure the people who come without skills and use their forces to achieve the best possible outcome. To sum it up, it can be said that it is a particularity of volunteering in the refugee response that social and cultural factors play such a striking role. In other types of volunteering this is not always the fact and the physical outcome may be more important, for example in conversation or disaster relief. This fact has to be taken under consideration when preparing volunteers for their work abroad. Maybe in this light, the focus should be rather on social or psychological expertise, intercultural mediation or the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorders, such as emotional self-protection. Lastly, it has to be considered that interactions between humans can be very complex and therefore, the interactions need to be managed and reflected with care.

Physical capital	Human capital	Economic capital	Social capital	Cultural capital	
-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Personal development -Use and test academic or professional skills -Increase in self-esteem - Experience for future career 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Costs of travelling and staying in Greece versus the value of the experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Higher interest and participation in public affairs -Increase in political awareness -Creation of bonds with refugees and locals -Collaborating in a new movement of people with same values -Belonging to a group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Understanding of other cultures locals and refugees -Acquirement of knowledge about situation to raise awareness in social clusters -Creation of intercultural understanding to prevent isolation and xenophobia - Appreciate cultural diversity 	Volunteers
Increased quantity of material services (food, medication, clothing, other items)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal development through interactions, integration and learning opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to free services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Creation of networks, friendships and trust -Experiencing solidarity with strangers - Reduction of frustration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Appreciation and understanding of other cultures as a first step of integration -Learning exchange - Value of cultural and personal identity 	Service Users
-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skill development of citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Save money for services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Appreciation and understanding of other cultures -Greater awareness about the situation 	Community

Table 8: Roles of international volunteering in supporting refugees. Source: Own research based on the matrix of the Institute for Volunteering Research (2004).

Conclusion

This research firstly, explored the current status of international volunteers working in the refugee response in Europe. Secondly, it strengthened the understanding of how the international volunteers perceive the characteristics of their work in a refugee camp and unravelled the complexity of the phenomena. It identified the structure, challenges and chances of the work, such as motivations for people to travel to Greece and their perceptions about the role they play. This chapter shortly concludes the steps that were taken in order to answer the research questions. Herewith, it summarizes the main findings and highlights the specific contribution of the study and when applicable proposes fields of action. Lastly, it describes the limitations and gives recommendations for further research.

The theoretical part is divided into two sections to elaborate a necessary framework for the research. Foremost, it explains relevant literature in the field of volunteering. The theory outlines its wide-ranging nature, especially regarding the international components. Motivations, fields of work, perceptions and outcome of voluntary activities can vary enormously and depend on the individual participant and/or the organisational structure. Since the volunteer is the main actor in this study, it is important to describe the different shapes of the phenomena for a better comprehension of the complex context. In a next step, it summarizes the socio-political context of the field flight and migration. An insight of the present situation for refugees worldwide, especially in Europe, is given to highlight the significance of the research topic and clarify the underlying legal, political and social conditions. It draws attention to criticism about the authorities' inadequate support for asylum seekers, and thus explains one of the main reasons for the rapid increase in voluntary engagement in recent years. Academic research about this particular context does not exist yet, because it is a relatively new field. Yet, various media channels reveal a wide range of information that are summarized in order to increase the knowledge about international volunteers supporting refugees in Europe. Based on these understandings, the qualitative data collection was prepared. Interviews and observations were conducted in a refugee camp in Greece to explore the questioning under consideration.

Relating to the first research question, the findings demonstrate a new movement of people, engaging in voluntary activities all over Europe. As a response to the shortcomings of the European governments, many individuals, from different age-groups, nations and backgrounds, started to engage and to unionise in small grass-root organisations to support refugees, mainly in locations where the conditions are extraordinarily bad like in Greece. Their motivations are based on compassion, solidarity and their frustration about the deficient procedures of the accountable authorities. Once started, the participants tend to continue and travel to different locations, return to the same place again or engage in their own countries to support refugees. Despite of emotional and structural challenges such as complex interactions with various actors, they contribute to an improvement of the conditions for asylum seekers. Nevertheless, there are also negative aspects to consider in relation to their involvement. Opponents accuse some volunteers to exploit refugees for their own political, economical or even sexual agenda and criticise the high fluctuation of people engaging and disengaging in the voluntary work. Often,

these temporary volunteers show a lack of sensitivity, expertise and appropriate behaviour. Proponents outline their essential role to raise awareness about the situation, show their solidarity and create bonds with the refugees, which can be reciprocal beneficial if managed properly.

Considering the first and second research question, the findings deepen the understanding of the characteristics regarding the work of international volunteers in refugee camps and help to interpret the complexity of the particular context. They document the diversity among voluntary workers, their variation in experience, fields of work and length of stay and outline the particular challenges of working in the setting of a refugee camp. Other than previous research suggested, the volunteers are usually not affiliated with an established organizational structure, but are organized individually or in small groups. The findings showed that one reason may be the possibility to access Greece easily without the assistance of an organization. In many cases, especially in the field of refugee settlements, the destinations lack sufficient infrastructure, accessibility or safety and therefore, hinder the involvement of individual volunteers. Since the current crisis is happening within the European territory, a greater amount of people is able to get involved. Further, a shift in responsibilities from immediate relief work to a stronger focus on immaterial activities was detected and needs to be taken into consideration for eventual preparation workshops for volunteers.

Their motivations confirm former findings as they can be divided in altruistic and self-interested motives. Additionally, two unexpected motivational factors were discovered, political values and strong emotional bonds. The first one revealed that many volunteers were driven by their frustration about the governments' response and felt the responsibility as European citizens to defend the peoples human rights individually and beyond borders. The latter was detected in relations to the fact that many volunteers tend to return to the same refugee camp, either for a simple visit or to volunteer again. Considering the international nature of the activity, a third motive, the quest for the other, was noticed. Yet, in this context it was not related to the country, but to the camp itself, which was perceived as kind of a micro-setting to discover the culture of the refugee community. The findings showed that this new volunteer-community attracts the interest of increasingly more participants who seek to experience the adventure of working in a refugee camp. Some people define this as a social or humanitarian holiday.

The study revealed a new awareness about different types of volunteers working in the setting of a refugee camp, which was not found in previous research. It defines four contrasting forms: long-term, short-term, the 'other' and professional volunteers and relates them to existing theories about volunteering. Long-term volunteers fit primarily to the definition of international volunteering and are generally perceived as knowledgeable and strongly engaged. Short-term volunteers were defined as voluntourists, because they participate for a limited amount of time, usually in their holidays. If managed properly they can make a positive contribute, even though terms related to tourism were used rather critically. The 'other' volunteers stand for the incompetent type of volunteers incorporating all possible negative features. The findings show that they cannot be allocated to one particular group of people, instead they are an image for people to focus on their own positive sides and externalize all destructive attributes to others.

Lastly the professional volunteers are the ones who are affiliated with an established organisation and have a rather formal approach to the work.

Additionally, the findings documented two main non-governmental actors involved in the work. Firstly, they describe the small grass-root organisations characterised by their strong common beliefs, flexibility and proximity to the people and criticized for their immaturity, lack of structure and professionalism. Most of the international volunteers are unionised in such groups or are collaborating with them. Secondly, they highlight the advantages of large established organisation which work professional, have skilled staff, financial means and political mandates. They focus mainly on material, functional and structural fields of work. On the other side they accuse them of being slow in decision-making, distant and not visible in their actions.

The study deepens the understanding about interactions, collaborations and arising conflicts that the volunteers have to face in their daily work. They outline that encounters with Greek people are positive, yet not many participate in the work. This is a striking finding and highlights the need to strengthen the relationships between locals and volunteers such as, most importantly, refugees. Since the refugees' duration of stay in Greece is unclear, it is important to maintain good relations with the local population, as they are the only sustainable resource in this context. The study outlines that the interactions with the refugee community are the most important aspect of the volunteers work. Another finding, that is particular for the research context, are the conflicts that occur between different organisations. In some cases, there seems to be a competition between them about who is providing the best contribution. In other cases, however, they profit of interdisciplinary collaboration through communication such as shared expertise and resources. These cases should be taken as best-practice examples to prevent conflicts. In relation to the interactions between small and large NGOs the study adds a significant consideration to the existing literature. It revealed that both actors have essential roles in different areas and rely on each other.

Relating to the experience of volunteers working in refugee camps it becomes clear that it has a strong emotional impact on them. This is in accordance with other studies about the work in refugee relief on a national level. Yet, the result lead to the assumption that the impressions are much stronger considering volunteering in another country. Reasons for that are the people's different time resources when operating out of their usual environment. It appears, that the refugee camp becomes kind of a parallel universe for the participants which favours condensed emotions. Moreover, volunteers have to face many challenges in their work, mainly related to organizational issues, the work setting and the individual experience. The findings demonstrate that the strongest difficulties are related to the volunteer itself and are often caused by a lack of time, preparation or emotional strength. This fact can also be related to the shift of responsibilities. While they were only providing material goods before, their new tasks focus more on personal relationships. It can be assumed that many refugees suffer from post-traumatic stress disorders and volunteers are generally not skilled in that field. Therefore, it may have negative effects on them, that are increased by the physical challenges of the setting, and could even cause secondary traumas. To prevent these consequences preparation workshops for new volunteers should be organized. Additionally, it has to be assured that they have adequate living

and working conditions during their stay. Further, the study adds to former research relating to the informal, often disorganized structures in which volunteers operate. To assure a certain degree of structure, operational frameworks should be developed. Besides, established or government institution could provide support.

Lastly, the research illustrates the practical and emotional roles volunteers have in working with refugees. Other than the improvement of the conditions for refugees, a significant finding was that most of the people perceive their main role as based on immaterial values relating to relationships and awareness raising. The focus lays on the personal contact with the refugees and to tell people among their social clusters about their experience. This finding is of extraordinarily importance, because it can be assumed that it is the first step to a functioning integration of the asylum seekers. From the perspective of the asylum seekers, but also the communities. It changes to some extent the perceptions about their work, as a lack of functional skills and structure seems minor in this light. Further, it strengthens the assumptions that big and small organisations have different functions. The essential role of the volunteer in regards to intercultural communication and the creation of respect and understanding should be acknowledged more, also by established organisations and authorities. Additionally, they should get the essential training to improve their work.

The study contributes to similar findings about volunteering with refugees on a national level and opens the way for further research regarding its international components. In addition, the research adds to the existing work about international volunteering by relating it to the on-going refugee situation in Europe. Connecting the two fields volunteering and refugee support on an international level is a relatively new field of research. With regards to the current situation worldwide people will most likely continue to seek refuge in Europe due to political tensions, wars, poverty, or the consequences of climate change. Therefore, voluntary engagement becomes increasingly significant in the field of humanitarian aid and integration. It gives an insight of the challenging work characteristics in refugee camps and its complicated connections. Besides, it outlines the significant function of international volunteers and the highly responsible role they play. Therewith, this work adds to the perception of volunteers in the context of the refugee response and explains their important purpose all over Europe, such as their most essential task in promoting tolerance and favouring integration. However, it also warns of possible negative implications and emphasises on the need to frame and organize their work to a certain extent. This way, even people with less experience, which may be more related to tourists, can participate and contribute to a positive outcome. Regarding the stated new trend of volunteering in the refugee response, the study contributes to the understanding of this movement and outlines the need to guide and manage it in order to have the best possible results for all people involved. This work contributes to the understanding of the phenomena and the acknowledgement of the volunteers' work in collaboration with other important actors. Based on this importance it can also serve as a basis for further research, that should extend the information about the phenomena in order to prepare, manage and acknowledge international volunteers appropriately.

The research method which was used to clarify the research questioning has proven to be an adequate strategy to unravel the phenomena. Due to its qualitative character the researcher was

able to explore the context of international volunteers, which is still largely unknown. Quantitative research methods would have not lead to the same awareness since the participants' personal perception and intrinsic intention were discovered. The combination with one specific interview from the professional perspective, the field observations and the collected secondary data lead to the assumption that the results have external validity.

Limitations

This qualitative research is subject to the following limitations. Firstly, it was constricted to a certain time-frame and therefore it was not possible to explore the complex issue from all perspectives. For this reason it is limited to the perceptions of the international volunteers.

Considering the chosen data collection methods a few boundaries have to be mentioned as well. A non-probability sample was used for the collection of interviews. That means, participants voluntarily decided to join after being asked. Other people denied and might have expressed different views than the ones willing to cooperate. Another aspect which is limiting the results is the fact that some of the participants knew the interviewer, and therefore might have tried to give responses which they consider desirable for the researcher. Besides, they might have been restricted to openly express their opinion, especially in regards to issues that would be considered inappropriate. Generally, the social-desirability bias often occurs when conducting face-to-face interviews. Respondents tend to give answers in a way to present themselves as having social desirable or respectable character traits (Krosnick, 1999). Also the language barrier was a challenge, since the interviews were conducted in English, however only participant seven and 15 were native speakers. Some participants might have been more detailed and clear in their answers when talking in their mother language (Bryman, 2008).

When it comes to the field observations, the researcher itself may be biased and firstly needs to clarify and neutralizes its own social understandings and values when interpreting the data. Besides, the presence of an observer may have an influence on the context, which is largely unknown (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). For that reason the volunteers working in the camp were not informed about the research. This way the researcher was able to observe their daily work without them being biased by its presence. This was possible because of former engagement in the field. However, it is only an assumption and cannot be guaranteed, as it is impossible to find out if they would have behaved different without the presence of the researcher.

Lastly, due to the time frame and scope of this study a limited amount of people was interviewed in a constricted period. Yet, it may have depicted a profounder understanding to investigate a higher amount of people over a longer time. Even though data triangulation is used to increase the rigour, the relatively small sample size can limit the generalizations and external validity to a certain extend. The reliability may also be restricted, because the results are based on the personal interpretation of the researcher and the individual accounts of the interviewees. This can lead to misinterpretation and a certain subjectivity. Therefore, the findings should lead to further investigations with different methods and foci in order to increase the knowledge of the phenomena of international volunteers working in the refugee response.

Recommendations for further research

This is the first qualitative research about international volunteers supporting refugees in Europe, thus there is a strong need for further research. As the study is exploratory, it aims to clear complexity of the phenomena international volunteering in refugee camps. At this point, the circumstances of the setting and the interactions, challenges, and different actors are clearer. Therefore, a lot of possible fields for further research with quantitative and qualitative methods appear.

In this study only one perspective of the whole field is regarded is explored. Additional qualitative studies should be conducted in order to understand the perceptions of the refugee community, the Greek population, the established NGOs or the official authorities, towards international volunteers. Additionally, each of their interactions could be researched in detail. The two new motivational factors, *political awareness* and *reasons to return to the same place* require a deeper understanding. It would be interesting to find out to what extend the people were political active in the past, present and future and how the volunteering activity influenced their behaviour. Considering the fact that many return for a second time it could be considered to compare their stays with each other to elaborate changes or developments. Relating to the distinct types of volunteers, especially the negative features and the similarities with tourism, it is needed to find out, if these kinds of tourism or volunteering form are really harming to the refugee community and if so, how to prevent such a behaviour. Talking about the challenges it should be elaborated which emotional impact the engagement of volunteering really has on the individual, also with a long-term perspective. A strong focus should be put on the immaterial values of the relationships between refugees and volunteers, and qualitative such as quantitative research should be conducted to describe the meaning of these bonds and to relate to integration. If a correlation can be proven, this would be a striking finding and maybe improve the image of individual volunteers among the established NGOs. Possibly, it could even lead to institutional collaboration and financial or structural support from the authorities for smaller volunteer organisations.

Regarding quantitative research it would be interesting to get statistical data about the volunteers, their countries of origin, age, academic and professional background, former engagement, and average length of stay. Also when it comes to the volunteers' awareness raising among their social clusters, data is needed to depict how they spread their message, on which channels, how many people they reach and what kind of implications it has.

It is evident that there are still a great many opportunities and necessities for further research in the field of international volunteering in the refugee response, due to the topicality of the topic. It will of importance in the future because, due to war, the climate change, famine, political tensions and various other reasons, it can be supposed that more people will try to seek asylum and support in Europe. Thus, it is evident to get a better understanding of the importance of the international volunteers' role in order to improve and support their work.

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APPENDIX A: List of abbreviations

AIRE	Agrupación Integral de Rescate de Emergencias (NGO)
APA	American Psychological Association
AYS	Are Your Syrious (NGO)
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CALOID	Calais Aid (NGO)
CEAS	The Common European Asylum System
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
ESI	European Stability Initiative
EU	European Union
FT	Financial Times
IVS	International Volunteering and Services
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MDM	Médecins du Monde (NGO)
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières (NGO)
NCVO	National Council for Voluntary Organisations (hereinafter:
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHC	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNRIC	United Nations Regional Information Centre
UNV	United Nations Volunteer Programme
USA	United States of America

APPENDIX B: Field observations

1	Field observations 12th until 19th of August – Camp Katsikas, Greece
2	The following notes were taken handwritten during the time the researcher passed in and around the refugee camp in the village Katsikas, in Western Greece, in order to observe the work and interactions of international volunteers. The actors did not know that they were observed, because they knew the researcher as an active participant of their social setting. The observations were transcribed shortly after and arranged according to date and location of the observation.
3	12/08/2016
4	<i>Warehouse</i>
5	The Spanish people have a warehouse five minutes walk away from the camp. Refugees are not allowed in there. Other volunteers need to ask before entering. There is a lot of space in the warehouse. There is a section with clothing only for volunteers.
6	Edu, a Spanish volunteer tells me that there are many people, who go after the volunteering for a couple of weeks on holidays. Many just stay for a couple of weeks in the camp. Edu says the only difference between the professional volunteers and the others is the fact that they get payed for what they do. There are some tensions between different groups of volunteers.
7	People talk about the others who leave their material outside and do not care properly of their belongings.
8	Many people come and go, they are new, other are coming to say goodbye. One guy who has been here since 4 months tells me that he is only willing to memorize a name if they stay longer than 2 months.
9	<i>Workshop</i>
10	There is a discussion about how to deal with other volunteers. The question is raised if they should even be allowed to enter the workshop. They should only be allowed when they give a workshop session and they should not wear their organization's shirt or uniform. For example lighthouse. They perceive it as ridiculous that lighthouse put up a flag on the things they have built.
11	<i>Camp</i>
12	In front of the camp are many parked cars, around 20.
13	In front of the warehouse are sitting around 10 volunteers, drinking ice coffee, chatting with each other, talking to some refugees. They greet me in Spanish, “Hola” and talk Spanish with me. I say that I am German, they are a little bit surprised at first and struggle to speak English.
14	Apart from them there are other volunteers. In fact it is crowded with people in uniforms running around and doing different things. There are so many people because it is summer holiday one guy tells me. I have met people from Australia, the United States of America, Chile, Morocco and various European countries: Spanish (many of them), French, Germans, Belgium people, Italians, Swizz people, Swedish, Danish, Finish and so on...
15	There is a kind of cafe or little shop opened up by one of the camp inhabitants. She also arranged a small sitting area. There are 4 volunteers sitting there drinking coke and

	playing guitar.
16	There is another tent, where an inhabitant sells jewelry, inside are also sitting some volunteers having coffee. One buys a bracelet. He has a kind of display table where he shows me his work and tells me some prices. However, for me, he says, it is free. He knows me already from the first time when I was there in April.
17	When I am entering the warehouse I feel like people look at me strangely, because they do not know me and think that I am a confused volunteer. In the warehouse is a big blackboard which shows the different tasks that need to be covered in the camp and displays names of responsible persons. There are weekly and daily tasks.
18	We have coffee in a tent of a Syrian family. One girl is telling me that she opened up a beauty shop and asks me if I want to come.
19	Another tent is selling melons.
20	There is a second shop, which is selling drinks and snacks. Also there are some volunteers buying items.
21	13/08/2016
22	<i>Camp</i>
23	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) built new tents in the camp. Almost all the volunteers and also the refugees think very negatively about it. The people do not want to move into the new tents because they want proper housing or stay in the ones they have. The volunteers say they knew that and do not understand why people from UNHCR could not come and talk with the people first, instead of just building tents. They say they wasted money and could have done many good things with this money.
24	I talk with a guy in the camp. He is a volunteer from Italy and is sitting in front of the warehouse. He tells me that he has just arrived in Katsikas and that he stays in an airbnb. I asked him what he will do. He does not know yet he says. He will stay for 2 weeks and contacted one of the volunteer organizations before arrival. He is excited about his time.
25	There are many volunteers in the camp, that I met also in April when I was here. Some are staying now for longer time, but others also say, that they just came back for a week to visit. The people in the camp I talk to are really happy about these visits. They say that this way they see that people do not forget them.
26	Also there are some people that I have met in April. Back then their plan was to only stay for a couple of weeks. But now they are still here and haven't left in between. They tell me that they just could not go home and canceled all their responsibilities at home in order to stay.
27	Also I meet people that are now with another organization than they were before. People seem to change the organization while they are on the spot. Some even got recruited by the established organizations.
28	<i>Warehouse</i>
29	There are some tensions within a group of volunteers because they have been working a lot without much time to rest or leisure activities. The work they do, they say themselves, is not as rewarding as immediate relief work was (such as cooking and distributing food),

	because they do not see an outcome straight away. They are still working on building up the workshop for later use.
30	One refugee comes around and expresses critique. He does not understand why we all come to the camp. He wants us to stay at home in Germany and protest and make political pressure. He says he is very thankful for what volunteers do in the camp. However he would rather live in worse conditions now but have a faster pathway to travel on to other countries. He wants volunteers to be more political active. The fact that we can just demonstrate on the street in Germany surprises him. Now, even more, he does not understand why people are not raising their voices for the rights of refugees.
31	One refugee is even more extreme and says that some volunteers are using donor money for their own personal purposes.
32	14/08/2016
33	<i>General</i>
34	¶Today I conducted a few interviews.
35	¶There is a lot of pressure (emotional and physical) on some of volunteers. I have seen many tears in the last days. The situations seems to be very touching for some people, also the fact of not being able to help the people in the sense of bringing them over the borders. One volunteer tells me that he/she generally hides her feelings, because he/she feels ridiculous crying in front of the people that have experienced so hard things in the past and are living under horrible conditions right now.
36	Also there is kind of a competition between the volunteers, everyone is under pressure wanting to perform and give the best. Some people are very exhausted. Others are frustrated, because they do not feel that what they do has any sense. Some leave again.
37	Also between different organization a sense of competition can be sensed, yet they all cooperate.
38	There is a general negative attitude towards the Greek vice major who is responsible for the camp management and against the big organizations, mainly UNHCR and Oxfam.
39	15/08/2016
40	<i>Warehouse – camp</i>
41	Today I attend the daily volunteer meeting. There are around 50 volunteers attending the meeting. Most of them are Spanish and are a members of one of the Spanish volunteer organizations. The other ones came independently and will join one of the organizations or just stay individual. The person holding the meeting, called John, is in the camp since the very beginning. He speaks English and has a translator who translates into Spanish, because a lot of the people do not speak English very well. (How do they communicate with the people in the camp?). John explains that there is an extra section in the clothing storage where volunteers can pick some cloths. These are cloths that the refugees do not want. He is describing how the warehouse is structured: there is the store, which is divided in subsections depending on the cloths, there is an area for baby and children stuff, in the back there is the library where children and adults can come and get books, sit there and read, or play (kids). A couple of times a week a man from the camp (same who does the jewelry) comes and tell stories to the children. They seem to love it. He talks Arabic. Now they want to find someone who is telling stories in Kurdish and Farsi as well

	<p>in order to be fair to all the ethnic groups in the camp. Then he is assigning different tasks to people organizing everything on a blackboard. People get one day off in a week. They work in shifts starting with the daily meeting at 9, then having a 2 hours lunch break, and an afternoon shift until 5pm. After that the shift are over. He asks who is there for how long time and tries to assign more demanding tasks to one person who stays for a bit longer. There are weekly and daily tasks. He is repeating their motto a couple of times: <i>"It's easy to be nice, it's hard to be fair."</i> It seems to be very important to him that people understand what it means. (I think he has seen many people come and go and knows about the typical mistakes of people). All people should be treated the same way. No extra treats for anyone. In such a setting it would not be fair to favor some people. He is telling about some refugees that speak English well and are sociable people in general. He says it would not be fair if they always get a special treatment just because they are more out-coming and open than others. Also he is explaining some other rules in the camp. Like not to let unauthorized people enter the warehouse, not to drink in the camps etc. He reminds that most of the people are Muslims. He does not mention anything about clothing. He is offering a <i>camp tour</i> for the new people. He will show them around and show them the important spots in the camp.</p>
42	A lot of people are wearing shirts and sweaters of their organizations, almost like uniforms. Some people are not dressed very appropriate, shorts and belly tops.
43	16/08/2016
44	Today only interviews no observations noted.
45	17/08/2016
46	<i>Ioannina</i>
47	<p>Meeting with all the organizations who operate in the camps (big and small). It is organized by Mercy Corps and takes place in a government office out of the camp in the city Ioannina. They talk about the work tasks of all the volunteer organizations. Kind of coordinate their actions. They try to get an overview of dates and times of activities of the organizations. There is one organization that just arrived from France, the camp in Calais, and was assigned by the authorities to manage one of the smaller camps. They also talk about challenges that occurred and how they could support each others work. They also mention that there is often a lack of communication and information and that this needs to change. UNHCR should be responsible to coordinate the communication. Some tasks are overlapping. A database for activities is needed, there will be a google sheet. They talk about the issue of child protection, there are people getting in and out of the camp. There is no control. This is very dangerous for the children. They also talk about the meeting with Greek authorities and the mayor who is managing the camp. The plan is to coordinate firstly them under each other in order to be on the same page for the meeting with the mayor. Some people were distributing shoes without any planning in one of the camps and it got out of control. Oxfam ordered washing machines for the camp. There is a bed bug problem in one of the camps, UNHCR wants to burn everything in order to kill the insects, tents need to be destroyed. Others suggest an anti-plague program first. People are doing hunger strikes because they do not like the food which is provided by the catering. Some attendees suggests that they should just the cash which is otherwise spent for the catering and kitchen facilities. Like that they can cook alone. Others say it would burst the electricity supply if everyone cooks, fire places would be too dangerous.</p>
48	18/08/2016

49	<i>Camp</i>
50	<p>Today is a meeting with the vice mayor who is managing the camp. Representatives of all the organizations are attending and the unofficial camp leaders, the eldest. The mayor does not speak English and has a translator, however there are some people who speak Greek from the organizations. Often they start talking in Greek and then the others get mad. Also the people from the camp have a translator who translates to Arabic. However they do not leave enough time for him to translate. In general it is quite messy, and there is a lot of tension in the air. The mayor talks a lot. The volunteers disagree. UNHCR tries to stay neutral. The refugees try to talk but they do not listen-until they decide just to leave. The mayor is a bit puzzled of their act of leaving and send someone to talk with them. He does not want to have the independent volunteers in another meeting which should take place the next day where they talk about the housing for the camp inhabitants. The independent volunteers get really mad about being left out. They say that they are the ones who know the most of the people and do most of the work and they have a right to be there. The mayor does not answer. He talks about the fence that used to be around the camp, people took it to build some fences around their tents. He calls it theft and wants to build another one. He also says that people who trans-pass the law will be denied to go to other countries in Europe. He is aware that there are people from the camp attending the meeting. Their is an issue of getting people who were in the hospital back to the camp. The topic winter and proper housing is a big issue. People are pushing the responsibilities one to another. No one wants to be responsible, no one knows. There are 500 people still in the camp. Per day they spent 5,90 € on their food. The Greek army is responsible for medical care and shelter in the camp. The meeting end after 2,5 hours without having decided anything.</p>
51	19/08/2016
52	<i>Camp</i>
53	<p>I hear from some people of the Spanish volunteer group that there are problems with one of the refugees. He was very close to all the volunteers, he has even been given a camera and a laptop and has been assigned as a kind of reporter from the camp. He is posting daily updates with pictures and videos about the camp on facebook. Yesterday he wanted to enter the other warehouse (the one that is not located directly in the camp, but 5 minutes walk away) but they have the policy not to let refugees enter. He was very disappointed and mad, because he has been given the feeling of being somehow special, <i>better</i>, or maybe more trustworthy than the others. This happening proved him the opposite.</p>
54	<p>Also I observe once again groups of people, mainly young girls dressed in shorts and small tops, strolling through the camp with cameras and ices coffees in their hands. Here and there they play with kids. Others just take pictures.</p>
55	<p>One of the Spanish volunteers tells me that they go every night to a bar in the village to party and drink. He is hungover today. A refugee arrives he says he has a headache. The Spanish guy says it is probably because of the amount of beer he had last night. They have been partying together.</p>
56	<p>There is an art exhibition in one of the big community tents where people from the camp display their art. A lot of drawings about their journey with a lot of political messages. One drawing shows the camp below and than many balloons that are flying away, each balloon has the name of one volunteer who was there and left.</p>

APPENDIX C: Interview Transcription

Participant 1

1	I: First of all tell me who you are and what you do.
2	P1: I am _____. I am the active portfolio manager of Latin America and the Caribbean for United Nations Volunteers.
3	I: Okay, tell me if you have international volunteers, what is the procedure in the work?
4	P1: The international volunteers are all professional volunteers. That means most of them are specialist. There are also international youth volunteers now. Before that didn't exist. The specialist volunteers, their average age is like 37, so this is quite high. And it's totally a professional approach of volunteerism. It's not like: " <i>Oh, volunteering. Nice.</i> ", doing it on the side. No! They are full time volunteers. They engage for normally about 2 years at least. They can engage up until 4 years maximum. And programme officers, who are the responsible for one country, they can do up to 6 years. Like me. I am the acting portfolio manager, but I am also an international volunteer and a programme officer in Peru.
5	I: And what is about the requirements?
6	P1: The requirements for specialists, they are at least 22 years old. And they have 2 years of experience, but most of them are 37 and they have more than 10 years of experience. But this is the minimum requirement. That is the international volunteer. You have also national volunteers which—the number of national volunteers is growing, because actually you have also a lot of countries, where you have really good professional people in the country. I think sometimes you really have to be sure why you need an international volunteer. It should be something you don't find in the country. If there is someone with this skills in the country. Why would you pay more for an international volunteer? So from this perspective. From the other perspective, the donor perspective. They send international volunteers with donor money. They pay this and of course they see more the side of the international volunteer is going to learn. This is maybe good for him personally but also be a good ambassador if he comes back to his country. So he has seen the field (...) and he comes back. This is the other part. One part is what can you give as a volunteer and another very important part is also what gives this experience to the volunteer. So it's not only giving, it's also receiving. I have the perspective sometimes, not the professional volunteers. But especially the---on an other level, we are not talking about [laughing] <i>voluntourism</i> , but on another level you have a lot of people. And I think that some really receive much more than they give. And some of them, as they are not organized, are even a burden for cooperation or a burden for development. And they interfere with systems without knowing how they should intervene. So it's not structured so they can do more harm than good.
7	I: So, what you were talking about were those <i>voluntourists</i> , those people that are self-organized coming, not with a big corporation.
8	P1: Yes, but they are not bad as a definition let's say. But it is not the way we see volunteerism. But they can do good things. But they do more things maybe more good things---we call it charity. It is not directly what we see as volunteerism. Volunteerism for us it's peace and development. It's nothing like charity. So maybe a charity project for these spontaneous volunteers like give food every Saturday. I think they are very useful. But we don't have this view of volunteers.
9	I: And what? Giving food to people would not be what you define as volunteering?
10	P1: Yes, yes! But in a structured way. One thing is you go every Saturday and you give food. This can also be a structured way. This can also be volunteerism there is no problem with that. But I mean, you don't do harm by it. But if you give food to refugee camps it should be very structured. All the delivery. Everything! I think it is very important that it is coordinated. As are emergency affairs that should be coordinated. And the volunteer affairs should be coordinated otherwise it can be a burden. For several reasons.
11	I: And you think that there would be a possibility for those two kinds of volunteers---or the professional volunteer and the voluntourist to cooperate and to make a use of each other in some kind of way? In general. And especially in this particular situation of refugee camps.

12	P1: Actually I don't have an institutional answer to that. I don't know how UNV thinks about voluntourism but we are not dealing with it let's say. We don't see it. We take volunteerism very seriously. That means we try to work with professional volunteers always. We try to keep track of this volunteer cycle and even to every part of the cycle that we really take care of it. About how you call them, how do you select them, how do you motivate them, how do you activate them, how do you acknowledge them afterwards. So you have to take care of this.
13	I: So you have like some kind of work shops, counselling before?
14	P1: Of course, everything. Everything is really structured. Every phase of this cycle is structured and in a structured way. And then we also believe in the values that they transmit to partners in development. We believe in this. And we believe also how this is very important for the volunteer himself. So its good for society and good for the volunteer itself. And then we believe a lot in community volunteerism. At the community level we have a comparative advantage as volunteers. We organize volunteerism. Our volunteers are ambassadors for volunteerism. And they organize volunteerism in communities. Not UN Volunteerism, local community volunteerism. This is more like a philosophy. Let's say our volunteers they know how to organize local volunteerism.
15	There are still---they see people still as something passive. A passive approach. Not an active, an active---that you can..., I mean the community people are not just beneficiaries, they are also---UNV---you make volunteers out of them. They can be involved in their own development. This is very important. This is more or less the philosophy behind it. You should look in the first state of the world volunteerism report, where we say why community volunteerism is very important. You can see for example that it is good for participation, citizen participation, ownership, it brings people from exclusion to inclusion. It helps people to have hope again after conflicts. These are all the powers of volunteerism. They say that volunteers are a sustainable resource. There are in the community, and also it is renewable. [...]
16	I: Do you think that could also be done considering refugee camps?
17	P1: In the camps. These are emergency situations as well. In the camps it is really important that you move those refugee camp volunteers, that you involve the population. It is not easy but you have to. You should also look for natural leaders there, if you have them involved as volunteers, not full-time of course, you can move a lot better. It is not easy I think in refugee camps, but I think its really important. I am also thinking about other things like gender. You have to organize people. There is gender violence in refugee camps. There are many rapes and many abuse in refugee camps. You also have to organize this. And you have to organize this---you can not just hire all the people that have to work in the camp---you have to see how you can activate the people themselves to protect their women and their children.
18	I: And UN volunteers they are qualified to do those kind of things?
19	P1: Let's say this is what we do. We do a very strict selection. I think it is even more strict many times than other selections, because we really ask for the real motivation behind their---it's not..., You are a volunteer if money is not your main purpose to do this work. But it doesn't mean that you can't have money for it. But it is not your main motivation. So in interviews we really go very deep.
20	I: What are the motivations of the people in general?
21	P1: No, of course there are also things like---it depends in what, in what type of work you engage. Of course there can be also motivation like, e.g. at labour market it is really appreciated if you have done volunteer work. Especially for young people if they have done volunteering work they will get better appreciated on the labour market. So this can be a motivation, no? But another motivation, especially for young people I think---one is the labour market, one is access to labour market, one is that you create youth leaders. They volunteer, what is good. I think especially you make them from passive listeners to active change agents. So this is very important for youth I think.
22	[talking about videos]
23	There is really an intrinsic motivation to do this work and to engage in this.
24	I: And do you think that these self organized people have different motivations? Or where do you see the

	differences?
25	P1: I think it's good. It's good. But I think the self organized people, they are good people but I think they sometimes underestimate---first of all what they can do and also what---and about what they can really do about something. And also what they can do, what they can bear themselves. Because it is very nice to think about it but once you are there like "Wow, what am I doing here. I can't bear so much." And also what they can do wrong. They don't know how much they can really do for them, they don't know if they can really bear it and they don't know what they can do wrong. They are not conscious enough but they have of course their heart at a good place. So that's good.
26	[talking about videos]
27	But I am just thinking that---especially with refugees---yeah, it depends. It depends because social problems are very complex sometimes and you have to think really about how you intervene without making it worse, without interfering too much, respecting some social structures. So it is very complex if you go there and if you---and I think volunteers that are very idealist people, they really will go there and be surprised how complex and how difficult it is. And they could even come back really de-motivated for the wrong reasons actually. If they didn't expect that it was so difficult, so difficult to bear, so difficult to organize, so they get cynical about it and they just come back. And that is not the type of come back volunteers we want. We just want them to grab something from this experience. To come back and say volunteerism is important, we really did something. So you have to give them structure.
28	I: So structure would be the main point to improve?
29	P1: You give structure..., well you. There are also some structured voluntourism initiatives, no? Which is tourism. Tourism, there are some tourist organisations they give a kind of volunteering. That I see it more as charity actually. This is structured and this makes it a very rewarding---because this is what tourism wants. That the tourist had a very good experience, tourist experience, yeah? And so here we will have the rewarding spirits but we don't know what is the impact in the field. Is it negative, positive? We don't know. Would be nice to know.
30	I: Yes of course. Especially when you are dealing with people.
31	P1: Yes, so it could be negative for the beneficiaries. So I see it, most of these tourists, I see it more like---I am talking for me as a person. Not as an institution. Okay, can be good, can be bad. But we have to make sure as an institution that if we go somewhere it will be good. That it will be in a kind of framework, development of peace framework, which is accepted, which is institutional, which is accepted by governments and everything. And this, we have to respect this. And tourism you know, tourism is not always respectful. And voluntourism is the same, it is not always respectful.
32	I: So someone who is going---like there are so many people now going from all over the world to Greece for one, two or three weeks. How would you call those people?
33	P1: Idealists!
34	I: But you would you call them volunteers or voluntourists? Would you consider them tourists?
35	P1: [hesitating] That's difficult to say. I don't think they---then you have to define what's voluntourism. You have to look for a definition of it. I said just some things like it is not structured---this can be one aspect of voluntourism. Probably you need more things to have a voluntourist, no? You have---one can be the structure, one can be also that you are a charity worker. So this is not maybe a volunteer. Is it a volunteer? Is it a voluntourist? So you have to define what voluntourism is. It can be bad. I think the problem is especially that you---if you don't know---you should be sure if you put volunteers in an intervention, that should be good and official. So one thing could be, if you don't know it. That is something that we can't live with as an institution I think. It should be really structured, in a development of peace framework, institutionalized and then we can operate.
36	I: And what would you say about the time frame? Do you think it can be beneficial or only two weeks?

37	P1: Well we don't work with people for only two weeks, but we certainly promote volunteer infrastructure in a country. So that the country itself, that the organisations and the governments put in place some, what we call volunteerism enabling environment. An environment where volunteerism can really---serious volunteerism, yeah?---can really take place. So that means, maybe a long volunteerism, networks, cross-sector collaboration networks of volunteerism, volunteer organisations that work together.
38	I: You think this is also a point that is missing? Networks?
39	P1: Well it depends. Of course if you work in a cross-sector collaboration network your impact is of course more, is bigger. You can do something bigger with networks. And also what the government is promoting in volunteerism. A legal framework in which volunteers have advantages, tangible advantages. So for example...,
40	I: I think this is a big point that is totally missing talking about the self organized volunteers.
41	P1: Actually you yourself you started an organisation, so you wanted to give some structure to it. And you see what happens when you go away. In one week, two weeks it can go away. This can also happen. Even in a structured framework it is difficult to get this. That is why you have to structure so well and you have to institutionalize with local government, with structures that can sustain your intervention or sustain the facts of your intervention. I don't know if we have to call it voluntourism. I would say, let's say that there are responsible volunteers and there is voluntourism that is not so responsible. If you want to call it voluntourism or not, I don't know. And maybe say that some charity work is also not so responsible.
42	I: When you always say charity work. How would you define the difference between charity work and volunteering?
43	P1: Look it up. [laughing] I think charity organisations have their role as well and they work with some volunteers. But it is not the volunteerism that UNV wants to do. Charity I see it more ad hoc. More essentialist. It means like: <i>"Okay, just to help a little bit out and that's it"</i> . It is like you---there are different levels. I think some are really worth doing this but others..., Maybe if you give money to a beggar it is also charity. So maybe it is not like <i>volunteerism</i> versus <i>voluntourism</i> . There is more about it, no? Voluntourism is one part that most of the time is not responsible volunteerism. But it is one category. Maybe there are also some charity affords with volunteers which are not so good and some are maybe good maybe. Volunteers work in many things, also not development things. Look at political campaigns, they have lots of volunteers all the time. It is not always development volunteerism. So maybe you should do some research first on terminology and see what real voluntourism is.
44	I: One thing I also wanted to talk about was safety. Can you say something about it?
45	P1: We think that volunteers---first of all volunteers international ones and national ones---they can go to very remote areas. We have volunteers in conflict, in armed conflicts, countries with armed conflicts, refugee camps and everything. And of course we provide a good statute for the volunteers. They have 100% insurance like health insurance. That is very important. They can go to any hospital. We also have a safety---like a UNV assess, the agency responsible for safety for UN personal. UNV are also part of this.
46	I: They have some kind of referee they can address once they are in a difficult situation?
47	P1: They can always call UN Assess. They will get always assistance of this. They have some, let's say, status that normal UN staff has, like some immunity, some---so this is there for their protection.
48	I: I think this is also like a really big difference. If you just do a self organized thing and go somewhere and you don't have any...
49	P1: I think also that volunteers there is a lot of..., Let's say, if you do something like this and it happens something. Like you told me that you helped them and then they steal things. That is incomprehensible. And you could be very angry about it and just go home. This is not the kind of volunteer experiences that we want to have. So if we have an organisation something structured, we have psychologist, yeah also, we got all these people. So that means also that if something happens like this you should also be able to get away with it. To ask for help. To ask for people. And how you should understand these things that happen that shock you. Otherwise you get--- like <i>"I have helped you for the last two weeks as a voluntourist how can you steal our food?"</i> . Yeah?

	For you it is irrational, because you have everything for granted. They don't have anything granted maybe in the refugee camps and maybe you in that situation would do the same. Despite your integrity now. If you are in that situation, maybe you would do the same. You never know.
50	I: You have like..how do you prepare people to be conscious of this? When you have like an international volunteer?
51	P1: We have like inductions. We have inductions for youth, we have inductions here in Bonn. I think they are a few days before they go. And then also we have induction in the field. I also put some cultural things in there, so they understand. And yeah, it is very necessary before they go to the field. Before they start in the field to get them with their feeds on the ground. Because it is true, many volunteers they start to volunteer because of a reason idealist and everything. But it's a good reason, but then you have to guide. You have to guide and give them a more realistic picture of what you do, about what you experience. And that is important.
52	I: So you think the self organized volunteers would be good professional volunteers?
53	P1: I think they have a good motivation. So this motivation is enough to start with inductions---maybe it can be that maybe in the induction you say like " <i>this is nothing for me</i> ". So I think it really depends, no? First of all you can say, will they be good UN volunteers because..., Will they be good volunteers? Why not? You are always talking about the international volunteers. But what we do is volunteerism in communities so in this way it's okay. Of course if you come from another country, with the culture shock and with the everything what we said before, then---you have to see if this is really worse it. How do you go back? With what experiences do you go back? And actually do they know how they need you? Do they need international people there? Can they handle it. So these are..., You have to think no? It is really important that international volunteers go back as ambassadors and tell they have experienced. It really changes people.
54	I: Do you think people should leave the camps and let the refugees themselves manage them?
55	P1: Yes, but for that you also need volunteers who know how to deal with these people. And it should be---it is important that one of these agencies---for example takes the lead to structure these unstructured volunteers. These unstructured volunteers should also be willing to step in a more structured way. Not like " <i>Oh, I think this is good.</i> " and another one " <i>Oh, I think that is good.</i> ". [...] Ramadan, all these things. You have to take it into account. The natural factors. Not always but even in structured settings it is already difficult to help people and to do something good. So unstructured is most likely to go wrong. This is my opinion.

Participant 2

1	I: Okay, ___let's start. Tell me what you do. What is your purpose in this refugee camps. Firstly tell me a little bit about yourself, your background and then what you do.
2	P2: I am 25 years old, I studied international social work. After finishing my studies I started a master's degree in community development which I quit or stopped some months ago. And I am working half time in a small organization which is doing something comparable to development aid regarding medical and pharmaceutical support structures. And here in my function as a Soup and Socks member which is the organization which I am also (Inaudible; 01:11) I am right now near the camp for refugees in Katsikas where we have already been in March and April. We tried to install a community kitchen and we cooked. That was like our main focus, the preparation of food. This time we have a different approach. We are trying to build up a work shop which really has an impact on the living conditions of the people in the camp.
3	I: So you were here before and you came back?
4	P2: Yes.
5	I: And the first time that you were volunteering with Soup & Socks?
6	P2: Before I was volunteering with Soup & Socks there was actually a first time with a different group of persons. It was at the border of Hungary and Croatia and then---it was in October 2015---and then my first experience with Soup & Socks was in December and January.

7	I: And why do you do this? That is the question now, the difficult one.
8	P2: Why did I start?
9	I: Why did you start and why to you keep on doing this? Why do you keep on coming back?
10	P2: I think the big difference between the first time I went to the border of Hungary and Croatia..., There is like a very big difference between the first and all the other trips or tours I have been to. Because the first times I just didn't know what was expecting me. So it was like basically either the fact that the topic of people coming to Europe in search of safety, dignity, freedom was everywhere in the media. And it was really present in those days, in 2015. The situation at the European borders were..., yeah were pretty bad. And I had this..., I had this feeling of being [hesitating]..., How is it in English? Unzufrieden?
11	I: Not satisfied?
12	P2: Yeah, of being not satisfied or unhappy and many things really made me really angry. I studied international social work and I see social work also as a human rights profession. That means, that I do not need the order of a state or an office. I even don't need the mandate of a client. It is absolutely, in my opinion, sufficient to have the human rights. And this is like the mandate of my profession. So all these violations of the human rights at the European borders made me very angry and I just wanted to get active and to, like really, have a closer look on what is going on there. To see it first hand. But I didn't know what was expecting me. So that was the motivation basically. And before the second time I already had some experience and I knew how hard it was, how little I slept, how little I ate. It was so cold, it was really exhausting. And still I really wanted to be supportive again. I have been in Argentina during my studies. And I spent my practical semester seven months together with a, let's call it a political network, which is part of a social movement. And I was really impressed of the way this civil society in Argentina is, is getting involved in creating society. So they are really---they have their very own way of demonstration and showing their frustration, and their anger, and their unsatisfaction [sic] or whatever in public. And they create ways of alternative economy and they find structures where official structures are missing or are not proving enough for everybody. So that was something that really impressed me, this experience. And I wanted to somehow, in a different way---because here in Europe things are done differently, at least in Germany. But I wanted to get active and to find other people who think the same way as I and to meet other people who are the concerned and..., yeah..., and that's why I started to look for a possibility to get active again.
13	I: And is this something you also do at home in Germany? You are also doing some voluntary work there? Or why did you decide to travel to other countries to do that?
14	P2: This is a really interesting question, because when I came back from Argentina I have been very active in the city where I studied. At my university for example I initiated, together with other young students as me, a group dealing with different topics of sustainability. And also like organizing some small demonstrations or petitions. All in the context of university, so it was like on a smaller scale. It was not really like in public, but in the context of university. But still it was a very good practice [laughing] so to say..., also for practicing this methods of being a group, which tries to organize in a basic democratic way. And I also went to a lot of demonstrations, but it was absolutely not about the topic of refugees or migration. It was different topics. So I, my interest in this topic, or my interest---interest in the wrong word, it's rather like the need which I felt to see the situation at the European borders and to do something together with other, emerged when the topic was so present in the media.
15	I: And so you were not doing anything related to that topic in Germany?
16	P2: No.
17	I: And why did you decide to come here then?
18	P2: I guess it's like, [hesitating] somehow I felt that---the thing that made me really angry were those violations of human rights and the refusal or the denial to give---or to deny persons the possibilities to enter a country to apply for asylum. And people, who already made it to Germany I felt like this..., they already entered---or somehow entered the country, which they wanted to reach. And I know that the conditions are pretty bad, but it was not such a strong violation of human rights as at the European borders, I felt. And I know that it is also structural violence. I absolutely---and it makes me also very angry. But it was not..., or in my eyes at least..., in

	my definition it was not such a fundamental violation of human rights. And that was the thing that..., yeah..., really made me---or made me deciding that I wanted to..., to yeah..., to be part of movement against this violation of human rights.
19	I: And how did you manage to come here? You are working now, so you came in your holiday? What are you doing now and how long will you stay?
20	P2: Yeah, the first time I went to a border, or a mission..., I don't like the word mission..., or to an experience or to a supportive activity action..., I don't know, it was my holidays. As well the second time and the third time, which would be the second time within Soup & Socks. It was all holidays or extra hours I had been working beforehand. And this is also that changed right now. This time it is really a <i>very</i> different experience for me and also a different approach because I reduced my half-time job to only like 35 hours a months. And thanks to my boss, who really is supportive in this, I can collect my working hours within one, or two weeks, go back to Germany every six to eight weeks to work there and then come back to Greece, to Katsikas for another month and a half, up to two months. So it really, I really have the feeling that this is the focus of my life right now. This is my working area, even if I am not paid for it. This is, yeah, this is what my life is about. And this is what I would also [hesitating] it is a big part of who I am. And..., yeah..., so actually it is much more important right now then my paid work, even if it is unpaid. And I guess it is also..., I hope I can also bring in skills I learned during my studies in international social work. So I guess every person coming here brings different skills. But I have the advantage that somehow the area of my ..., my paid working life and this unpaid working life are very close. The topics are somehow connected.
21	I: So now let's talk a little about the actual work that you do here. Just tell me a little bit about it. You said you were cooking firstly and now you do something different. So maybe we can talk about both things a little bit. I don't know how much you can already talk about the second thing, because it didn't quite start yet. Just tell me a little bit about the work and how you perceive it.
22	P2: Okay, so every experience up to now has been completely different. The most intense one, for sure, was the tour in March and April, because it was the longest so far, it was one month. As I said we were cooking and we were spending the whole day within the camp, so that was a very important factor or criteria because we were..., I don't know how to put this in a humble way---but we were somehow part of the daily routine of the camp. And this changed things in the camp in many ways and some ways we were aware of and I am sure other changes we caused we were not aware of, at least not right away. One very obvious fact that came along with our presence in the camp was that nutrition improved a lot because it was very bad. Which in my opinion was not the fault of the military neither the Greek state. It's just the failure of the European politics to provide basic life support which allows everybody a dignified life. So we tried to fill this gap and to provide healthy and tasty and warm meals for all the persons in the camp. And moreover we really wanted to create something sustainable. That was a thing we learned from the first mission with Soup & Socks where we were cooking, but when we left and went back home nothing stayed. So maybe during the two weeks we were present we changed a lot for the persons but we did not really have an impact on the context on the living conditions as such. And that was something we aimed to change the last time, so we tried to install and set up this community kitchen where supposedly people from the camp in different small teams could cook for the whole camp. Yeah, that was the idea.
23	I: And how did you know how to do these thing? How did you prepare yourself in operating in such a context in a refugee camp? Did you think about things that you did before? How was the structure?
24	P2: The thing is, we did not know exactly in which field we would be operating before we left Germany because we wanted to be as flexible as possible to really be supportive at a place where..., where people are in need and we can satisfy this need. So it was quite difficult to prepare and the challenge was to be flexible and very organized at the same time. To think about many different scenarios and to be somehow prepared for every possible engagement or commitment. And we thought about being active in a camp and we knew we were going to cook. That was very helpful because we had our set-up we just didn't know the exact location where we were going to put it. But of course we were very aware of the fact that working in a camp is completely different to working in private..., or in a private space, and handing out food in public later on the day. Yeah, I guess our most important preparation was to be in contact with many other organizations and initiatives. Like to really have an important exchange of information. To learn from their experience and to also be up-to-date always where which support is needed. That was really helpful and the main, our main instrument or tool of preparation.

25	I: And did you see any challenges in the interactions with other people that were operating in the camp?
26	P2: Like when we arrived you mean? When we were there?
27	I: Yes.
28	P2: Yes, absolutely. When we arrived in Kastikas there were also two other organizations. One of them had contacted us beforehand so we..., we have been in contact before arriving here and I think sometimes..., sometimes there are so many challenges in the daily routine that everybody is just doing his or her best to make..., to create the best possible outcome of the situation, but..., but also in my opinion, it kind of makes people forget what the really best outcome of the work should be. Like being supportive for the people in the camp. And sometimes I had this feeling that there was some kind of competition going on between the different organizations. I mean I want to stress out the fact, that in general there was a really good cooperation, there was good communication, people were really supportive among the small organizations and we learned a lot from each other. So there was a shared information, there were shared tools, there were shared meetings. That was as such really good. But still we are all human beings and we are not perfect and we did have different perspectives of different topics... And of course like there sometimes you had these moments of competitions, or of envy, or of just being frustrated, because another group acted differently like you would have done. Or another group needed too long, in your opinion, to react or to make a solution or a decision. And that is just causing frustration. Many people are operating at the same space and they all have their own way of doing it. It autocratically might or can cause conflict. And, I think, for me it was impressive, also within the camp, how much potential for conflict there is and how small, in comparison to the potential..., how small the number of actual conflict is. There are conflicts among the volunteers and also among the people in the camp and also between the volunteers and the people in the camp. But in comparison to the potential of conflicts the number is impressively low.
29	I: So those other volunteers, they were all their with organizations, or..., ?
30	P2: Some were independent.
31	I: And where were they from? From Greece, or?
32	P2: Actually the people being in the camp constantly were not really from Greece. They were from other countries, from Spain, from the United States, from Germany, from Great Britain, from many different countries actually. And I think it's also very logically that the persons operating in the camp for <i>weeks</i> are foreigners, because the locals who are supportive they approach the camp in another rhythm. Because they have their..., let's put it like..., daily or normal life, or their daily life right here and they use a gap or free time they have to spend it in the camp or to organize stuff. And people who are constantly enga- or committed in the camp, they come from other countries and use their holidays or they quit their jobs. That's why the persons being in the camp every day are the foreigners and the persons coming by like once a day or twice a week, or something like that, those are, in my eyes, more like the locals. Because it's a different--they have different resources of time.
33	I: And what would be your thought about the average stay of time that the people were here?
34	P2: It changed a lot I think. At the beginning there were only three organizations, small organizations and very few independent volunteers. So, [hesitating], yes, spontaneous I would say the average time for a person doing volunteering in the camp would be like 3 weeks, maybe more. And nowadays I have the feeling, that maybe because it's summer, and there are so many vacations for students and also for working persons, there are many person staying two weeks or even less. So before it was like the average might have been one month or longer and now it's two weeks or shorter even.
35	I: So it's something that people do instead of coming to Greece and be on an Island and be at the beach?
36	P2: Yeah, I think so. I think it is like the long-term volunteers are still there. So it is not like that they left and others came. But in addition to those long-term volunteers there are persons arriving and leaving, who really use their vacation time to or see the camp, or being supportive, or I don't know what is the concrete motivation of these volunteers.
37	I: And do you see any conflict with that?
38	P2: Yeah, I see a lot of potential conflict. [hesitating] I think it is..., it is the change as such is difficult. If you

have so many persons or such a big rotation of persons, it is really hard to focus on the content of the work because you need a certain time to gain an inside, to understand how things are done, to understand how the daily routine of the camp works out. And when people maybe after one week really are into the rhythm of the camp, it is almost time for them to leave. This is one risk I see, let's put it like that. The difficulty of the rhythm of work and really gaining an insight and not only being superficial in your support. The second risk I see is really about relationships and the personal contact. Because I can imagine that it causes a lot of frustration to get to know people every week and every week many people you got to know last week are leaving again. This is like the second thing that is kind of---it must be heart breaking to have to say goodbye all the time. And maybe people even..., I could imagine people even stop getting close to persons arriving to the camps because they don't want to get hurt or they don't want to have this feeling of loss. Because they already suffered a lot of loss, most of them, I am sure. And then another risk I see would be like that people feel..., not only like they are keeping a distance because they don't want to get hurt..., but they are even..., like..., might be frustrated or even angry because they feel kind of---observed is not the right word, but---they feel as objects which are looked at and watched and---I don't know if I can make clear what I mean. An emotional distance because of the fear to say goodbye and anger they are being watched at like animals. And there is another risk even, like if people are coming constantly from other countries, I see the risk that local community disengages or stops being committed to the activities in the camp. And that's what happened or that is a really good example: a woman from the community here wanted to organize an item for a certain family within the camp. And I helped her finding it and when I found it she wanted me to take over. Like *"Okay, can you go there and give it?"* Like complete the task and for two reasons I said no. Because first of all I don't want to do special treatments. And second and much more important, I think it would be a very false statement to take over tasks and commitment which local persons already took over. So this would mean that it would be---yeah, it would just be wrong. I am not here because I want to replace local commitment or local supportive [sic] and this is another risk, I see, if there are persons coming from other countries, people from the local community might get the feeling *"Okay, I am just not needed."* or *"My support is just not needed here"*. But persons from other countries have to leave sooner or later and it might that they are leaving gaps which are not closed afterward.

- 39 I: And do you think apart from that it could also be that conflict arises between the international people and the local volunteers? No, not even---just the local, not volunteers, but local people that are living around?
- 40 P: I think in general yes. Yes, definitely! For example if there is a lack of understanding why they came maybe local persons feel like *"You should care about your own problems and not tell us how we have to solve ours!"* It might come across kind of arrogant or superior, even that has to do with a lot of colonialism, or post-colonialism. Like people from other countries approach to show how things can be solved and how things should be done. And this is always very critical, very critical! But I think that people from the local community also see volunteers as a great benefit for their economy. I think Katsikas would---with the volunteers and mostly the short-term volunteers---all the infrastructure and like the activities you can do here in your free time would just not be existing basically because there is an economic crisis in Greece and, yeah, you really need people to come from other countries who spend money here, I guess, is a big advantage. And I am quite sure that people of the local community are very aware of this fact.
- 41 I: What would you say about the interactions with bigger organizations like UNHCR, Oxfam..., they are here right?
- 42 P2: Yes, now they are. Like in the beginning on our last trip in April, which is now like three months ago, they were not. They came to the camp like once a week, yeah, to get an update of the situation. Right now they are in the camp more frequently. You mean right now conflicts between smaller organizations, volunteers and the big organizations?
- 43 I: Yes.
- 44 P2: Okay! I guess there are conflicts because the way of operating is very different. Smaller organizations can make fast decisions and can implement their decisions directly. And the bigger organizations can't do that. They need a long time to make decisions. They need a long time to implement their decisions. But they have a completely other---they operate in a completely different level of funding, of budget and also their structures..., they have much more political weight. Like they can have much more influence on a political level. So I think small organizations often are frustrated in how slow the big organizations are operating and big organizations might be frustrated about uncoordinated activities of smaller organizations. I think here in the camp right now it

	is working rather good because there are weekly meetings where people from big organizations as UNHCR, Oxfam and other and also small organizations are involved. So there is an exchange of information, there is communication, there is like simply a platform for---if you want to complain about anything or if you have questions. So it is working rather good. But in general they are---there is a lot of potential of conflict. Also because of the question who is <i>really</i> supportive in this context, or who is more supportive. It is also like a little---might be like a little competition. People from smaller organizations that have basically been living with the people in the camp for months they feel like <i>"Hey, we are the experts, because we have been here with the people right from the beginning"</i> and the volunteers or the persons from the big organizations might have the feeling <i>"No, we are the experts, because we are professionals. It is our profession!"</i> So this could also be an area of conflict.
45	I: And do you think there is like a professional difference? Do you think that the expertise that those people have is more valuable?
46	P2: Oh, that is a really tough question. [hesitating] I think the big organizations are important, because..., exactly because of their professionalism and their way to organize and to structure things. I need in the end you need both, you need the small organizations which are fast, which really can react to the daily need in such an organization. The big ones just can't do it. They can't react on a daily need, just impossible for them. But you also run the risk, if you have only small organizations, that things get a little chaotic. You really need good coordination, in some small organizations this is absolutely the case, but in others it's not. And, yeah, I think there are certain skills that can be provided by the big organizations. But this, in my opinion, does absolutely not mean that the small organizations are not valuable.
47	I: Good. I have one last topic. And this network. Just what do you think about networks? How important are they? And what are your thoughts to this?
48	P2: Networks? It's for me like the first association, or the first that come into my mind, are very positive. Like networks is for me a very important thing because operating within a network gives you the possibility to gain lots of information from other sides. Also lots of expertise and skills. Whenever you need something you can ask for it. And also it gives the possibility to improve yourself because you are getting feedback. Just imagine if you are operating all alone and your are not part of a network and you don't get any feedback, you can hardly improve your activity. Even---well you might improve them if you are very self reflective or critical, a self critical. But I think it's very helpful to operate or act within networks. Absolutely!
49	I: Okay. Anything else you want just to add and say about your experience here? To sum it up, if you want to.
50	P2: It is really hard to summarize the feelings---I think this what is happening here. People come with the best intentions but in many cases, we are all human beings, there are situations where it is all about power and hierarchy. Within the teams or within the organizations. Between the organizations and between the organizations and people from the camp. And within the people from the camp. So many conflicts basically come down to this to (inaudible; 11:47) power and hierarchy. This is in my opinion a very human phenomena and it is very important that people reflect on that. And as long as they do, no matter if they are from a small organization or independent or from the big organizations---if they reflect about this and consider this and communicate about that it's like---this is one of the very important first steps for good networking and good interaction and good cooperation.

Participant 3

1	I: Maybe we can start by you telling me who you are and what you are doing.
2	P3: I am Greek, first. I lived several years outside of Greece in order to do my studies in biochemistry and nutrition. Then I came back, i was professor at the university and one day I decided to leave from there. And then I am doing different jobs, money actually doesn't matter any more for me. So when the problem, the question of the refugees arise---begun---No, I may say before the refugee problem, like several weeks, I was political active in the social movements [inaudible – 01:29] collective works [inaudible – 01:32 – 01:49].
3	Because Greek history was full of social event and historically---the recent one of the dictatorship, the civil war after the second world war, and then the civil war and then later a dictatorship for seven years. And then the

uprising of polytechnic schools. So in our collective memory there is a lot of historical events and another important event of the Greek history is the refugees from Izmir, the refugees from the Ionian part of Turkey in the coast. So, it was almost one Million people who have been refugee in this period and we are always listening about this stories. Even now actually in Athens you may find old men and women who lived in this period and they always talking about it. So all of this is to say to you that we are very sensitive to social questions in general, it depends on---but me and certain groups where I am active. So when the problem of refugees started I was there immediately, you know, at Athens first, because there is some squat or some group of Greeks who tried to help refugees in the streets, in the squares. So I have been there working with them, providing food, cloths, medical help, information etc..., And then in one of this squats Notora 25 in Exarchia, I was there very often, and every---twice per week there is a meeting. This is a novel point, that a lot of NGOs act essentially to help refugees but for us it is very important to make the political---to treat the political aspect of this crisis and see where is the cause and what we are expecting and how we can deal with that and how can we may react, not only help refugees. So in this meeting I met the first time a French speaking Switzerland group, so I was translating during the meeting and then I met them and then I---because I lived several years outside of Greece---I feel a friendship for people that arrived from all over the world. So I have been with them, showed them where are the refugees in Athens, buy things at the market, tried to help them when they were cooking for refugees. At this period the most important was to feed this people who was in transit from Athens to the North of Greece. So then via this group I met another German group, you. So we worked a little bit again together in Athens as you remember and I realized that---it was very interesting to work with you, because your main characteristic, two main characteristics, first you had some kind of homogeneity, who were seriously prepared and you had a very, very, very good cook. I realized that you cooked always quality food and you made very well tasting and nutritious food, so that's why I appreciated you. And you were so friendly with me. And by you there was another German group and you presented me to this new group and you had to leave and then I made contact the new group. This group decided to leave from Athens because there is so many people who help and they went to Chios. And we stayed there for 3 months and again it was a very interesting experience because the refugees are first arriving from the other coast of Turkey and they stay in Chios for three or four days and then they are leaving for Athens and continue their journey. So we were providing food there, every day to 1000, 1500 people in different parts of the Island. But there is a lot of groups, English people, German people, Spanish people, Greek, the Greek social kitchen, so there is so many groups helping the refugees. One day we realized that there is some kind of conflict, which started to exist between groups.

4 I: Between groups of volunteers?

5 P3: Yes, it was really surprising for me to see a kind of competition between groups in order to get a piece of the cake. You know like, maybe it looks like, you know a little bit egoist perception of things and in the same time it was an economic activity.

6 I: Why an economic activity?

7 P3: An economic activity because they tried to find reasons to be there in order to get money from donations. This is my personal opinion and my feeling, you know. Especially one---it is not the NGOs in general, but it may happen with one person, two persons and then they make a lot of trouble if you see an attitudes like this ones..., Anyway you had a lot of people, groups, who were working and we spent a lot of money. I mean we had to pay almost 1500 € for food.

8 I tried to make contact with the local community, the Island etc. And I have seen several volunteers arriving on the Islands, so it was interesting to see the attitude, the different characters. They objective of every person, there sensitivity, their point of view. I discussed a lot with them. Anyway we stayed there three months and then we decided to leave to Turkey and see what's happening there. So I have been in Turkey near Izmir in Torbali and we were helping the refugees, actually Syrian refugees, who don't want to cross the borders. So it was refugees who decided to stay in Turkey. And I think for economic reasons, they don't have the money to cross. There are trying to live as they can, doing small jobs in the fields with bad salary or all without salary. It reminds me the life of Gypsy people in Greece. They are small groups and they are trying, they work few days here, and they make a small camp and when they find something else they go somewhere else, they continue like this. So, there is no stability in their..., So we have been in two small camps and we were helping the refugees. We fixed very stupid buildings, we tried to fix the buildings.

9 I: So you didn't do mainly food?

- 10 P3: No, not at all. We distributed cloths, then we brought doctors but we tried to make a good civil conditions. It means houses, around houses, water, electricity..., It was a rainy period, so we tried to fix the roofs and to make some oven for them, to facilitate their lives. And they were happy with it. But then we had some problems with the Turkish authorities. One day---I don't want to talk about the reason, I don't know but I expect it was the reasons but I don't want to talk. I am that kind of sensitive person. So they asked to the refugees to---they dismantled the camp and they demolished everything. So we were obliged to let them everything there and we left with a new project in mind that we could come back and make a kind of village and we find jobs for all the refugees. But looking now at Turkey it looks more difficult to do that. So I have been back and I continued in the same way. That means---I am actually unemployed so that is the reason for I have a lot of time and now I continue with you, next day I may continue with somebody else for this two reasons: first I have time and I have this historical sensitivity and personal sensitivity. I have to say that I have been in Africa too with *Doctors without borders* twice. I have been in Kongo. I was there as a nutritionist helping malnourished children. So this is another point. And then I have been in Niger in a second mission. So I have some experience as an nutritionist too. So I realized during all this refugee problems that there is a lot of malnourished children and old persons, because during their transits they have bad conditions and not only hygienic but also nutritional ones. There I have to do a small critic. All the NGOs, I am interested by the small NGOs, the volunteers, because it is more interesting, and I may talk for a long time about that..., The big NGOs is like companies have a lot of hierarchies, a lot of bureaucracy, a lot of money everywhere it doesn't matter, lot of medications, treatments. For the companies medicine is a really interesting activity. And then you have a salary, so it is not really volunteers, it is something in between, so you get a salary between 700 and 1000 if you are a doctor, if you stay for a long time..., This is the parenthesis. And then I wanted to say something else I forgot...,
- 11 I: You wanted to make a small critique about NGOs.
- 12 P3: Yes, I have to make a second distinction between NGOs. For us Greeks, especially people who are politically active and sensitive there is two kind of help. There is humanitarian help and solidarity based help. So humanitarian help is like religious. It means you consider the other person in---you are the superior and you offer him something, but as a, I don't know the word in English, somebody who is coming and asking you for help and you are generous...,
- 13 I: A beggar?
- 14 P3: Yes. This is simplified of---it is not always like this, but just to understand my point of view. The second one is solidarity where---in the case of solidarity you have an equal---you have two person, two populations in an equal level, so you share in this case, because what happens to him it happens to you or it may happen to you. Actually in Greece there is a crisis, it's not all crisis, but [inaudible – 16:06] for us, but you know several times I felt like I offer my help to somebody who is like me, you know. I'm unemployed, I have to live, I have to [inaudible – 16:29 – 16:31] I feel very close to them. We have also a sensitivity about Arabic culture because it is very close to Greece. So there is two activities, so if there is an activity for us it is a humanitarian one. So I finished with the big NGOs, the small NGOs now it's really interesting, they are very diversified. According to their objectives, according to their origins, according to their organization. So, what I met it was okay. There is no salary first, there are small groups, not big ones. If the group is small, I think, it's better because it is more efficient, people may communicate better, especially if they know each other before coming to Greece. If they decide to bring volunteers, the selection is not so serious then you have a serious problem. So, I realized that a lot of volunteers are a little bit im---in general they are young, they are students. They are coming from different places. When we talk about Germany, but it happens to Spanish people, I met Switzerland people, so it's not a question of nationality. So they are very diversified. Somebody may be a little bit intellectual another one likes to work with hands. Someone may like to talk a lot [laughing] some are big talkers and are not doing something, you know. But it is not a question of---I don't criticize that, it's a question of character. [inaudible – 18:36] The small NGOs, you have to be open to discussion and generous but the main difficulty it was the immaturity of the people, the first one. The second one was they are coming without any knowledge about the refugees and they try to impose their thoughts, even their food. Some of them, somebody may say the same for me, but it is a reality, some of them are coming because it is a good occasion to be in Greece. It is nice, it is interesting and they may have a good time too, this is not bad, but sometimes they may exaggerate and that may cause a lot of problems.
- 15 Another problem with volunteers is they arrive and they have something in their mind an idea on how to help, or what I may do in order to help. So they try to impose their own opinions, they stay for two weeks, one, two or

	three weeks...., So I was there for several months and I have an overview of the problem and I was stressed by these people coming and going, who tried to impose their opinion on us, and they spent a lot of money without finally helping refugees. It is spoiled, a kind of spoiled, because one day they decide that we have to buy something to give to this mum and then there is a thousand people who are suffering for other things. So, I think these---another subject is the---sometimes in this small NGOs there is a kind of authority, it means somebody is the boss and the other ones are the workers. I prefer small NGOs who work collectively, so every day you have a meeting, you decide collectively what you do. I remember with another NGO, there is a survey---and I was professor in the past, they even never asked me how we can do the survey [laughing]. But anyway they finished the survey and in 15 people, there is only two people who know the results of the survey. So I have been there to fix the roofs of the buildings and nothing else, so I felt like a slave, a worker, you know. Okay, it is interesting for me because I may communicate with refugees, but often there is a kind of boss in these small NGOs. And he decides for everything, he imposes his opinion---there is no real democracy, you know, it causes a lot of problems in this case.
16	And another problem with European volunteers is, I may say it is the more important, is the political aspect of things. They focus a lot on refugees and countries who are receiving refugees in the first steps, but they are not so critical about their own government and the national policies of the countries where they are coming from. Not all of them but a majority. So I am very critical against the Greek government but they have to know that we do as a population we do our best and Greece helped a lot the refugees.
17	And second they have to have some kind of political questions, you know. How it happened this problem? Who is the cause of this problem? In Syria there is a civil war, Iraq the same, in Afghanistan---Afghanistan, one day I talked with a guy and I said: <i>"Where they are leaving? Actually they are not Syrian people."</i> And he said: <i>"Michel listen there is war since 13 years almost!"</i> So these people have to know that also Germany is implicated in this conflict, as a government, not as a population. So if you want to protest, you may help refugees, you may protest in Greece, but you have to protest in Germany too, you know. And I was upset sometimes because they don't have this sensibility.
18	So, you may argue about---it was my [laughing].
19	I: Do you think it makes sense for the volunteers to come from their countries to Greece and do things here? I am picking up on this what you said. Now there are many people here.
20	P3: Yes, it's very interesting. First it is a solidarity question, everybody may move from one country to another country it doesn't matter if people are here or in Germany or somewhere else. Here actually the problem is very big, because there is [inaudible – 24:50] a certain number of refugees. But here is a bit---because there is a big number of people they are coming and in very bad conditions. So it's important to have volunteers and NGOs but there is two other points. If you---you may help people here but you have to be more listening. It means to take care, but according to their own need. So first you have to be in contact to understand and act [inaudible – 25:28 – 25:34] So I can't say if the are refugees or migrants are always people that---how can I say---they have political conceptions, they just want to be in Germany in order to have money and a better life they believe, it is kind of an idolization. But there is a lot of people who are really suffering, they don't like to leave from their own country, they were obliged, But we have to listen more to them it is important [inaudible – 26: 25].
21	You may say that, okay volunteers are not all of them necessary here, especially if they don't take care seriously their job. Then it is better to stay home. At the beginning in bad days I was very critical too, but now when I see back at this people I think that even if somebody is coming here and he helps a little bit the refugees but in the same time he gets a lot of time to have fun, we say.
22	I: Like in a holiday?
23	P3: Yes, yes. Social, humanitarian tourist, we must say. Even in this case when you go back to your home. Even if you are the worst person, there is something happening. And if it doesn't change you in this moment, probably later on. You know, when you will be with problems or when you are with your children, eating food, etc., it is kind of a memory. And this memory never disappears. So we have to be positive and say for everybody who is coming here and who is helping, it is a very positive experience. But it is necessary to have international help and solidarity because it was, now it's less, but Greece was overcrowded. Even if you are well organized you cant affront such a big problem and anyway it is not only your problem, it is a European problem. Greece has never made a war somewhere, you know we are not people [inaudible – 28:53] like Italians. But we are the first

	ones at the coast so we have in our hands first the problem. So to have European solidarity in all the levels. You are welcome here, [inaudible 29:22] you see our point of view, we see your point of view, you know. And when you will be back, I think a lot of you will have a different point of view about the refugee problem, because they have a direct contact now. So let's say most people have this problem outside of the lives, but you are testimonies. You have seen it with your own eyes, there is no pictures, there is real people. That is a kind of sensitivity, also when you go back if they see refugees in their own countries, I think they will be more positive about their problems.
24	I: Then even the worst person can bring back home the message. I think it is a really good point.
25	P3: I see how stupid it is to have a free borders for commerce and objects and not free borders for people. It is a big contradiction.
26	I: What do you think are the main challenges for the work of volunteers? What are the main problems, conflicts?
27	P3: Yes, volunteers..., [hesitating] What I may say..., These are personal questions and problems, somebody has a special character here, arrives here---you cant resolve the problem in an individual way, so you have to act collectively. If you have a democratic function in the group, that you talk every day, you have a problem and you talk about this problem, then the work is collective. [inaudible 32:15 – 32:18] Sometimes there is one boss in the small NGOs. Sometimes you have a kind of direction in Germany, and then they are deciding and they give you orders, but they are not present here. So you have to be present first and second have a democratic structure, that means collective work and not only one boss, and everyone's opinion is the same. And if there is a problem in the group, the group is small you may see the problem, you know if it is a big group--- and you have a right of functioning in the terms of finances etc., then you may resolve this problem, you may say: <i>"Listen..."</i> We had one case we had a small truck for work to bring food. So what happened that sometimes in the afternoons or at nights they took the van to go outside and take beers or go around the Island and they spent a lot of gasoline. One, two, three times, several times it was happening. And police told me one time, that they caught people drunk. So, you have to be careful first, but secondly it is about the money of donors. And what we did in this case I directly talked to the person. If it continue like this I will leave, I will not work with people, who exploit the money of people. This problems arises when there is a bad organization, when there is no collective work and there is no discipline.
28	I: Maybe it is also about the selection of people.
29	P3: Yes, yes, yes. You are right, I forgot, because we talk directly now. Yes, when it was the time to make suggestions it was my first argument. Please, be more selective. It means---now it is objective to be selective but you know if you have some criteria then you may make better selection of people who are really interested and who are serious and who have some motivation and know how to work with other people and listen not only talk and not impose their own opinions. Yes, yes, better..., And sometimes I have seen that if you have people who is arriving from different parts of Germany, not knowing each other, it looks more not homogeneous. If you have some kind of friendship in Germany or in Europe, then you are ready to be in such a difficult situation. It is the same for us Greeks, me, I don't work with everybody, not to help refugees. I go work with groups which who I want to work, where I have some affinities, political, social and sensibilities, in common, you know. Otherwise I cant work with anyone. I worked with a lot of NGOs, small NGOs from Europe and then I had to accept that the political point is not always there. For me it is [inaudible 36:43]. Because I work with people I consider [inaudible 36:48 – 36:55] So I am trying to be with them and...,
30	I: But actually the political point, this is also a point that the refugees in the camp are saying a lot. They say you are volunteering here and we are really thankful for that but what do you do in your countries? Yesterday someone asked me: <i>"Can, you demonstrate in your country for anything?"</i> and I said; <i>"Yes. We have the freedom of speech"</i> and they said: <i>"Why don't you do that? And why don't the people that are already there, the refugees do that? Why in Germany the streets are not full of people who are demonstrating?"</i>
31	P3: This is very interesting and I remember in Turkey. There was a guy from agricultural background and he was the boss of the group. And there was a women that was really helping, very polite, very nice, like religious approach. And then one day I was so surprised, this guy doesn't look political, to have a political opinion, but one day he was fed up apparently. And he said to this girl: <i>"Listen, the only thing you have to do is to go back to somebody, and to stop the war in Syria."</i> That is the rude of the problem, it is not to help them to live in Germany. If you stop the war the problem is resolved immediately. So I agree.

32	I: What were talking now before he....,
33	P3: That we have to act in our own countries and solve the problem of the war, not solve the problem it is not so easy, but....,
34	I: But, yes do something. Do you think that many people---I think there are many people here, but there are mainly short term right? So what do you think about that?
35	P3: Yes, in general with all the groups I have seen that they are staying, the majority like 70 or 80%, for one or two weeks. They have some kind of vacation from their own job, their own activities and they are coming. And there is another 20 or 30% who are staying longer, so there is no way for people to stay if they cant, but probably it could be more interesting to have people who stay at least one month. The time to arrive, to be introduced, to get used. The biggest problem was with people who is arriving for only one or two weeks. They want to have--- imagine I was there since six months and someone was arriving and he worked the first day 15 hours, the next day too, another day 10 hours and in the end they all work five hours, you know. And I was fed up to see people arrive the first day, second day and ask me <i>"Can you do that, and that!"</i> Really, really authoritarian, you know. This kind of human behavior is disturbing, you know, and it is related to the time. If somebody stays here for one month or two months he tries to have energy too, because---I remember in Africa it was a main point, if you are not well, if you don't sleep well, you don't eat well, you don't stay somewhere in right conditions you cant help people. This is the first question.
36	The second one if in your family, country, city etc. you never helped people and suddenly because you have seen in the TV, radio, etc. it's a kind of life style I want to participate in and then you arrive you take million of pictures and you observe, you are very sad, you are...., etc. It is kind of an occasional sensitivity , you know. If somebody is sensitive, he has to be sensitive everywhere. In his country, outside...., you know. And if you want to help people---I remember a guy, he spent 20 years in jail, he was a resistant, participated in the second world war, he participated in the civil war, he has been in jail, really, a really active guy and I remember now---his name is _____. He wrote books, a lot of books. And he said---I have been in his home office with my students, talking with him. And one day he talked with a guy from a leftist party and he said---we have been to his home and we talked about the civil society in Greece in this period, it means five years ago, the situation in Greece etc., we have to do something, we have to resist, we have to make a revolution. And then _____ asked him: <i>"What about your wife?"</i> He says: <i>"Shit, it doesn't work."</i> , <i>"What about your mother?"</i> , <i>"Shit, it doesn't work."</i> , <i>"What about your relatives, friends?"</i> , <i>"It's not good."</i> and he said <i>"Fuck, I thought you want to change the world and your everyday life is shit!"</i> [laughing]. So it is the same with the refugees, you know, try to help your own self first in order to be ready. You cant help somebody if you don't have the relevant strength and clarity in your mind. And also somebody, a psychologist, but I don't agree with psychologists, they told me when I was in Africa that people who participate in such activities sometimes they some problems in their own country and it is an occasion to take a distance, you know. You live something hard in your country and then it is a kind of compensation, you know, you go there in order to forget things. But it's a very---I think it's a secondary argument for people.
37	I: But I think that there are really different motivations for volunteers.
38	P3: Yes, this is very true. So many as the number of person that there are. I don't know, I may talk about me. I was asking me why do you do that. Okay, logically I explained you before, the historical sensitivity, the political sensitivity...., but you know sometimes it is not necessary to explain everything. And I expect it happens in this people too, like all the volunteers, for me first it was an instinct, it is an instinctive reaction. You think that you want to be present there. Okay it is according to your---but when you decide you don't think a lot. You just want to be present. And then you see the reasons. And then two years later you may see other reasons, who are not evident now for you, in your personal life.
39	I: And I think this also plays a role for people that stay only for a short time.
40	P: Yes, exactly. Another point I want to---it is not in relation with volunteers, but it is in relation with the refugees. You have to see also in the other side what happens. It means---I remember to see other persons or families, who maltreat children or women. And I was upset, you know. And I was reacting and one of the volunteers, not volunteers, one person who has the---another volunteer, you know, he asked me to stop. We used also a translator and he said the same thing <i>"F***, I am not here to accept everything."</i> Okay, they are suffering, they need help but it's not unconditional, you know. I am not present like this, like humanitarian. If I see

	something violent I have to denounce that for their side.
41	A: And another problem is with the language too, you know. It is necessary to have always translators because it helps a lot. What else....,
42	I: I think this also an issue even with English here. I realized there are many people here that don't speak English of the Spanish.
43	P: Yes, now you give me another idea. You have a lot of small NGOs in Chios, it's a fighting in the end. You can't be there and act only for your own NGO. If there is 10 NGOs they have to collaborate and share information and share materials too. But sometimes especially European people, everybody wants to have his own structure. But if you come in exchange with other groups it may be complimentary and then it is much more helpful. But for this, for refugees again, I think, okay I don't worry if someone is a refugee or a migrant, for me it is secondary. But I am very sensitive to the kind of people because if I find somebody who hits a child or hits a woman or hits another guy---it happens very often in Athens, I remember fighting between refugees. So if I see that in Athens, I will react. I don't have to not react because they are poor refugees.
44	A: And second, another problem, the different nationalities, religious groups, so in this case, the volunteers have to be informed about the history of these countries before they are coming. What does it mean to be Syrian? Okay, now we are sensitized but---I talked with one of your volunteers. Hany, who is Syrian and it was so interesting to have his point of view. He explained me so many things and then I see with another point of view now this question. [inaudible – 12:19 – 12:26] You see it's an interesting point of view, you have a guy like him and then he makes a presentation to everybody. What is the war in Syria, his point of view, etc....,
45	I: Yes, that is a really good---that could be done....,
46	P3: Very good. Not only in Chios and in Athens and everywhere else, we had translators, but also translators---then you have to be selective because in the rush everybody becomes a translator. But you have to even be selective, the NGOs, especially the small NGOs. It may add to the their power, or their helping power. If you have a good guy, who may make the communication with the refugee groups. Not only translate but discuss with them, ask them. Okay, if you asked them, for an instance, they may say: <i>"Give us the money, you spent for us and it's okay, we know how to use it."</i> It is very simplistic, but it is a little bit true. So if you are there and you offer something it means what you add is your presence and the communication with the people.
47	I: I think this is also a matter of preparation before coming.
48	P3: Exactly. Even when you go back, I never see people respond to a questionnaire or have a feedback. That point is missing, you know. It could be interesting, because somebody may be unhappy or criticizing, some people, but these people may see serious harm. I remember a guy in Turkey he told me: <i>"Listen, I lost my interest."</i> He was lazy with [inaudible 14:37], I asked him: <i>"Why you came here?"</i> . He said: <i>"I don't like the relationship between the volunteers. One is the one who is deciding and he is always trying to be addressed or somewhere with the car and we stay there to fix the roof as slaves."</i> He was disappointed and he stopped to work. He stayed at home and, you know....,
49	I: So, it is about many networks or relationships between different volunteers, different groups of volunteers, refugees and volunteers....,
50	P3: Exactly.
51	I: Local and volunteers, volunteers and---yes....,
52	P3: Exactly. The other question, you talked about locals, Greeks in this case, the majority of the small NGOs they had even bad relationships with Greek population and in general Greeks, except a few exception. But this is not a good---you arrive here as a---it is another European country, you may be critical, but you don't know really the Greek history, you don't know the political history, you don't know the sensitivity, you know, because there are different groups, different people etc..
53	A: There is a lot of propaganda. This is another---against Greece, Greece against another European country. So, we have a lot of prejudices. It happens very often and this is a lack of information and real contact. You see now we talk and I express myself like yesterday, even with jokes. It makes people to be closer and understand, not only

	observe. This is the same with refugees who--- as you said it's a kind of cluster. If you loose one piece of the cluster then it collapses. It can help. So you are right. All these kind of relationships, you know..., And even I may say---but then it is really a problem sometimes, but some kind of openness. I have seen in different areas of Greece, the authorities sometimes they are---they don't push things, they don't rush things with NGOs, because they could do that, be more severe, you know. Because you arrive somewhere and you are---okay it is the European Union, but you are still a visitor like in a home. You have to be respectful and listening and be a little bit open. If you are with your prejudice and you are against everything, I don't know this is not a good attitude.
54	I: There is so much intercultural exchange, sensitivity needed. There are so many interactions, networks and clusters.
55	P3: There is another group of volunteers. Individual volunteers. I met people who stay in Greece six months, but individual and then they try to collaborate with different NGOs. This is positive and negative in the same time as I told you before, if you don't know somebody how---you arrive like a staff and you [inaudible 19:32] and you try to be introduced because okay it's a question..., Anyway, there you have to be careful to another point. I want to point out something interesting. If you decide to offer food, you have to be well prepared to do your best and you do only that. I mean, you may have some other activities, but you focus on what you are strong, like you, you know. I remember it was the best group to offer good food. So this is perfect. That's why I was not so critical about political things, you know, I may be side [sic]---if it's somebody who is so well prepared, he spent the money properly, he offer very good food, because this is the problem for people, who are transiting, it's okay. There is of course a lot of problems. I was reading today there is a lot of rapes inside the camps and violence. This is another problem. We have to---we cant resolve it, you and me, because as I told you, you offer food, actually you do a new activity with <i>habibi center</i> [meaning habibi works] but we have to be sensitive to that. We have to talk about that [inaudible 21:23] We have to do what we can and have more people specialist like for children who are alone.
56	I: Yes, there are many areas. And what do you think about the interactions between these individual volunteers and the small organizations and the big ones like UNHCR, Oxfam?
57	P3: Yes, I know. I have been in contact with the big NGOs but really very critical. It's a big story. The Greek--- even the UN, I know them since Africa. I don't want to---okay sometimes if you have a camp of 10.000 people or 20.000 people then the UN may have the means to deal with that. But even in Chios I remember they had the good quality tents and make it very fast. They are spending a lot of money to provide shelters and then blankets and hygiene material etc.. It's alright. It has to exist and well..., But sometimes they act politically first and secondly it is bizarre like here in the camp. The make new tents and they spent so much money and the tents are not used. I don't know exactly the reason, but it's bizarre, you know. And there is a lot of power with this humanitarian people. I never was able to collaborate with them. Only with some people. The small NGOs are more flexible, they arrive when the problem is there. It's not necessary to stay there for a year, it an urgency action. They have a political role, as I told you, to see and to talk about the problem. Because the UN, they are not interested, they have a big salary. They don't have any personal reason to talk against their own activities or other political questions. And even---you know I prefer to see small NGOs in the medical treatment too. Because I worked with a big one and I may say it's really not---when you have a big problem---I don't know---you have to have diversity, it's not a [inaudible – 24:42 – 24:44]. If you are a company you try to get a big project. For them, in their eyes, its kind of a project. I remember some people were so [inaudible – 24:56], some were a catastrophe, you know. If something happened around the world, people were kind of happy, because you had something to work.
58	Volunteers, you don't have this kind of...,
59	I: But, you think that they can work together the big ones and the small ones?
60	P3: No so much. Less as possible. Like the situation is now. I don't know what happened, but in general in Greece we are not only skeptical, but we are against the big NGOs. You have to consider the fact, that people who are active, Greeks, who are active in the solidarity movement for refugees, they are very critical about, not critical, they refuse the big NGOs. They are critical about the small NGOs and they are---because they are saying that it is some economic activity. You know money---and this is an interesting point too---because I participated in the activities of small NGOs and then when I meet Greek people who act in the same field I explain to them that there is really a big difference. They even think you get money from [inaudible - 26:57], and

	I say: <i>"It's not true, this is money from people like us."</i> And we have to respect it and we are happy that it happens. So this is interesting too, to have somebody who is looking at your activities. That's why I told you the other day you have to incorporate, to select some Greeks and see [sic] what you do here.
61	I: You are right. We are here as visitors as well in the area and we don't have any knowledge about the networks in this village. It is important to know...,
62	P3: It's important, but it's not so easy after one month or two months to have real..., You are not arriving here because you want to live here, you arrive just to provide your help for some persons [inaudible – 28:09 – 28:13] and the contact with local population. But you have to know that if you act properly people are just. They see who is really helping and who is really bad organized and...,
63	I: I think I have heard really a lot of good things of you. If there is anything that you have still in your mind you can...,
64	P3: Yes. Another suggestion is to try to get always, to get money [inaudible – 29:07] and by public activities to be clear and transparent. This is very important for you I think. And I feel better if I know you get money from somebody who has solidarity with this people. I don't like money from government and from big donations or someone, but this is my personal point of view. So I appreciate when I see this is money from people who are compassionate. [inaudible – 29:46 – 30:01]. I help you, because you help refugees. Thank you.

Participant 4

1	I: Tell me about you and your background.
2	P3: My name is _____. I am 27 years old and I am a member of Soup & Socks, a non-governmental organization who was already two times in Greece to help people who are currently on the run on the current refugee crisis. On the first two tours our main priority was to distribute food to them. On our second tour we decided to involve them into the cooking process and there was a kitchen we installed in one of these camp in Northern-West Greece. After we left, unfortunately, they closed the kitchen out of hygiene reasons.
3	I: Who is they?
4	P3: They is---we don't know that exactly, but we heard that the military people and the police guys are mostly responsible for the shut down of the kitchen. But in my opinion, I guess, also other non-governmental organizations didn't like that there was so much trouble and tensions in the hall. Because in the hall was as well a warehouse where they distribute cloths to the refugees and I think they just don't want to have this tensions in the hall. So they decided to close it and shut it down. There is also a catering company in the camp who distributes daily, 3 times a day, food to the people and I think it's just not necessary that they cook their own food.
5	I: And what was your motivation to join Soup & Socks? Why did you decide to do it?
6	P3: My brother and Manuel founded Soup & Socks and we had a Skype call we three together and —it was last year in November 2015 and the situation was really critical for all the refugees because it was very, very cold during the winter and there was no---it was not really organized by official organizations how we welcome the people on the European side. So the first thought was that we will go down the route they travelled these days and just distribute cloths, but then suddenly we thought again and we came to the point, that it is very important to serve them proper food because they come from a long journey and they are very hungry. The second thought was more like that they have been on a long journey and the nutrition wouldn't have been very good. So, our main thought was to cook for them like they are used to it, very nutritious and very healthy as well without any meat, because we don't want to get in trouble with the halal thing and stuff like that. So our first trip was ten days long and in my opinion it was a very good trip and a very helpful thing we did.
7	I: Did you prepare for that work when you were at home?
8	P3: Before we left Germany, I remember, we thought a lot of what would happen and nobody had known exactly what will happen, so we were talking about what we will do if people will be aggressive or what will we do if people would try to steal from us or attack us whatever..., I think we were really good prepared for the trip and

	our team was basically---we were six, seven people---some of us didn't even know each other, but it fit from the first moment. It was a very good mood inside the team. I guess we had a really, really good preparation for the trip and in addition to that the combination of the team was really, really good. This was the most important part for the success for this trip.
9	I: What do you mean with combination?
10	P3: Because everybody in the team was completely on the same side for why are we doing this. We did it because everybody in the team had a lot of compassion with the people. We were also a little bit angry about the official side, how they react, how the European Union reacts to the amount of people that they didn't care about them. And we said: <i>"Okay, let's do it and let's do it right now! Because the people need help right now and not in three or four weeks. They need it right now!"</i> . Somebody who shows them that they are not forgotten.
11	I: Is there any voluntary work that you did also at home back where you live? Before or after?
12	P3: To be honest no. Before the trip I didn't work with any refugees or staff like that. The only social thing I did was one year in a school for disabled people. But it---I did it because---and I did it consciously for the first time because it was so presented in the media and I think if you can feel compassion with people---and this time it was so severe that I really, really felt that I want to something to change the bad situation for this people.
13	I: And now talking about the actual work that you did here, let's say in this camp here in Katsikas. What do you think about it? What was good, what was bad?
14	P3: You mean for this trip?
15	I: Let's say the last one.
16	P3: Trip two.
17	I: Yes, because this one didn't really start yet.
18	P3: Trip two was in my opinion also very successful. I came a little later than the rest of the team. I came four days later and they already arranged a lot of things in the camp. I arrived and they already had the set-up of the kitchen in a---it was in a small tent but it was in a good set-up---and they already started with cooking. They got already a very, very good feedback for the food, for what they did. And when I joined the team, I remember, the mood was as well very nice and the team, it was a good mood, a good combination again. Everybody was again on the same side, doing the same thing, and thinking the same about the whole situation that it is not---that it absolutely not acceptable that people live in such conditions like they do over there. It was the beginning of April and it was still cold during the night. They built the tents directly on the ground with heavy stones underneath and when you arrived---I remember it very clearly in my mind---when I arrived and you showed me through the camp I was a little bit shocked, because I thought: <i>"This is not Europe, this not the truth. It's not possible in a union which is so rich that people have to live under this kind of circumstances. Never!"</i> I mean we know this pictures from Central Africa or from Middle East. This is nowadays---these are normal pictures from there. But from the European Union I was shocked and a little bit embarrassed as well that our government doesn't really care about... Yes, but back to your question, you asked me about the good points and the bad point. My resume for the second trip, it was helpful only out of the thing that we had a lot of contact with the people because we lived very close to the camp and the people didn't live for a long time in the camp. They arrived one months before us, so everything was very new for them. I think they were somehow afraid and maybe somehow tired and they didn't know exactly what will come next. So, it was really, really helpful that people from this country where they want to head on, but they weren't able to head on, come to them and just show them: <i>"We don't forget you here in this area. We really care about you. And we want to improve your situation."</i> Because our government didn't do anything at this time.
19	I: And what is about the other people that were volunteering in the camp? How was the relationship there?
20	P3: There were two other non-governmental organizations at the same time when we have been there. One was called <i>Olvidados</i> and the other one was <i>Lighthouse relief</i> . I think <i>Olvidados</i> was from the really, really beginning, from the first day they camp existed. They came there and did things, distributing and staff like that. The relationship between these two groups and <i>Soup & Socks</i> was in my opinion really good. If we needed

	anything and they could help us out, they did. The same thing from our side. I had, really with most of the volunteers in the camp during this time in April, I had the feeling that people who have been there were like <i>"We just want to help. Nothing else. We just want to help. We want to care about these people."</i> From my side this was good team work and also mostly good mood.
21	I: And were there any conflicts ever? Not even talking about two organizations but like person to person or...
22	P3: I mean, like it is, when something comes up new of course there were some little argues about how we can manage this issue or that issue or whatever. I am not the type of sitting down and having meetings all the time, I am more like I want to do something. Of course there were meetings and it is important to have meetings. Sometimes there was a little bit a kind of over organization or it was not clear who was really responsible for something. For example we had to secure the door of the tall because otherwise the whole camp would have come inside. Sometimes it was stressful and it was not really good organized who had to secure the door. But still to resume that, in all that chaos what was there it was a good organization and a good team work in trip two.
23	I: And trip three?
24	P3: Trip three, where we are right now currently. In my opinion in started completely different than trip one and trip two and we started in two different teams because we had an issues with one of the cars and it was not possible to get down here and start right now with our project. This time we are doing something different. We try to invent this <i>habibi works</i> project and it is necessary to have a very good preparation for this kind of project. Otherwise, I think, we will get lost during a few days. When they come in and we are not good prepared I think we will have a lot of disappointment and tensions inside the hall. So actually to find this hall needed us a few days and we were very lucky to find it, this kind of building. Our mistake as a team was, we did not talk as much as needed about how long would we need to do the set-up. Because now I realized, today we have the 14 th of August and we started on the 1 st of August, the previous plan was to open <i>habibi works</i> after one or one and half weeks. And now for me it seems not possible to start even for the 1 st of September. And I think many people of the team realized that as well and this is already a disappointment for some people. To be honest it is hard to stay confident and trustful to the project because at the moment we don't see any results [inaudible – 17:25] the people out of the camp. To be honest we don't stay in touch with them right now. We live quit near to the camp but because---for example me, I never go to the camp, because at the moment I would feel somehow useless if I would go to the camp because I don't do anything over there and for me they should have their privacy. It's a camp and you could just walk inside but in my opinion---I don't do it.
25	I: Are there people that do that?
26	P3: Yes, definitely.
27	I: And who are those people?
28	P3: Even some of our team do that. Kind of <i>"I go over there and talk with this guy or this guy."</i> Sometimes there is a reason to do that, sometimes not. But especially from other organizations or independent volunteers. This thing changed to trip two, now there are a lot more independent volunteers and the Spanish group was growing during the last month, they have now over 50 people. For me it seems somehow that not everybody knows exactly what his task is over there. For me it seems more like that some people come here because maybe they know somebody already of the team or..., This is only a guess. For me it seems that a lot of people are right now here who did not really know what is the main thought of being here. The main thought is to give hope and help and not to look around and walk through the camp and talk to the people and touch some little children because it makes them feel by themselves happy or whatever. For me it is difficult to accept or to see that people come down here for one or two weeks wearing sunglasses and short pans walking through the camp and feel somehow important or whatever. This is not my kind of style or this is not the original idea our group had during especially tip one and trip two.
29	I: Do you see that there are conflicts between volunteers that do that and people that live in the camp? Or that there is some kind of negative influence?
30	P3: During the first days we were sitting in one of the tents of one guy I really know well because I wanted to see him again and then we went to his tent. He invited us even for having dinner. And this guy he knows a lot about the camp and he is really into the conflict and many things. And he said without I asked him, he said:

"You know it changed a lot. Now we have much more volunteers, but I know exactly the people who are doing really something like improving our situation---or there are people that are really interested in changes. But I also now the people who just come day by day and standing around and playing with the kids or try to represent themselves." I am not---out of the reason that I don't go over every day and talk to the people, I don't know if there are many argues between volunteers and citizens of the camp but this was the only statement I heard.

31 I: You think there should be some kind of selection of people or volunteers that come here?

32 P3: Well..., [hesitating]. Selection, I don't know if that's possible because then they have to apply or whatever and I think this would mean more bureaucracy and this is for me another waste of time and money. But I would wish for them that they just reduce their amount of volunteers. Recently the camp split into two groups, the Yazidis complained at the official side that there are some ISIS members or whatever in the camp. So the government decided to settle the whole Yazidi group, about 200 people, to another point in the North of the city, half an hour drive away. So the camp number, what I heard the last number is 530, so we have now less camp citizens but more volunteers than in trip two. This is, in my opinion, not senseful [sic]. There was one statement from the military guys that there will come 80 people paid by the government who should replace the volunteers who are right now in the camp and then the volunteers came up with a lot of complaints that they don't want it. I think if the government is willing now to employ unemployed Greek people this is a very good idea, to get them in contact with the refugees to break down walls, to break down prejudices, to get local people connected with the refugees---and even another advantage is that local people get back to work. So for me this is a very good point and I can absolutely not understand that some volunteers are complaining about it, because they feel like: *"Oh, I loose my sense."* or whatever. I don't understand that. For me it would be very nice if there---until now the 80 people, nobody has seen them [laughing] but I hope they will come. And then I think it's time to change it and then the volunteering work should be over. Because it is not about our feelings or what we want to do. The main priority is absolutely the well-being of the camp citizens or improving of their situation.

33 I: What do you think about the big organizations like UNHCR...,

34 P3: That is a difficult question..., I think it's necessary that they are existing somehow because they can bring a lot of attention to places like this but---this was always our advantage from *Soup & Socks*, especially---and we were very proud of it---that we can react during a few minutes. If there was a request from, I don't know---another bus arrived from Idomeni or wherever and they have no food for two days and no water for one day then we just decided: *"Okay, come on. We have leftovers from yesterday. Bring it over to the bus. Bring a box of bananas and dates and water."* And we distribute it to the people in the bus. Big organizations like UNHCR or Oxfam, they have a lot bureaucracy in their organization and a lot of people who have to say something. They do a lot of meetings in the near village Kastikas and decide about many things. I know, that they need a good organization in a big company like they are. But now for example Oxfam and UNHCR built up new tents with proper floors, but obviously they are made for the summer and now we have middle of August and the summer will end here in this area end of September and the tents are even smaller than the actual tents, so if they would move now they would use it for probably one month and a week and then they need to settle them again anywhere else, because it is just too cold here. You can't live in these tents during autumn or winter.

35 I: Do you see any way of those big organizations and those smaller organizations like *Soup & Socks* or the individual ones to work together in some kind of way?

36 P3: Like we are definitely willing to do that, but in these bigger organizations there are many people who get a proper salary and somehow they feel maybe a little bit scared or afraid from these smaller organizations because they have a proper job and what they are doing here that's their job, they get a salary for it and if there are too many non-governmental organizations like we [sic], they are just useless. So, sometimes, in my opinion, they just don't want it. They think we should stay at home and do something at home. They feel like a little bit privileged against the NGOs. Like: *"What are you doing here. You don't know what you are exactly doing!"*. But we know because we have a lot of experience but *"Yes, you do have a lot of experience but you also did a lot of shit in the past!"* or were just reacting too slow. So I think the teamwork should be better, but now I cant see any teamwork, any cooperation between these bigger organizations.

37 I: And we already talked a little bit about locals but in a different context. What do you think about the interactions with the local people here? Do you think that people know a little bit about the area and are they integrated them?

38	P3: I know for example---on trip two we met a big group of women from the Ioannina university and they were really, really kind and we were very grateful that they came nearly every week. One day they brought cake for everybody in the camp. One day they came and cared about the babies to take a proper bath with them. They were really encouraged about the situation--- or still are encouraged about the situation in the camp. Another group they are coming once a week to the camp and taking a few people out of the camp, who are willing to sleep out somewhere out of the camp. Just to see anything else [sic]. They go hiking with them to the mountains and stay for one night in the mountains. I didn't meet these people but I heard of them and I think this is a really good idea, because it not only connects the local people with the refugees, it also shows the people in the camp that they are not forgotten. And this is one of the most important point that the people in the camp still can see that other people care about them and are not satisfied with their situation.
39	I: And is there a good relationship between volunteers and local people?
40	P3: I think this depends from group to group. Especially, I can speak for our team, we are always thinking about how we represent us here in this area and we don't want to be seen like the rich Germans coming here to help because we don't have anything else to do. So we always try to be very kind to the local people and even try to involve them in our project. We have one Greek guy in our team for this trip. We met him during trip number one in Athens. And he came especially for us, for this project now to Ioannina. He is a good bridge for us to connect with the local people because he speaks the language. Especially in countries like this it is really, really important if you have somebody in the team who can connect to the language skills...,
41	I: So you think it's important for the job that volunteers are creating like kind of a network?
42	P3: Yes, I think so. It's important to create kind of a network because when you arrive here as a team and everything is new for the team and you need, especially this time---we need---we have a lot of requests. We need wood for the shelves, we need wood for the walls, we need the plumper to fix things in the hall, we need the electricity guy to get us connected to the electricity. If you have a good kind of network everything is going much fast, [laughing] especially in this country connections are really, really It's important to create kind of a network because when you arrive here as a team and everything is new for the team and you need, especially this time---we need---we have a lot of requests. We need wood for the shelves, we need wood for the walls, we need the plumper to fix things in the hall, we need the electricity guy to get us connected to the electricity. If you have a good kind of network everything is going much fast, [laughing] especially in this country connections are really, really worth it. So, if you don't have any connections and if you don't have a guy who is able to speak the local language everything would take much more time for us. So, we want to be very fast and this helps a lot. So, if you don't have any connections and if you don't have a guy who is able to speak the local language everything would take much more time for us. So, we want to be very fast and this helps a lot.
43	I: And how did you learn to work in this refugee setting, I mean probably you did not do that before and there are things that you have to take care of. So how did you learn to do that?
44	P3: [laughing] I think this was a simple learning by doing thing. I mean, I love to travel. So I am used to behave, inform a little bit before I go somewhere else. Inform about the local behaviours or local traditions and this is what I did before we left Germany for trip one. I just did a little research about how do these people behave or what are their religious traditions. I mean of course we know that most of them are Muslims and we know that a lot of women wear their headscarf. And that it is not usual that you give your hand to a woman and all this stuff, but most of the things you learn quickly by watching the people how they behave or other people behave in front of you. Somehow I think it's not only about how you behave in front of this people, it is more about just humanity. I mean these people see that we came to do something for them, so it's a pretty easy thing that they realize---especially in trip one I have this memory when they were standing in this line for waiting for the food. The people realized that we came just out of humanity and not out of any religious or money reasons. And they respected that because every human respects that, if you come to help, then there is a good communication between these people. You just respect each other. And then you don't need to watch out what you are doing. You just behave normal like the basic human behaviour, be friendly, don't do anything aggressive against other people...,
45	I: In this area did you get some time to have a look at the area around or did you spent all your time in the camp?
46	P3: On which trip you mean?

47	I: The second one.
48	P3: The second one I was really spending most of the time in this big toll and---I mean we went early in the morning to the tall and prepared for our own nutritious breakfast and after that all of the team started directly to prepare things, because if you want to cook tasty and nutritious meals for nearly 800 people it needs a lot of time and passion. We did this very good and we didn't miss one day---no, we missed one day, but the day before they stole some things from us. So, we decided one day not to cook, but all the other days we were cooking for them. So, we were not like: <i>"Okay, now we need two days off and we need time for ourselves."</i> This is another point that is very important for me that presents <i>Soup & Socks</i> that we are here to help and not on vacation or anything else. We came down here to help, not to go on the beach or hang around with people. I think this is a very important message. Even some refugees recognized it. They said: <i>"The Germans are so hard working!"</i> In some cases, that sounds strange, but this is kind of an idol for them. They see how we work and how we want to show them off that we are here for the help and not for hanging around.
49	I: Are there other people that don't take this so serious?
50	P3: Definitely. Especially as I told you now in trip three, even I don't feel so useful like the last time because we have much more space between our work tasks, much more time to sit down and have a proper meal. I mean it is nice, but in my opinion it is not the same feeling like the last trip. I don't feel so helpful like the last trip. Because we need to organize a lot, it's much more organization and this is the disadvantage I see now in this trip. Our group is changing, it's not any more the super helpful, super fast acting NGO. We are becoming more like these heavy big organizations who always need to have a meeting two or three hours before they decide anything. In my opinion I am very against this change and I tried to talk with some of the members but it seems that I am for now the only person who---that I am the only person for now who thinks in this way.
51	I: I would like to know about the duration of your stay. How long did you stay on the different trips, and what are your working hours? And do you know that about other volunteers?
52	P3: On the first and second trip I stayed nearly the whole time, but it was out of my previous job I was not able to arrive both times with the whole team because I was still in a proper contract and I couldn't just leave this. (...) The first trip was 10 days, I think. The second trip was nearly a month, all April. For me, it's important to not just come one week because I think that would be a waste of money and environmental pollution. Working hours..., The first trip was extremely, extremely strong for everybody. All of us went to the real, real limits of our bodies and ourselves. Some days we stood up at 5 in the morning and went to bed, I don't know, I am the next day. [laughing] So, it was really, really tough. I am used to stand and have long working days, but this was a really, really strong experience for everybody in the team. But it conceived all members of the team very strong in the same opinion, the long working hours. Second trip was a little bit less but also we had long days sometimes. We did it like this; we went early in the morning to work and we did our stuff what was to do and after the distribution we cleaned everything and after that we didn't even stop, we went to our house which was close to the camp and we did the meeting. And this was one point I really appreciated because we didn't sit down during the day and hold up some meetings like other groups did. We did our work and then in our free time we still talked about the whole topic. This showed me, personally, how interested everybody was in the topic. We didn't even speak about anything else except the things happening in the camp during this time.
53	I: If you compare this with other people of the volunteers?
54	P3: Well..., [hesitating]. It is hard to judge about other people because I don't know what they are doing when they go home but my impression was that they---I saw it already on trip number one, there was some guys from the UK and they were more from the---they were NGOs, but they were more from the political background, they were lefties and they---my impression was about them, they really care about the people but they also try to push their political opinion into that thing. I think that is wrong. These people come with a lot of tensions, out of political reasons, out of religious reasons, out of war reasons. So, it's wrong to show them another conflict in any direction. And these guys from the UK, they were really careful and paid a lot of attention to the refugees but sometimes they did things I would never do or people from our team would never do. They were buying beer and drinking that in the presence of the refugees and I think this is---you shouldn't do this, you shouldn't show them our problems from our society. They are not really used to that stuff and they are in a very difficult time and if you show them what we are doing and what kind of mistakes or things go wrong in our society maybe they would---I even thought they would try it as well and get addicted soon. We should be more sensitive in this

kind of case. These people---I mean you have to differentiate that these people from the UK were for very long term stays. In this case I can definitely understand if people say: *"Okay, I am not working seven days per week, because otherwise I would destroy myself."* This is obviously---and I would never recommend it to anybody who stays for a few months to work every, every day. If you don't feel well by your own, you can't help other people. This is obvious and you can't do it. This would be stupid. You need to find a good balance between why I am here and what I want to do and about using your free time or...

55 I: So the people that stay shorter time?

56 P3: I think if somebody is coming---for me, in my opinion, you shouldn't do this trip if you want to come under 14 days. This is for me a minimum you should do. Even out of respect for the people. Because you will arrive one day and after seven days you will leave, it would make sense anyway. And for people who are coming for short term, like 14 days or 3 weeks, I think they don't need free days like---if you come two weeks and do it like in a proper contract and work five days, get two days off, then you actually have been only for ten days there. Then I think the money you spent on your journey and the money you spent on your accommodation and maybe on your rented car would be much better invested if you just transfer it to some NGO who is already in this area and they would spend it. So, I mean it costs a lot of money if somebody comes here and needs accommodation and the journey... You have costs probably 400 € or even more. Just take this money transfer it to somebody who is already helping... It's a better investment.

57 I: That's it. Do you anything on your mind you still want to say?

58 P3: Not on this cellphone please. [laughing].

Participant 5

1 I: We can just start. You can just tell me who you are and what you are doing here?

2 P5: Okay. I am an independent volunteer. I came here because I have been following everything that has been happening. I have been paying a lot of attention to the humanitarian crisis that is going on right now in Europe. I also have been looking very closely at the war, because I am very interested in politics. So I was following---I started maybe paying more attention when there was the war in Libya. And after Libya, that kind of like opened my eyes a little bit to what was going on, because that was a very confusing---Iraq was a little bit more clear even though there was a lot misleading, but then again with the whole---after the Arab spring it all became more confusing. We don't know who is fighting who. And exactly. There were a lot of democracy, there were a lot of West and yeah... So after Libya I started paying more attention. I have been following the war in Syria a lot and obviously we have all a bit of---quit a lot of frustration not being able to help or to influence. So in December of 2015 my girlfriend and I went to Calais in the North of France, in that point where people are crossing to England there is a lot of refugees there. Or there is a whole [inaudible-03:10] of refugees or economic migrants. It is a big camp with up to seven or eight thousand people at a time. So we went there, we spent a month there. I was mainly working, just like I work here, in the warehouse over there. Because it is Calais, it is the North of France, and it was cold, living in tents is not enough for the winter, so I was working with a NGO called *l'auberge de migrant*, who are involved in a lot of things, the whole situation of food, but also in building shelters. And that is what I participated the most in. The experience, even it was hard times there, it was very positive, so then after that that's when we decided we would like to come to Greece. After a little bit of research we found out about Katsikas, because we were first coming to Idomeni. That was our plan, to first go to Idomeni and then about a few weeks before we came we heard that Idomeni had been evacuated. It was hard to get into a lot of the camps because they were run by the military and they didn't allow either NGOs or independent volunteers. So we heard of Katsikas which still allowed independent volunteers and which was---which part of the volunteer work was run by Spanish NGOs. So I thought that would be interesting for us to work with Spanish NGOs. That is why we came here. We contacted _____. And [he/she] is managing, [he/she] is coordinating all the volunteers, whether it is *olvidados*, *AIRE* or independent. He told us to come. And we are not affiliated with any of them.

3 I: How long have you been here and how long will you stay?

4 P5: We came for about 23-24 days and tomorrow is my last day. Our experience in Greece has come to an end.

5	I: Before you came to Calais did you do something at home? Like voluntary work? And are you planning to do it now?
6	P5: Yes, I certainly want to be more involved in volunteering. I have done some volunteering in the past. A little bit when I was in Bolivia, and a little bit also in England giving English lessons to asylum seekers. But both of those experiences were a long time ago and it was very different to being in a refugee camp. But certainly I do want to continue volunteering because certainly it's---for one it's a positive experience to be able to help and to contribute. But also it's also very enriching. Not only you are giving but your are receiving a lot as well. You are learning a lot and also it helps you kind of expand your horizon and learn more about yourself and others.
7	I: Since you ae not with any organization, did you prepare somehow before you left? Did you inform yourself about the culture of the people in the camp and did you know anything about Greece, this place?
8	P5: Yes, I must confess that I didn't do too much preparation in that sense. I did prepare in terms of---I did try to prepare in terms of the volunteering, so I joined a lot of facebook sites, one that is called <i>Katsikas</i> another one that is called forgotten in Idomeni, and other one is called <i>help refugees</i> , there is one called <i>confused volunteers</i> , I think. So I joined these sites to try to get more information about which camps were in need of more help, advice on what to bring, on how to prepare, but more for the volunteering work. And where to go and understand a little bit better what is going on, the situation with the military... But I didn't really prepare in terms of cultural preparation, in terms of working with people from different---from the middle east. I didn't prepare in that sense and I didn't do much preparation in terms of how to adapt to the local culture here of Greece. I have been following a lot also the situation---the political situation in Greece with economic crisis, SYRIZA with the Golden Dawn. I know that their society at the moment is pretty polarized and people are tending to---like it happens in crisis---to go to the extremes like in many countries. So I am happy to understand that many Greeks are actually---they are very---they have a lot of solidarity and they tend to be very serious at once. So that shows that they are very left wing, but also there is the other extreme of a smaller group of people that have really being drawn more towards fascism. So I was aware of that. And I also had that experience in Calais, because Calais is also---it's similar. And in Calais there is a lot resistance towards the situation with the refugees and there is a lot of people that have been---there are some fascist groups, that have been kind of working in the background and trying to do negative things.
9	I: Now coming a bit to what you do here, the volunteering. Where do you see like the challenges? Do you see any challenges in your daily life and in the interactions with others?
10	P5: Certainly. Yes, one of the reasons why I wanted to come here was precisely to work with the Spanish NGOs. I am Spanish myself. Half Spanish, half Nigerian. And I grew up in Spain, but I have never---I haven't---most of my professional work has been abroad. I certainly haven't done any volunteering with Spanish, so that was one of the reasons why I wanted to work here. After the experience of Calais I think my impression of Katsikas is pretty---there is a lack of organization, I think partly it is because it is a smaller camp and maybe the level of experience of the NGOs who are working in Calais maybe is more advanced and here maybe they are a bit newer. I think AIRE is only about two or three months old, apparently, I heard it yesterday. And I was a bit surprised, at the beginning, of the level of disorganization. And also hearing that apparently Katsikas is one of the most organized camps of around here that is also quite shocking. But I guess it is different working in Southern Europe than in Northern Europe, I guess that has something to do with it---about working with the locals, with the Greeks and also with the Spanish NGOs, that also are from Southern Europe. That is one of the things that has tried me the most of working here.
11	I: So what is concretely the issue, you think? Where do you see the ...,
12	P5: One of the things that was most obvious to me at first was working---I have been working---just like in Calais I was working in the warehouse there and I was working in the workshop while they were building the shelter---and here I came and also started working in the warehouse, the distribution of cloths. And that was a big contrast from working in that warehouse to working in this one. It seems like here there wasn't really clearly assigned roles. There weren't people that were in charge of receiving the new volunteers and giving a clear explanation of what was going on and what and how they could help. You know, giving them tasks to know what to do. And when things were explained it was obvious that the system was not very developed. So obviously an organized warehouse should have clear sections where things are stored and a clear system by which we process the donations to organize and to get them ready so that they can be prepared for distribution and all that things,

	not to be working well. The good thing is, for most of the volunteers we are really happy to hear any ideas on how to organize better and that..., Most people were kind of open to any improvements. Another sign of disorganization was maybe---there is a meeting at 9 o'clock every day in the old warehouse and that meeting sometimes tends to drag on, to be quit long and to kind of like start---often they start talking about things that are maybe not relevant to everyone that is in the meeting, maybe to some specific group. I thought that that meeting could have been more shorter, more consisted and more straight to the point, so that people can get working straight away. Rather then tiring people first thing in the morning, just with a long meeting that is not that relevant.
13	I: And who is there at the meeting? Everyone? All the volunteers?
14	P5: Some people chose not to come. And people that have really specified roles often do not come. For example my girlfriend is a nurse and they are working with Maria, who is the head nurse and the head of all the medical aspects, which is not---all the medical stuff that is not run by <i>Médecines sans frontières</i> and <i>Doctors of the world</i> and <i>Doctors without borders</i> . It is being run by Maria, who is independent---well she works for <i>AIRE</i> now, as a nurse for <i>AIRE</i> . So they don't really come to the meetings and other people also skip it. Thinking that all the volunteers and all the general volunteers they go there, which is---it is a meeting where their roles for the day are assigned and also were anything else is discussed. I think it is good that we have a meeting, but I think that meeting could work a bit more efficiently.
15	I: Are there many individual volunteers like you? Like, how is it? Are there each day new people arriving?
16	P5: There is a lot of independent volunteers , but a lot of them---because mainly it is Spanish volunteers---a lot of them have come directly by contacting either <i>AIRE</i> or <i>Olvidados</i> , which are the two main Spanish organizations. So a lot of them are coming already with this two organizations. But a lot of other volunteers are just showing up. Maybe they have contact with ___ or maybe they have contact with one of these two. But they are independent and that's were people show up. And now of course, because it is August there is a lot more volunteers. And in Spain as well the holiday period is very clear. People take holidays always in August. So there is a lot of volunteers now and I think---yes, it seems quite obvious that after the first week of September the number of volunteers will be down very drastically.
17	I: And is it mainly Spanish then? Or...,
18	P5: Mainly Spanish, yes. I would say like 80% of the volunteers here are Spanish.
19	I: Do you have any conflicts between volunteers? Is there anything that arises, like conflicts between different volunteers or conflicts between different organizations of volunteers?
20	P5: I wouldn't be surprised at all if there were conflicts between different organizations, because I haven't been here for that long, a little bit over 3 weeks, and because I haven't been working at the higher level, I am not aware of what is going on. I know that the professional NGOs like <i>Doctors of the world</i> and <i>Doctors without borders</i> seem to---sometimes not to be happy with the work of the smaller NGOs like <i>AIRE</i> and <i>Olvidados</i> . I know it is a complicated relationship, same with <i>AIRE</i> , they also have their complaints. I think they are understandable. Smaller NGOs run by volunteers seem to be often a lot more disorganized and sometimes less reliable because people, you know, when they are tired for example they choose to take time off. Sometimes they work, sometimes they don't. Maybe you could say that their way of working is different to volunteers of more short term. So generally the more disorganized are---but then it has sometimes more positive things, that people---because they work purely out of the heart for no salary, sometimes they work harder, sometimes the shifts are not as clear, so they sometimes go as long as they need to go, sometimes they won't take days off for many weeks, because they see that the work needs to be done. While the bigger NGOs, the more established NGOs, while they are more professional---for example here <i>Doctors of the world</i> and <i>Doctors without borders</i> , weekend comes and they go, they disappear like there is nothing to do here on the weekends when there is so much stuff to do, also medical assistance.
21	And also sometimes it takes them longer to get things done, because they have such a rigid hierarchy. And there is a lot of planning. And sometimes---a friend of mine when he directed me to Calais, I asked him where should I go he said: " <i>Well the Ashram kitchen is really good for food (...) Doctors of the world is really good for talking a lot and doing nothing</i> " [laughing]. You know they plan, plan and plan but sometimes things are actually not

	getting done.
22	And in the terms of conflict between volunteers I think that, yes, it happens a lot. It is always hard, personal relationships are the hardest bits when people are trying to work together. And also there is a lot of frustration because it is a delicate situation. Sometimes people are working long hours and not taking days off. And also the lack of organization. My friend that came with me, he is a student nurse, he is from Belgium, and he has been living in England for the last decade. He is used to kind like of more Northern European way of working and he gets really, really, really frustrated having to work with the Spanish people, who are not very strict with the time table, who often don't turn up in time to the meetings, often are very sociable and talk a lot, but sometimes not in a very efficient way and so he finds that very frustrating. And sometimes he has been quite in a bit of conflict with some others. That as an example.
23	I: Lastly what is your perception or what do you think do volunteers contribute to the situation?
24	P5: Yes, I am also---I know that many people are very skeptical of the role of NGOs in the humanitarian world. When we go to other countries....
25	I: Just wait. When you say NGOs you mean the smaller ones or the bigger ones?
26	P5: Both. Both, really. I have spoken with people, sometimes people in the humanitarian field, volunteers, or sometimes even locals, they have told me that they think that this is more counterproductive. People coming, trying to tell people how to do things and trying to impose their system or increasing globalization, coming with their cameras and showing the life style of the West---maybe showing too much flesh. And in a way maybe contaminate. I have heard people also say: <i>"You just coming here on holidays."</i> or <i>"You are just come here to feel good about yourself."</i> And I think that is probably a truthful component to all of that. However I think it is incredibly positive when people have the will to help. I think as long as you don't make things worse, only just coming to try and help is already positive in itself, because you are showing support, because you are sharing your will to help and you are spreading love, and you are also communicating to the person in need that you want to help, that you want to contribute and showing a welcome in this case. I mean in the case that you come to someone else's country, to show that you have a will to try and make things better. That thing itself, I think, is positive. But also I think that apart from that sign of willingness to contribute, I think we are certainly doing something better. I think we certainly improve the situation. Just looking at Calais, this is a camp that is run by the military and yet the military you never see them out of the barrack, only outside on their phones or just sunbathing. They don't really do anything. They are not here because they want to be here. They have just been sent to this place. And if it was just them, this place would be hell. I think that the volunteers---we might not be as efficient as we could be sometimes---I think we are kind of providing a useful service as best as we can. And also we are a channel for the money and the support and the love of other people in Europe that would like to come and help but are not able to because of the circumstances. For example there is 4 of us that came and we opened a crowd funding page and we brought around 4.000 € and we had a lot of sense of support. And we channeled that money to here, to Katsikas camp. And also the support that we are getting through facebook and through the documentation that we are doing now and that we are going to share when we are back home.... So I do think the role of the volunteers is very important, very positive and I think that it should continue.

Participant 6

1	I: OK. The first question is, tell me something about yourself. What do you do here ?
2	P6: I am _____. I am from Germany. During school time I stayed for a year in Costa Rica, but I went to school, so no volunteering at all. And after the A levels I went to South Africa for volunteering for a year as well in youth work. In a community center and I did the youth programme and took care of children from 8 to 16. Then I started studying social work and I stopped it, I quit it. And then I started again. I wasn't sure about it. If it is the right thing or not. I studied in Potsdam and I just didn't like it at all. And then I started again social work with a topic on globalization and migration. And now I am here, because Kat and Konny they were teaching together in Germany, so they told me about it and I thought it is really good.
3	I: And what is it that you are doing in Germany ?

4	P6: Giving German lessons for one and a half years now. Quit long.
5	I: What was your main reason to decide to come here? What was your motivation?
6	P6: Well, I think it is always hard to say motivation, because..., I think it is a world wide crisis and it's the responsibility as well from <i>all</i> the people to work in it. And basically it doesn't work in Europe and that is visible here like Greece, Italy, Turkey on the places where the people get stuck. So that are the points where we have to start as well.
7	I: Before you left from Germany did you do some kind of preparation like for yourself? About the culture or anything related to what you are doing here?
8	P6: Well, I think, because in Germany I work a lot, also study wise, with refugees I didn't prepare like just for this. It was more that since two years I am kind of focusing in my studies, and also in my volunteering in Germany on the topic. I think that was it. I mean I could relate to it. It wasn't like preparing just for this. It was more like in general interest about this topic.
9	I: And about Greece?
10	P6: Greece. [hesitating] Greece as a country or Greece in this situation?
11	I: Both.
12	P6: I think Greece as a country was one of the things I could have done more. Greece in this situation as it is now I did some things, also because I worked the last year with youth and most of them came over Greece like we talked about it in that way. So their experience was---but they came mainly before they closed the borders---so a lot of them liked how the situation is, but it was kind of more unstructured than I see it now here.
13	I: Talking about the work here. How do you perceive it? Tell me about your perception about what you did here.
14	P6: Now I have been here for a little bit more than two weeks. I think what I really liked about it, is that it is something sustainable that it stays. I always think that volunteering is just one step and that you have to try to provide or build up structures so that people can get self-determination and independence again. And they can actually create their lives or building up their lives like they want and not like people---especially like a lot of them know a lot more than me or anyone of us. Of the refugees and in general the people when you go volunteering. I think it is kind of pretentious. You cant just go and say: " <i>Hey, that's the right way and we tell you that you should do it this way.</i> " I think more it is like hearing each other and finding together ways so that it is for everyone a good way and creating in this way a world wide network of people that care about each other. I mean, in so many parts of our lives globalization is so big, so why not in social aspects?
15	I: Can you tell a little bit about what you did in the camp?
16	P6: So , the first days we were here and went over to the camp a lot of people came to us and asked: " <i>Hey are you starting German classes again?</i> ", because they had German classes before and some of them were really motivated to continue. So, I think from my side I wouldn't go there and say " <i>Hey, I am giving you German lessons if you want or not.</i> " But it was kind of like the other way around. They are motivated and they want to learn and so that's what we do in Darmstadt as well. So I was like " <i>Yes, we can do it if the people want to. There is no reason not to do it.</i> " So we started doing that.
17	I: Why did it stop a month ago?
18	P6: Because the girl that did it went home, so there was nobody speaking German or feeling like giving lessons. I think that is also one critical point now that---I mean I am going today, Kat is going in a week. That it doesn't stay. And we told the people that. And they said it doesn't matter, " <i>If it is for 10 days even, we learn something, we have something to do.</i> " So, it was kind of their decision. We told them from the beginning on that we are here for that long time and maybe it is not gonna be lessons that are really structured and in the end you have

	like a level. We do what we can in that time that we have. Giving them the decision if they want to join or not. We can't force anyone to do anything. But also if they think it is reasonable or if they still want to have lessons even for ten days.
19	I: Did you interact with the other volunteer organization? Or other independent volunteers?
20	P6: Yes, I mean <i>Lighthouse</i> gave us the space to do the German lessons. In the beginning we talked with them about what time frame would be good and they gave us materials like notebooks and pens and we bought books now. So there was kind of a cooperation. And they were really happy about it and also saying that it is about working together to reach a goal together.
21	I: Was there any negative interaction as well? Or anything that you perceived negative in the time of you being here and also in the interaction with other volunteers or other team members?
22	P6: Actually, not at all. I think also because our team is really reflected on some points and I really like that. It's on one side that nobody thinks we can change the world with what we do. Just make it in our possibilities, the best we can for the people or with the people. I was surprised that so many volunteers were there. Especially in this morning meetings when there were like 50 people in this hall. It's a lot. I don't know if it's good. I think especially for children I don't know if it is good not to have like in kindergarten your teachers, one person that is your person, that you know..., I think that is also the thing with volunteering as well. Kids and people get used to you as a volunteer and then you build relationships and then you go and the people stay in the situation in which they are. They have to deal every time again with the people come and go. And that is one point. You have to think about it every time again.
23	I: So you think that is a problem here a little bit? Speaking of there were 50 people?
24	P6: Yes, on one point of course. As in social relations maybe. But also seeing the need of helping hands because the politicians don't care about anything here, I mean what would have been here without the volunteers? It wouldn't be a place where you can at least have a life more or less. So, I think in situation like this, volunteering is needed---but also the point of making the volunteers aware of their role---I think it is also a point of thinking afterwards or before of thinking about what structures you are in and how this structures affect you and the people you work with and how you can change them. I couldn't go here, somewhere else, work here, get to know the people here, get back to Germany and say <i>"Yes, it was a nice time. The people were really nice. But now I am gone again and I don't think about it anymore and I don't want to change anything."</i> I mean everyone sees here it doesn't work like this, so we are in the position that we can raise awareness in Germany and change something maybe somehow at some time. I think that is also a really important point.
25	I: About the duration of your time here, two weeks, do you think it was enough? Or what do you think about it?
26	P6: In general I don't think it is enough. For myself and for the project. I mean, it is always easier to build up a project with people that are there for longer duration, so that it's stable. Also for me like going in the middle of the process---but this time it was just not possible in any other way. And I don't know if it would be something that would be really based on relations I would have thought at least three times more about it, because of the reasons we were talking about. For example being in the kindergarten or doing things after school or in school. Where you have to do a lot with people and they are building trust in you. I think that is not what it was about in this time duration here, so I think it was also good to be here, but if it would be based on relations, I think I wouldn't do it, like I was so pissed in South Africa about people like this.
27	I: And now going to a different topic. Talking about the big organizations like UNHCR or Oxfam. How do you perceive them? And what do you think about what they do here?
28	P6: [laughing] Yes, I mean besides tents, I didn't see a lot of them.
29	I: You mean you didn't see them in the camp, right?

30	P6: Yes, I just saw them like twice giving out something to the people. What I think about them..., [sighing]. I think they are needed as global people that have a lot of knowledge about how you could do things, but also seeing that they are so big that it takes such a long time and they have to work so close with politics. So, sometimes I feel quite sorry for them, because they get the blame for everything. Like they just do what the politicians tell them to do, and we are the ones that influence the politics, so that's also on our side to change---we can't just complain about the work they do, if they are governmental organizations and we choose our government. Kind of..., yes, weird..., But I also think they could do---they could listen to the people more and just like---why is it so difficult. I see like in Jordan or in Kenya they have such big camps. I think without them a lot of people would die. Like giving out food, giving resources, that are the things they are quite good in. So I cant say that I don't want them to be there even if we say it is not the good way they do it here. At least they are giving the tents, I mean, Greece didn't give it at all. Why do organizations have to come in that work in catastrophes? Actually it is not necessary here, because we are in Europe and Europe has such a lot of money that it could be easily done by the government and the politicians here and we would not need organizations that also support maybe Somalia and Kenya, countries were no structures are.
31	I: Do you think there is a way of the smaller organizations and independent people to collaborate with them?
32	P6: I think, they have different roles in this situation. The small organizations are really needed for being flexible and also to see the real needs of the people and that way maybe collaborate with the big organizations. So, sometimes I think they listen more to other organizations and they shouldn't do it like this. But it is just what it is.
33	I: With they you mean the big ones? They listen more to other big organizations than to...,
34	P6: They are having organization meetings more with other organizations than with the people of the camp. If a small organization can be flexible and listen to the people and have also the time and the resources---the personal resources, like people there in the camp---they are in the position of knowing a lot more and that should also be the point where they meet. Like “ <i>Hey, we are here on the base. You are there with the money. So let's sit down and talk about how we can bring the money in with the best effect for the people that have to stand this situation</i> ”. Yes, but I think it is mostly just different roles. In a lot of ways they do their work the best they do.
35	I: So the smaller organizations would be kind of a mediator?
36	P6: At some points maybe yes. I think they do so, but at some points---it would be better if <i>UNHCR</i> , they would have an office in the camp and having someone there all time, seeing also the problems and seeing how you can build up structures that are the best for the people. But somehow it seems like it is not possible, so you have to find a way to still hear the people.
37	I: If you would compare them, where do you see the main difference?
38	P6: Big organizations are so dependent from governments and they get the money from the government. So, they have to follow the rules of the politics. The smaller organizations that are not governmental and are just free to also say their opinion and also work somehow against the government, if they think it is not right what they do. So I think on that side, this is also one of the main differences. That they can raise awareness, not just on the humanitarian point of view but on the political side.
39	I: And the interactions with the refugees? Is there anything that you experienced that you feel like sharing? How do you perceive it?
40	P6: I think..., [hesitating]. It is hard to say, because it is individual. There were people that are really open and just telling you their stories, their backgrounds. But also sometimes I was sitting and thinking I wouldn't share this to strangers. But maybe this is their way to tell people that something has to change. Also I think, a lot of them are used to volunteers now as they walked in and out. They think, they are there, it is okay for them. But also nothing special. I didn't get any really bad reaction. People are mostly open and friendly.

41	I: The last one and then we are done. What do you think of your contribution (yours and your organization) of the whole thing?
42	P6: Maybe trying to get to a point where in this point no other organization has been. Creating structures for the people together that go further, not just giving them lessons in school that are no real schools. It is nice for them to have a structure for their children, for the people, the adults, but to be honest, I think, they should go to real school. What could they do with it? I mean in the end they stay there for years they don't have anything to show, to say " <i>Hi, I went to school.</i> " It wasn't a real teacher, it wasn't..., I think you have to have structures that bring people back into the real life like with values of the society that they live in, work wise or---so, I think somehow this is one step into that direction..., to find a way to work around the laws to get back into a real structure, not just a structure that builds kind of a parallel world. I have the feeling that nobody---like they live in the camp and people live next to it and there is no point of meeting each other or cooperating or finding a way of life. They are neighbors and they are living close to each other. It is the camp in Katsikas, it is not just one place where the people live. I think this is a good opportunity for a beginning to create this space of getting to know each other, of seeing that sometimes the problems are not as far away from each other as people think sometimes.

Participant 7

1	I: You can just start by telling me who you are and what you are doing here.
2	P7: Okay. I am _____. I am half English, half French and I am a nurse. And I am working here..., I have been doing many things: warehouse, working in the camp, working with the field nurse, who is kind of working around the camp.
3	I: For how long have you been here?
4	P7: For three weeks.
5	I: Why did you decide to come here? What was your motivation?
6	P7: Because I was working in the camp of Calais, in the Jungle. And obviously I wanted to get a different angle, like a different point of view of this whole crisis from the beginning of the journey. And seeing what it was like working in other camps.
7	I: So, you live in Spain right?
8	P7: I am moving to Spain, yes.
9	I: And where is your home actually?
10	P7: I don't have a home actually. I used to live in France, but I am moving to Spain now.
11	I: Okay. My question would be if you were engaged in volunteering at home.
12	P7: In Paris, yes. I was very much engaged with the migrant problem in Paris. I have been kind of working in France, in Calais, in Paris. I have been involved with a lot of doctors and nurses, helping people sleeping rough in the city. So yes, it is just been kind of in line of what I have been doing in the rest of my time.
13	I: So did you prepare yourself before coming?
14	P7: Yes, I kind of knew what to expect. I mean emotionally I was kind of prepared. I mean I did research about this camp a lot. So I knew it would be kind of be very different to the Calais camp which is more men, which is in a very different situation in many different levels. The camp is much bigger, the government is not involved like it is here, the conditions of the camp are much worse. But then again they are in Europe, so they have like a chance of where they want to go. So it is very different to here where the conditions are a little bit better, but the desperation of the people who are stuck, you know, is different. And obviously women and children, it is very different vibes then Calais. But I knew that and that is kind of also why I came here to have a different

	perspective on this.
15	I: Okay. And culturally? Are you familiar with the people's culture?
16	P7: Yes, I think so. I mean I am quite used to working with people like from like the Arab world. So I don't feel the cultural shock so much. I try to adapt as much as I can to their culture but it is not something that I am completely new to.
17	I: Okay. And what is about the Greek culture and people? Do you know anything about the place here? Did you get in contact with the local?
18	P7: Yes, sure. I mean we have been staying in a village of seven people in the mountains, it is just Greeks. And it has been amazing. They all knew what we are doing here, they have been all very supportive and actually weirdly enough, this has nothing to do with us, but the boy scout trip they do, they do it to the village we are living in. Weird. Completely random. Yes, so I think it says a lot. The Greek people are definitely much more supportive than the French people. Like in France I never felt so unsafe in my life in my own country, a lot of fascists. We have been staying in the most fascist area of Calais as well and we felt like the opposition of the people. We felt really unsafe. There were groups of fascists looking for volunteers to beat them up. They became really anti-English because a lot of the volunteers were English. A lot of pubs refused English people to go and be served. And at night all the volunteers would organize that no one was walking home at night, because it is dangerous. If you get caught by a group of fascists they could really give you a lot of trouble. So like obviously I didn't see any of this here. I think that people either they don't want to get engaged but they don't stop people from doing that. There was a lot of protest like anti-refugee protest. Clearly where we were living the people knew that we were working in the refugee camps and we really had a lot of problems. A lot of burned English cars... You just felt really unsafe. It felt like you are in the 1960 th in the US. The kind of racism and segregation. It felt like that. Here I mean. My boyfriend who is mixed race as well he felt so uncomfortable there even being European. And here at no point has he felt uncomfortable. So, yes, I would say that the Greek people, from what I see here in Katsikas, I can't talk about any other camp, I am sure some people are against it but they either keep quit and don't get involved...but they seem too tolerant...they feel more sensitive towards what is going on. It is very different.
19	I: Interesting.
20	P7: Yeah, it is! You should go there, because it is very different vibe. It is a very different issue. There it was like, I live here, this is my country. And there the government is like they don't want to recognize the camp as a refugee camp, because if they recognize it as a refugee camp they have to let the <i>UN</i> , the NGOs and they don't want that, because they want this camp to disappear like magic. So they are like there is no camp here. The government doesn't do anything. It just provides staff for people to charge their phones and some showers. No food distribution, no cloths, no shelter, nothing. So all that it is just independent volunteers doing it. An amazing side of all this is seeing how people are getting together and people who have like human values and who are like organizing themselves in their little networks to fund raise money and to go there and rent warehouses and trucks to get this whole thing...I mean it is crazy.
21	I: And you are here also as an independent volunteer?
22	P7: Yes.
23	I: How do you perceive the different organizations of volunteers and their interactions?
24	P7: Well, on one side you have like small kind of NGOs, the independent people and on the other side you have the big routed NGOs like <i>MSF</i> , <i>MBM</i> , <i>Oxfam</i> . There seems to be quit a lot of criticism between all of them. Like from both sides. Like the more formal NGOs criticize the volunteers and the small NGOs for not really being professional and not really knowing what they are doing, I think. And then the small kind of NGOs and volunteers you are more hands-on and you have less of a bureaucracy to deal with. So you are able to being just doing something quick without having to ask the head office, get an agreement from the head office. They criticize the big NGOs for being like just not getting on with it. There is a lot..., Who is right, I don't really know. I think things are always there for a reason..., I mean there is obviously a coordination problem. I mean if people could work together the response would be much more efficient but it is always in <i>every</i> kind of situation the problem is people working together, right? So it is just a matter of reflection on that in this kind of

	situation let's say.
25	I: So you think that it would be beneficial if there would be a cooperation between them?
26	P7: Of course, it is always about cooperation. Alone you can't do much, but together everyone's expertise can do more. But I think this camp, I think compared to a lot of camps---I haven't been to the other camps, but overall you can still see, I mean obviously it can always be better, but, I mean, the hygiene is good, the food that is definitely something that is not good, there is a school, there are services. Obviously the living conditions are hard, people are living in camps but I think overall it's not too bad here.
27	I: What would you say how do you perceive your contribution?
28	P7: I don't know, like obviously you get...I felt I had good days, bad days, some days I felt quite frustrated with my work, because I am just here for three weeks. So it is not like---especially nursing you need a lot of trust from the community and that you don't just win that in three days. So now is like the time, I feel like people know me, they identify me, I know more key people in the community that I can go to. And if I was to stay for an extra few months it would be amazing because I feel like the kind of hard bit of getting to know people and gaining people's trust is like I am doing this now. Also because I am new to this camp I have to work closely with someone and that person is also very busy and involved in many different things. So I feel like I am not independent enough, because that is the way it works here, I have to accept that. But maybe I do spend quite a lot of time waiting around. And it is a bit frustrating when have come so far, you just want to be on it. And you have to accept that you can't just come in somewhere...I mean...you cant have the same efficiency that you would have in your job back at home in a hospital. You know, you are in a camp and you have to be doing things very slowly and you can't necessarily be completely independent until people know you and staff. So, yeah, it has been..., I don't know..., I feel like it hasn't been that..., I think if I was to stay..., I think now the work is getting interesting and now I have to go. But I have to go because I am gonna have a baby and I am gonna have exams and I also have things to be back at home. So we cant stay longer. But we will do some more for sure. My partner is very involved in this as well and we will keep going. I don't think we will come back to Katsikas, because we like to go to different places but yeah we will keeping doing this stuff. Now we are doing this, but we also have other things in our personal life that we have to deal with so we need to do that first because we move on to our next project.

Participant 8

1	I: I usually start by asking the people who they are and what you are doing here.
2	P11: My name is _____. I am 40 years old, I worked as a journalist for NGOs in the last 20 years. I was working in Peru as an expat with several NGOs like <i>UNICEF</i> , (...). But the last 10 years I was working with refugees---I mean I was working in NGOs with Spanish communities and refugees and I was working with the cooperation, my background is development cooperation. I have not done a lot of humanitarian aid but we do in my last NGO international cooperation. So one of my friends was here at first and she was my colleague from work and she said---I am leaving my work in August---she said maybe you can help in September with the communication of <i>Olvidados</i> . And I thought <i>"OK, let's have a look at the camp 15 days and then go back and I can help you."</i> So I came here to understand how is work in the camp and try to help with the communication in a sense for raising funds, web page, blogs...,
3	I: OK, that is really interesting. Usually I would ask now if you have done volunteering before but...,
4	P11: Yes, I was working professionally in that. I want to stop, after 20 years of working with NGOs, I want to stop working professionally, I am exhausted, a lot of trips, a lot of stories. And now I have to rethink my future. I want to start my own enterprise now. And I am a bit suspicious about the big enterprises. I see the guys with super experiences here and they are really motivated and happy and <i>"I receive more than I give."</i> That is the thing that I have been working in for 20 years and it's so nice. But I am not in that moment anymore. I am quit cynic about international cooperation. I am more motivated with political action and demonstrating and campaigning.
5	I: So your motivation is a political one?
6	

	P11: Yes, my motivation for coming here is because I have been working with my grant 10 years in the field, also in Africa, for example last months I was in Morocco working with sub Sahara kids on the streets, because I work in external frontiers like North of Africa or Central America. And we work with migrant routes and rights, so that's my topic, that is my specialization. Migration in Europe and in external countries. So I wanted to know, I was curious and I was working a lot with refugees welcome movement in Madrid and I wanted to know what was going on. I knew I was not going to help with anything, I mean for 15 days, I was quite suspicious about....
7	I: So during the time you were here I guess you were also working a little bit?
8	P11: Yes, I was trying to be in all the activities but---I mean the logistic in Spain for volunteers is not really good. I came here without having a lot of information, even I was trying to search a little, but I was working so I didn't have a lot of time. So I didn't have any information and that was quite a mess, because I didn't know where to live, I didn't have the phone number for the volunteers, that was quite a mess. You know they are worse than you, so you understand it. And everybody is really---but I think we have to improve it, the volunteer acquisition. We have to improve it, because we do not have the map where you live, because you do have to walk. I had no idea---like you need a car here, and I didn't rent a car.... So, we have to improve that. When I come back I will help to write a proper email with all the information, the cloths you have to wear, the heat, the food, the telephones....
9	I: And what do you see negative and positive about all the volunteers here?
10	P11: I think, first thing for me, because I am in this step, is that political way of spending holiday. I mean we are really pissed off with our politicians. We don't agree how our politicians are acting, so we are doing something. And that is a political will and a political way of living. So I think that is the best way. Because your family, your friends know you are trying to do something and our politicians are not doing anything. So, that political way of living is good. I think that is the best way. Second is energy. Even if sometimes it is quite difficult human relationships here, we have a lot of tensions, people come from a lot of backgrounds, the energy is really good and a good karma. People are trying to do the best they can and that's a good point. Another good thing is like refugees feel someone is doing something, even the <i>UNHCR</i> , it goes really slow, there is people that are trying to help. So, that is a good point. Humans working together for improving human rights and that's a learning that we can give them, that not everybody acts like that. Another thing is like when---the camp thanks to volunteers is running better, so that is like volunteer---sometimes you think volunteer is nothing, like it's a drop in the ocean, but here everything was improving thanks to volunteers. So, that's a real way of thanking volunteering in that sense. I think that also diversity is good, that Babylon and also people from Switzerland, from Germany, from Syria, from Kurdistan, from Afghanistan, from Spain... so that is a way of trying to understand each other and share and that's a good point as an example that things can work with different religions and many things.
11	The bad thing is, we have to prepare better the volunteers that come here, it is not just a matter of voluntary " <i>I want to help I go</i> ". Maybe it's better to have long term volunteers, specific skills volunteers, maybe you don't have to come here to help, maybe you can help in Madrid with demonstrating or raising money. I think that's one point. Another thing that is not good is that volunteers can not supply the public obligations of helping refugees. I mean, the Greek government must do this here, not volunteers. We can help to compliment, but we can not run the camp. That's the public obligation, I think. So, we can not supply and sometimes they do it, so they are there, the army doing nothing, so that's not good. Sometimes. I guess. I don't really have big opinion, because of what is good and what is bad. We have to fight for the right, obey---they disturb rights and there is someone who has to deliver rights. They have the obligation. That thing is not really good.
12	Also that kind of work is mentally and emotional difficult, sometimes you get tensions between volunteers and when you come here and you work a lot and you pay your place and your accommodation and your food and you have misunderstandings you feel very bad. Maybe there is someone that doesn't understand and there is someone that didn't appreciate your work.
13	I: You mean people from the camp or other volunteers?
14	P11: Doesn't matter, but I think usually from other volunteers. The people in the camp are really grateful usually. And if they feel something bad, they don't tell you. At least volunteers that come in short term. And also a bad thing is that a lot of refugees tell " <i>you come and you go, you come and you go</i> " and that is not good for the heart. But I always tell them " <i>ok, we go and we bye [sic] but you will have a lot of friends in Spain when you come back</i> ". So it will not be 20, but 200.

15	I: And you think that this influences their decision on where to go?
16	P11: Totally! They think that Spanish people are really nice. And I say “ <i>No, Spanish people that come to Katsikas are really nice, but in Spain there is a lot of horrible people as well!</i> ”
17	I: Do you see any conflicts between volunteers?
18	P11: Totally, yes. Now, for example I work in communication and I wrote a blog and I put the project that was running for <i>Olvidados</i> and there is like jealousy. They say “ <i>No, it’s not Olvidados, we helped with.</i> ” Because there is a lot of NGOs here, trying to survive and trying to help the camp, so they have to be like show the impact to be accountable for what you do. And sometimes there are misunderstandings, because there is activity mixed and they are jealous and “ <i>you are working there, but I am working there and you don’t say that I am working</i> ” and that kind of background. They are fighting like that. (...). You are like that if there are first a lot of stereo types and misunderstandings also because they have different goals and also different ways of acting.
19	I: And with the big ones? What do you see there?
20	P11: [laughing] That is really interesting because new NGOs interact a lot with refugees. NGOs that are not professionalized, volunteer NGOs, they are mixed with refugees. We have a beer at night, we go to the tent. But big NGOs they don’t interact with the refugees and that is the way---that is really interesting. Why? I know why, but---
21	I: Why?
22	P11: No, because if you are involved with someone and you are doing medical help you can not involve a lot. I mean a doctor can not involve a lot with the patient because you start to make differences or your help them because you like them and you have to be like for everybody kind of colder and you get kind of complicated. Because they know you are a doctor, they are going to your house and it is going to be quite disturbing. So they are colder and their relationship is really cold with the refugees like army, they don’t talk.
23	The new NGOs, they are learning that at the end maybe if people are vulnerable, in difficult circumstances they want to take advantage for sure. Sometimes I see the new NGOs, because I do this work since 20 years, quite innocent. But that is lovely as well. For example <i>Olvidados</i> has a good relationship with Mohamed Ali, and he is photographing all the camp with a camera. And he wanted to enter in the new warehouse and they don’t let him, and he was really pissed off. Because he is a refugee and he can see what is there and he can spread it in the camp, someone can go and steal---there is a lot of food and a lot of things. So, I see new NGOs quite naive. But I don’t know I can not judge. For example here they love <i>Olvidados</i> people but the hate <i>lighthouse</i> people. Maybe because they don’t interact with people, I don’t know. You have to know why. Mohamed Ali for example, they hate them.
24	I: But <i>Olvidados</i> and <i>Lighthouse</i> ? Is there some conflict?
25	P11: It is always.
26	I: You think that there is way that the big ones and the small ones could collaborate?
27	P11: Yes, for sure. But big NGOs have another procedure and other times and other ways and they can and they do, but there is a common understanding. We think they could do more, but they have bosses and procedures and a lot of conflicts. And they don’t care a lot, like deeply, deeply they don’t care a lot about the people.
28	I: The local people, the Greek people, what do you see there? The interactions with them?
29	P11: I am surprised there is not a lot of Greek people in the camp. I am surprised but they told me that at the first time they were here. And a lot of families came here in the first days, a lot of people helped. But for example one family---it is really difficult to me giving a general opinion about one personal opinion---but one person told me that he went to have a shower in the first days. And they got stopped on the street, on the road and some people went with them to have showers in their homes and then they came to the camp and they were friends, but now the family started not to answer the phone anymore. And they felt really bad. They said “ <i>They were our friends</i> ” and they started not to answer the phone. And I felt really bad. I don’t understand what is going on with these people. I know all refugees hate Greece.

30	I: (...) Coming back to the volunteers, just to conclude it. What would you say would be a better structure?
31	P11: I think, you have to coordinate better the volunteers. I think it is quite tricky being a volunteer of <i>Olvidados, Lighthouse, Soup & Socks...</i> , maybe there should be a volunteer centralized here who manage everybody like “ <i>You have to go to this activity, this activity.</i> ” And maybe some different kind of NGOs bringing some different kind of volunteers, maybe volunteers with language, Arabic and Kurdish, would be better. Giovanni is doing that kind of work like centralizing the independents and maybe we could deliver there is some quality of volunteers. You need more people managing volunteers and you have to take care each day of volunteers, knowing how they are. I think here we are so focusing on the refugees that we are not taking care of our volunteers. We are eating badly, we are sleeping on the floors without fridge, without washing machine, without car and that’s---there is nice people, so we are managing, but it is not the best conditions. Maybe because I was working in regular NGOs like with a lot of structure and taking a lot of care of volunteers and I have been used to that. But I think volunteers here, long term specifically, and short term volunteers to take more care of them. And also work on expectations, because there is a lot of volunteers in the regions, doctors, that want to come here. For example there was a doctor she was here and could do nothing and she was quite frustrated and she wanted to do something but she couldn’t because they didn’t have the permission and equipment. So work on expectations.
32	I: And what do you think about the fact that so many people now are walking through the camp and taking pictures? Do you think it’s a bad thing?
33	P11: You are asking the bad person, because I am a journalist. I think communication is really important and---because I really want to spread what is going on and I think maybe we could work with shifts—we have in NGOs for our utilization, but I think it is good that people are putting pictures on their facebook. There is some kind of selfishness, solidarity selfishness. It is like you are cool because you work in a refugee camp and you are very cool and you are with children..., But I mean I think it is politically important to impress that you are here with media. So for me it depends what the refugees want. Because someone wants and someone---but specifically in Arab countries it is quite difficult to take pictures. Arab women they don’t want. African women love to. It depends on the culture. (...)
34	I think we have to improve maybe the formation of volunteers which is how are their cultures, for example who is Kurdish, who is Arab, who is an Afghan, what kind of trip they do, which kind of cultural behavior you have to---for example there is some Arab guy that don’t give you the hand and I was shocked because I didn’t know. I didn’t remember that and he was really ashamed and said “ <i>Sorry, sorry, no.</i> ” and I said “ <i>oh, sorry</i> ”. I felt so bad.
35	I: And I think that would also be an interesting thing for the people in the camp. That you do with new volunteers workshops in the first days, maybe bring in people from the camp and they tell you about their culture. OK, do you have anything in your mind that you want to add?
36	P11: I believe in professional NGOs, so I think that is a complement, like volunteering is a complement but you can not run a camp only with volunteers. I think it is quite a mess. So I am quite critical about voluntary work. I think voluntary work helps in the first steps, but it is a political way of working like you spread what is going on and awareness raising. But you have to---I would prefer now maybe that I send 600€ here, maybe it would be more useful I gave my money and pay someone, or someones salary. It is good because I work in communications and I think it is professional that I came so I know what is going on. But I can read, I don’t really need to live it, I don’t really need to be here, it is not really comfortable sometimes as much. My final---I feel really frustrated because there is a lot of volunteers and I don’t really have a task. I am just going everywhere. And when everybody tells me: “ <i>Oh, you are a good person, you are in a refugee camp!</i> ” I think, I did nothing. I was working in communication, I was writing but little, not as much, not as much as I can, because there is no information of translators, it is not running properly. But I felt I did nothing. And that is not a good point.
37	I: I understand and I think it can be quite frustrating not only to you, but to many people that come here and don’t know what to do for real.
38	P11: For example I hate shops and sometimes I am in the shop and I don’t like it but there is nothing else I have to do. Maybe because I didn’t come to the meeting from the beginning. Why should people come here to Greece to a refugee camp all the way to be all day in a warehouse? Maybe pay refugees to do that. 600 € for them and

	they can do it---but I don't know. It is not really a strict opinion, I am doubting what is better, I am doubting. I feel people are really happy, volunteers that are here, they went back and maybe [it was] their first experience with vulnerable situations. And they are really motivated and I think that is good as well.
39	I: I think this is also the point, and also what you mentioned earlier. That sometimes it is not the work you do here but...,
40	P11: It is what they can do after. And maybe talk, raise money, and go to the dentist and bring a dentist here. That kind of networking.

Participant 9

1	I: I am writing my thesis about the volunteers. So I would like to know about what you do here.
2	Maybe you can start by telling me what you do and since when you are here and a little bit about yourself.
3	P9: So, I have been here since the 14th of April and what I am doing now is I am coordinating the volunteers, so that means they are different organizations that work here and I try to coordinate them with independent volunteers in order for everything to work. I work on the camp level. Like assuring that all the activities go smoothly and when we have new projects we try to find volunteers who do them or if there is one specific task that needs to be done one day I am the reference for them.
4	I: And was that your plan when you came here?
5	P9: No, not at all. I don't know. I started doing the shop, because I---just by chance, because I programmed the excel file for the shop so I started to work there because that is what happened. I came here with <i>Olvidados</i> but I quickly became independent because of some problems. There was a human problem, a lot of people left. And then after that, after working in the shop for a couple of months I was fed up with it. And I talked with Maria and Berta about it, they are the informal camp managers, and they were basically doing both: the work with the municipality and the work in the camp. They asked me if I wanted to do this. So this is what I am doing now. In summer there are a lot of volunteers more. Now the challenge is to try to keep up the work for September and October when we have much less volunteers.
6	I: And what do you think how many volunteers are there now?
7	P9: Among all the NGOs probably 60.
8	I: How do you organize them?
9	P9: We have a meeting every morning in which we fill up the gaps with activities that don't have people doing them. We have a big meeting on Monday in which we try to fill all the gaps for the week. And then there are responsibility for the activities, there is one person each for each activity. The hardest thing is to manage to have a continuity from people that are here for two weeks or three weeks. We try to assign the management of the activities to the long term volunteers.
10	I: Do you think the average of people that come stay for short time?
11	P9: I would say most of the people come for..., between two or three weeks. Although in summer we said that we wont allow any people that stay less than 15 days. That was the policy, then there were a few exceptions made by the NGOs. But the people that wrote to me – because I am also the one that gets the emails of the independent volunteers---I enforced this quite strictly. Also because formation takes a while so it could have people that stay for a longer period.
12	I: So when they arrive, do you do anything?
13	P9: Yes, there is a guide we have on the internet. And then I give them a tour in the morning of the camp, in which I explain them all of the situation in the camp and the rules and whatever is important. In general I try to know if they have a specific skill or they want to help in any field or how long they are staying to know if they join one of the activities and being in charge and so on.

14	I: And do you see any conflict or tensions between them? Or between them and any other organizations?
15	P9: I would say that for what I have heard from other camps that this camp is quite a paradise. There haven't been any tensions between NGOs even if there has been some problems with <i>Olvidados</i> . I don't know. There is not that struggle for power that is somewhere else from what I have heard. But yes sometimes there are some conflicts between them because one NGOs is paying for the service, one is providing the volunteer, another is providing the space or..., So everyone feels entitled to see the activity as theirs. So this is also my job to orient this in a productive way.
16	I: And what is about the bigger organizations like <i>UNHCR</i> ?
17	P9: Well, they are kind of, they have their own staff that doesn't come to our meeting. They do their own activities. And we kind of coordinate with them once a week in the coordination meeting. They are kind of a different source, <i>UNHCR</i> , <i>IOM</i> , <i>Oxfam</i> there are different staffs.
18	I: Earlier I talked with a women and she told me that she thinks it is a problem that there are many people coming here and they don't really do a lot. Do you see that as well?
19	P9: For sure in the summer when we closed the applications for the camp there has been this problem. There are so many volunteers and some volunteers didn't find something to do. But it is also a matter of how creative people are. You can create an activity, you can just go tent by tent and see how things are. You know also the problem, that this is a free camp, anyone can enter and of course I can tell people not to come, but if they come, they come. So this is what happens. It would be much better to be able to control the influx of people but that is not going to happen.
20	I: And what do you think is the main challenge in the work of the volunteers?
21	P9: I would say that organizing together people that just stay for two weeks is the biggest challenge because of course you have some activities and you have people to go and see the activities before the other group is leaving. So you have to make sure they overlap and everything works in that way. But I think this camp is doing quite well. I mean in the beginning it was one of the worst camps in Greece. There was no infrastructure, they were people arriving here in buses that didn't want to get out because they knew that Katsikas was the worst camp. And now we can say that the situation is much better, it improved a lot. And that is because of the activities. We do kindergarten, milky way, which is for pregnant and mother women, we do the rubbish project, we do the shop, we do the scouts, we do the cinema....I am forgetting a lot of things [laughing]. OK, that's about it.
22	I: So there is a good relation between the volunteers and the refugees?
23	P9: Yes I think there is a great relation. Yeah, yeah! People are always very nice to the volunteers. There have never been cases of---really alarmed for any of that. There was..., maybe..., for women there is a little more concern about people..., when they---there were a few concerns about women being harassed..., not in a very harsh way but all..., overall the situation is quite good and I think the refugees are getting much, much better. They are feeling that this is the place where they are living much more. In the beginning there were much more stealing and there were much more people literally shit on the places where we did the activities. And slowly the conscious is building and they are taking charge of the place as theirs. I see really a lot of improvement.
24	I: And talking about you. What motivates you to do what you are doing? Did you also in Italy already do voluntary work?
25	P9: Yeah, I have been a volunteer..., I have done volunteer work..., you want to know from the beginning?
26	I: [laughing] Is it long?
27	P9: Kind of! [laughing]. I have done some volunteer work in the Westbank in Palestine, in Burkina Faso, well some of it was paid, but..., Then I started doing jobs, some of them were prestigious, some of them were not at all, but I didn't like them at all..., in journalism and politics – and I just started to feel bad and I decided to go back to what I like, which is this, so I think---I don't have a grand plan or feeling a mission or sort. I just feel that this is kind of losing less time than doing something else. My motivation is this.

28	I: You will stay here until?
29	P9: My commitment to myself is to stay here until everyone of them is in a building.
30	I: Okay. That's good. One last question. What do you perceive as your contribution in this field? The importance of it. I mean your work in the camp now.
31	P9: I don't think I am giving such a contribution. I think---what I asked myself is would a different person in your place do such a worse job? And I don't think so. So I don't think it is much of a contribution but, to be honest...,
32	I: And the contribution of the volunteers?
33	P9: Well, I mean, all the volunteers are really good people. This is something I really noticed at the moment like whenever I---when I went for holidays to Italy I was shocked how people were rude and mean, I was in a parallel world here. So all the people are in a sense really good people but also normal people. I wouldn't say there is...I mean...probably the ones that contribute the most are the most inventive that create things from nothing. But you know everyone gives their contribution in being here but there are some that manage to create something and that is more valuable.
34	After interview field observation during a conversation between P9, another volunteer and the researcher
35	P9.1: I think there is a lot of work to do in the final destinations for these people. Sometimes they forget, people travel from all over the world to come here and there are also big issues in their countries. I know in my country refugees are not welcomed in the best way they should be welcomed. And why did I come here? What didn't I stay in Switzerland? Because it is like a big thing to go to a big camp in Greece. Not in Switzerland. People think it is less existing, less a big thing to stay in their countries. And I see there is really a lack of welcoming projects and integration projects. It is not enough.
36	I: Sometimes I think, the people that only come here for a week. Why don't they just donate the money they spent?
37	P9.1: Of course it is better. But it is also part of it, part of all what we are doing. There is a narcissistic part in everything we do and why we are here.
38	P9.1: This guy Marco told me, that when he came back home everyone was like “ <i>Oh, you are super.</i> ” He was surprised because everyone was like “ <i>oh</i> ”. It also means that it is really easy. You can just buy a plane ticket and come. It is really easy to do it.
39	I: But some people are afraid as well.
40	P9: Usually the first thing is fear. And then information. When you come home it is a good thing to talk about it, not just to keep it. It is really hard. I told my mom I can not tell her anything about here because it is too hard. So much is happening, in every minute it is so many things. Where should I start. I can't even do it when I am at home. But you have to talk! I have to. I will. I feel it like a mission. If we keep to ourselves---even to make three people aware so they become aware it is better than not to talk. I would be really interested to read your work. I am always more interested in the world of the volunteers, sometimes even more than the one of the refugees. I came here with the sense that people were overcritical of those big NGOs. And seeing how things are here, of course there are nice and good-willing people inside, but..., But really what <i>Oxfam</i> did. One guy was leaving the job there crying, he said the only thing they are able to do was providing people with plastic cups.

Participant 10

1	I: What are you doing here? How did you end up here? Just tell me a little bit...,
2	P10: We were travelling with [another volunteer who is in the camp] in Asia and we did a lesson of anthropology for two years in France. And we were like a little bit interested by the refugee subject. And we were in Vietnam in February and we heard all about Lesbos camp and all what's happening there. So ___ told me “ <i>we have to do something, we have to go there</i> ”. And the camp in Lesbos, there is the deal with Europe and Turkey, so we just—we were looking for a camp to go in Greece. And we heard about this camp without any

	volunteers. So we came just like that, just to go, but without any ideas or---we didn't really know what to expect. So we came and then we just did like---it was in the really beginning. So it was like all the emergency stuff, like give all the stuff to the families and then we were in charge of the milky way. So give milk and pampers and all the stuff for babies.
3	And our job now is different, because we are in charge of the library. More or less. When we came here the library was a lot better and now we are like organizing a little bit the registration system. All the giving the books to the people and they have to give back the book back. So it's a mess right now, so we are trying to improve the system. And we also have a picture project. So take the pictures of the family, print it and give it to them. So we begin yesterday with three families and they were really happy.
4	I was thinking already about it in April, but we didn't have time to do it. But I really wanted to do it now because I am only here for one month. Like that in theory it is not a big project and you think you can do it easily but if you do it it's a big project, because you have to ask to all the families if it's ok, or if it's not ok. And then organize a little bit like the days. And we like to do it after 7pm with the light. So I am really happy because now we began the first time.
5	I: And why did you come back here?
6	P10: We were two. But when we left in the beginning of May I didn't want to leave at all. So it was a decision like <i>"ok we have to go but I don't want"</i> . So it was impossible to imagine not to come back before my studies in September. But for a week come back. And we just organized our summer like---we knew that in August we will be here.
7	I: And its like your holiday right now, is it? Are you still in your study program?
8	P10: Well, in the last year we were in Kapia. So it's not our vacation but yes something like that. I am starting in university but since one year I didn't go. We were thinking to go to another camp. We asked ourselves if its not an egoist decision to come back here because we knew that they were so many people here---volunteers. So in another camp in Greece they need volunteers. So we just didn't know. And finally, yeah, we came back. Its really hard question of the distance with the refugees. In our studies, in anthropology, we told a a lot about the distance that you have to install with the people. And what you practice in the reality it's really hard to.
9	I: At home in France, did you also do some voluntary work there?
10	P10: No, I wanted to do it, but I started to work, so I didn't have time to do it. But I did something, but it was just for me, it was not with an organization. It was not official. We were working in a restaurant with a friend and so much food was throwing away. So every night we were with huge food in the hand searching for the homeless. But it was not like volunteer work. But it was nice to do.
11	I: When you came the first time here, did you prepare anything? Did you do anything? Did you read anything about the work here?
12	P10: [sighing] As we were travelling it was hard like to read some documentation or something like this. We tried to read any like "experience of volunteers" or something like that but no..., We tried to read newspapers but we didn't prepare anything. We just came! Really it was like <i>"we are here"</i> . Even ___ and ___ [members of volunteer organization <i>Olvidados</i>]---we tried to contact them before coming and they said one day like <i>"yeah, you can come"</i> but then ten days after we didn't have answers, so we just came here. And they said <i>"oh, you came"</i> . We didn't know nothing.
13	I: Did you know anything about this area? Like the region here?
14	P10: This area in Greece? <i>Nooo!</i> We just know that it was a camp in Epiros without any volunteers and even we didn't know how to come here. So you can't imagine. No, we didn't know anything. And even now no.
15	I: Coming to the volunteering work that you do every day. Can you tell me something about it? What do you think is like a challenge maybe?
16	P10: In our job like right now? Most of the time we are working in the library, so..., I don't know, for me it's a strange place, because it's really nice. Now there is not so many people who are coming, only---especially

	children. And it's more like a place they can play more than read. It's not like a library where you can read. We are trying to organize it like that. But for me, it's already set up. We arrived. It's not a challenge because it's already ready almost. And it's not something that---they are happy, but not everybody used to come, so I don't know. I was thinking in the library two days ago <i>"Why are you doing that? What are you thinking about that?"</i> And I don't know. I don't have the answer yet, because I am...
17	I: But it's needed right? They need someone there, so...
18	P10: Yes, they need someone there.
19	I: Okay! And when you look now at all the volunteers, I mean now there are a lot more than before, is there anything that you don't like or that you see a problem with?
20	P10: For me the biggest challenge with the volunteers was in April. Because in one time there were so many volunteers who were coming. And for me it was a big challenge. Not now, but before. But, yeah, yeah..., It changes a lot, like your organization of the volunteer job, your organization about your job and the organization with the refugees. It changed like everything. Now all it's very organized. [laughing] In the beginning it was not organized at all. Now it's really nice and, I mean, for the life camp it's really nice because now things are a little bit organized. Problems, I don't know. I think there are people who are coming for a very short time and some of them---they don't want to come and see the refugees and live with them, but almost---I mean, they are doing something, but just (inaudible; 13:06-13:08) leave, so I speak with some refugees and they told me <i>"Yeah, but he left already, he left already."</i> So it's like you install a relation, like two days and you just leave. And it's not a problem. Normally it's really nice. But people come and obviously they have to leave. But it's like they are leaving a moment of their life very instable and it's like something more instable. So, it's not a problem, because it's just like that.
21	I: But do you think that all people have the same motivation to come here?
22	P10: No, obviously not. Because everyone has like own motivations. But yeah..., But that's the problem. It just like, how do you consider your engagement in the camp. Like, I don't know with who I was talking about that, but like to ask to someone who wants to come to the camp to come without his camera. Like <i>"just come to the camp but without a camera!"</i> ..., And to see after who is coming and who is not coming. Because there are some volunteers who are journalists or I don't know, who were taking pictures but very, like without asking---just--- <i>"This is my tent, like I call it house for this moment. And you are just taking pictures without..., I am a human."</i> So I think for many people this situation of refugees is really like written here and your motivation is the same but obviously there are some many different people.
23	I: The big organizations like <i>UNHCR</i> and <i>Oxfam</i> and all of these people? What do you think about them?
24	P10: [laughing] I didn't see these organizations like in their job really completely. So I don't know if I can speak about..., I know that ____ was leaving soon or was planning to leave soon. I think I cannot..., It just, this kind of organizations, I cannot generalize. Some of them they just come. They stay a few hours without visiting the camp sometimes. And then they just leave. And then they say <i>"Yeah, we are coming back in a few weeks."</i> It takes time. Some of them, they don't have the same vision of---like with other volunteers who are here all the time. It's just like there are big organizations. They have money sometimes. But they don't have the same analysis of the situation.
25	I: And coming back once more to your work. How does your work life look like? Do you have hours where you work and break times? And was this like that before?
26	P10: Like the organization of the day? No it's not the same. Yeah, for me it's really like two experiences, because we were here and we are coming back. But no, in the beginning it was of course, it was like---when we had time, we just had lunch and we were coming back. In the first days we were here until 10 pm, 11 pm. Now it's really like in a job. You arrive at this time at the meeting and then you just---it's like really organized. The warehouse is closing at 1 and opening at 4 pm. It's---your day is really structured.
27	I: And when you have free time, you stay in the camp? Or you do something else?
28	P10: No, before this I was like, not everyday but, I was like <i>"Do I stay in the camp or do I stay with this family</i>

	<i>or do I really, really need to go out of the camp”, because we were like not part of the day in the camp. But now, the situation is like---you just go out of the camp, it’s like that. I never asked myself if I wanted to stay in the camp since we were coming back. This is really weird.</i>
29	I: Yes, but maybe it is also, because the people in the camp are also in a normal life...,
30	P10: Of course. And there are so many volunteers who are coming to see them and visit them, so I don’t want to disturb them and stay with them, take some free time of them with their family. But yes it’s nice. Now it is really organized.
31	I: What do you think how important it is what the volunteers do? What do you think is the contribution?
32	P10: [hesitating] Like what is the contribution of the job here?
33	I: Yes, like not in the library, but like mainly in general.
34	P10: [hesitating] I think it’s very personal. I mean, for me anyone can do it just with some personal motivation. You don’t do it just to do a good action or like, I don’t know..., When you are coming back to your family is like <i>“Woooooow, what you do is really nice!”</i> No, it’s not for this. It’s just for you, because if you really don’t want to do it, you don’t do a good job. So the contribution...,
35	I: And how important do you think it is for the people in the camp, that there are like people like you?
36	P10: I think, they need some organization for the activities or something like that. So I think that they are really happy. Before I was more, I was more conscious about our utility here. Now it’s not that clear. We are not useful here. I don’t know how to explain. For me anyone is not like..., needed. It’s not needed, but you have to be here. It’s not like that, because anyone can do it. But before like in emergency situation you were more conscious about your role here. Now it’s not that I am useless, but it’s not the same situation. Now there is a camp life. And you are just here to help, but you realized sometimes---like two days ago we were just 15, 20 in the meeting and you realize <i>“Ah, ok, now there is so much activities and if either there is no one or a few groups they cannot run the activities.”</i>
37	I: So this will probably be a problem when all the volunteers leave right?
38	P10: Yes, of course, because in the end of August all the volunteers are gonna be gone. And then ? It will be a problem.
39	I: Alright. Thank you.

Participant 11

1	I: Maybe you can just start with telling me who you are, and I know you have been here before, so why did you come back?
2	P11: I am ___, I am 22. I come from France. What can I say. I studied Anthropology for 3 years and then I was in holidays traveling with one friend in Asia. And we were really interested in refugee subject if I can say it like that. And then we just decided to go here but just like to see like as anthropologists like what can we do but what is going on. Maybe I ask for the next year. I didn’t know. Just to see. Then we were here so we fell in love with the camp but we were really tired of the—actually I was really tired of the trip. So we just stayed one month and a half and then I came back 10 days ago. In the beginning of August.
3	I: And now you will stay?
4	P11: I don’t have plans. That is my plan. I don’t have plans.
5	I: Perfect. So you don’t have to go back to study?

6	P11: No, I am not done. But I decided again, that this year not to study again so I still I have money and energy.
7	I: So you came back here, so what motivates you to do this kind of work here in the camp?
8	P11: First time it was really the subject because I don't know I am really involved---not really involved but involved at least in my mind with this subject. And I always felt that I want to do social work but I don't know what. And then refugees is..., And I have---Like in anthropology, if I am doing anthropology later I want to---my idea is to work like as a multicultural psychologist. To integrate all the cultures and to understand how the refugees can have his culture and then go in the camp and then maybe go to France and other country and how to adapt to this culture. What can be in his mind and how hard it can be in his mind. So I was really interested by the refugee subject. And then I just wanted to help because we had time. And I thought that's not always that we have time and we have money. So let's do it.
9	And then come back it' like natural. Like we fell in love, so we just wanted to come back and for the relations we made here. Both volunteers and refugees. Like it was so strong that, at least we have---I had to see them again---at least. And then I know that I don't---I can't make plans here because maybe in 10 days you can say maybe "ok fuck I go home because its too hard". So at least it was to see the people again and say "ok I am here again" and see the..., yeah. And help again and maybe have some project here.
10	I: And at home you study in France right? So did you do some voluntary work there?
11	P11: Yeah, I don't know how---it's like---a civil service in French. It's like you work with an association for six or nine months and you are paid like 500 €. Kind of like an internship. It's always in social work. So I worked for six months in a shelter where---it was during the winter. Normally in France they have a place in a shelter. Of course only the emergency people. So it was most of them immigrant people---not refugees but immigrants. Mostly from Africa. So I worked there for six months. And in the beginning it was just to help the children after the school. And the social worker situation in France is really bad. So I had to be kind of a social worker and run the whole thing every day. That made me in the social work. And then I said " <i>ok, it's hard but I want to do it again</i> ".
12	I: Cool, and for the work here. Like the work in refugee camps. Did you know anything? Did you prepare anything?
13	P11: The first time not at all and the second time we tried but we were working hard---not hard but---and we were not in the same city, so we didn't have the time to prepare something. But we thought about the photo project which is going on now. And I have some projects in my mind but for now its just---I know that I am here for a long time---so for now I am just watching and helping. But not involving really hard, because I know that everything is changing really hard here. So let's August pass and then we will see.
14	But I had one project. It was to make either photos or interviews and then show it to children in France. Not like the refugee camp life like " <i>oh poor people</i> ". But like look at this children, they are just like you, just like open-mind.
15	I: Cool project. And did you know anything about the people's culture? I mean you studied Anthropology, so you probably did.
16	P11: Yeah but it's all like. I think we never know. We just read so we can read but then we are in reality, we are in the camp so we just learn every day that we didn't know anything. I know they were Muslims but that's just idea in the mind. No, I always arrive in a situation and say " <i>I don't know anything about you</i> ". And say " <i>Let me learn about you, I don't know why you are Muslim, why you are wearing the headscarf.</i> "
17	I: And also about this area and the Greek people same thing? Did you know anything?
18	P11: No, but we were wondering how was the relation between the Greek people. Because the idea was, Greece is in crisis and then a bunch of refugees are coming and volunteers and there is a new life here, how the people are with that.
19	I: And what do you think?
20	P11: I think that they are really like welcoming people. I think it's amazing. When we see what is going on in

	France and then we arrive here..., It's like a big economic crisis and they are helping how they can as much as they can.
21	I: So you have made good experience with the Greek people?
22	P11: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
23	I: Okay, that's good. And now coming to the volunteer work in the camp. What do you think are the challenges? What is good, what is bad?
24	P11: Bad is---not the main point but---really now it's well organized, but it has been like three months to set up the structure. And it was really hard, I think, for them. And we had to make mistake and mistake and mistake and then find a good way. So it's always a hard job and then find a way. But I don't know. Bad is---not the main point but---really now it's well organized, but it has been like three months to set up the structure. And it was really hard, I think, for them. And we had to make mistake and mistake and mistake and then find a good way. So it's always a hard job and then find a way. But I don't know. When we were here in April, we saw many people leave because of the volunteer structure, because there was not enough communication and everyone was doing on its own and...When we were here in April, we saw many people leave because of the volunteer structure, because there was not enough communication and everyone was doing on its own and...
25	I: Ok, so people left again and went to other camps?
26	P11: Yeah, or they went back home. I don't know how long I can stay but now I am fed up with all this. It was just another point that now I am tired. Like I am tired of the volunteering work, but then I am also tired of the volunteering life and how it can be.
27	I: So what would be the volunteering life? What was the problem that made people leave?
28	P11: It was---how can I say it, when you are a family, like you are ten or 15 people, you are like a family and then there is like 20 or 30 people arriving, then you have to construct like a structure with all of this. And then it's really hard, because you have to spend energy to know all the people. And you spent all your energy, because in April the work was really hard. So you have to spend your energy also to know the people and to communicate with the people, which is really, not annoying, but it takes a lot of energy, because you are in charge of the milky way and then someone arrives and says <i>"Ok, now I am in charge of the warehouse. So the things from the milky way they will be there and not there because I am in charge of the milky way."</i> So we can communicate, he can take like one day to just communicate with each other. That was really, really hard.
29	I: So you think it's a problem because people don't stay for a long time?
30	P11: No, because I think it's natural. Because to organize all of this stuff if you have to communicate and communicate and then make mistakes. And then <i>"Okay, let's go this way, let's have a meeting at 9 and then everybody can talk about this, this, this..."</i> But when you are running as a family, we don't need a meeting, because everyone knows what he has to do. And then new people arrive, so they are not aware of everything. And then they take one thing <i>"Okay, I will do that."</i> Okay but it's just---you don't need communication when you are 10---when you are 20 or 30 you need communication. You need like clear communication. And I think..., it was a lot of Spanish people and I think it's part of their culture to communicate a lot but not really focus. And we thought like it's part of Spanish culture, like we can talk a lot, but---really be like <i>"Okay, let's do this, this and this!"</i>
31	I: Yeah, interesting. And you think it's a problem that some people only come for a shorter time?
32	P11: No, I don't think so, because it's all organized. So, ok you come for ten days, ok. There is a shift where you have to be at the door, you have to deliver the sandals tomorrow. And now it's like really well organized. So, now I don't think so. I think maybe it's a problem for the refugees but it's hard to say. On the one hand it's hard to say this, but on the other hand like they make relation with the refugees and then they came back home and it's really hard for them, but for the refugees that's why they are here. And then, for the refugee, they are like <i>"Ok, that's another volunteer who is leaving and who is never coming back."</i>
33	I: And the bigger organizations? You know like UNHCR and...

34	P11: I don't have like good---because we saw them---I mean maybe it's part of the big organization but it's really slow. And then you have the impression that you know the camp and you are the only one---I mean not me but the small organizations---they are the ones who know the camp really well and how it works. And then the big organizations they are here and they are looking and then they try to communicate, but we see that they take decisions that are not like with the life at the camp. Not at all.
35	I: How do you perceive your contribution? What do you think about the role of the volunteer in the camp?
36	P11: I think, the camp now is built like half by refugees, half by volunteers. Without the volunteers the camp would not be the same at all. Like we built some---every little volunteer build some part of the life in the camp and also the refugees, sure, but they are like in a situation that sometimes they can not build by themselves. We have just to help them and say <i>"Ok, maybe we can do it like that."</i> It's not our life, but--- And then you can do it. But I think it's half, half. Like I am coming back after three months and is has really changed and thanks to volunteers and refugees. They are really, like really important I think.

Participant 12

1	I: To start with tell me a bit about yourself. What do you here? What is your background?
2	P12: I am ___, I am from Germany and I am a volunteer working in Katsikas for my second time. The first time was in April for two weeks, It was really too short. And now I am here for a month or maybe more. I am not sure.
3	I: Why maybe longer?
4	P12: It depends on my internship in Germany.
5	I: And why did you say it was too short before?
6	P12: It doesn't feel right for me. It was just a really, really quick decision. Like <i>"Do you want to come with?"</i> and then <i>"Yeah, sure."</i> I didn't think about why I just stayed two weeks. At this case it was because I did not have enough time. But now it doesn't feel right to just stay two weeks, because you get in---you are so close to the people and you are getting friendships or kids are looking at you or you are playing with kids. And then you leave after two weeks that's..., yeah.
7	I: So it's more about the interactions with people that you say that two weeks are not enough?
8	P12: Yes, because I was not here just to cook soup. You know.
9	I: So why were you here? Or why are you here? Why did you start and why did you come back?
10	P12: I think it started 2015. The years before it was like really, really terrible the thing, like the whole refugee thing, but in 2015 it just---it was like climbing up a mountain and you are just really, really shocked about this. And I was like <i>"ok, something is getting wrong here and I can't just sit around in Germany and do nothing."</i> And yes that was the reason why I came here to Katsikas. And why I came back. Because the last time was way too short just this two weeks. And I have the feeling it was not enough and when I am going to leave here and sit in my room in Germany maybe I will have the same feeling that it is not enough. You could do so much here in this area but still they are living in tents and still everything is shitty.
11	I: And why you have to go back? Is there anything you have to go back to?
12	P12: The university or what do you mean? And I can't make a break for half a year. I have to make a break for a whole year. And..., [sighing] I wouldn't do that. So half year, but one year, no! Its like too much for me.
13	I: And at home do you also engage in voluntary activities or is this the first time?
14	P12: At the moment I am with the group of teachers on the road. Every Thursday we are going to meet people from Syria, Afghanistan, like refugees and they want to learn German. So you have a class. And then you have two or three refugees and they want to learn German. Sometimes it's not just like <i>"I want to learn grammar"</i>

	<i>staff</i> ” but “ <i>I just want to be talking</i> ”. So you are just talking and it’s really funny, because you get in a good contact to the people. So I have like two or three persons which I can really talk to them in a really good way. And they can talk to me in a really good way. So we are just talking I think that’s fun, and it’s cool. And they like it. And they come every Thursday. So it’s not like they have to go. And some of them are driving like one hour to this place and then we are just...,
15	I: But you started this after the first tour here? And before this did you do anything?
16	P12: Not really. I started making German class in my home town. Because my home town is not really a town, there are just living 200 people. And there is a big house which is empty and there are living eight men from Syria. And because my home village is so far away from big cities and they told me that they want to learn German. So I start making a German class. But I just gave it to other people. So I started but then other people from the village continued.
17	I: And that was last year?
18	P12: Last year in August. One year ago. And in September I went to the university.
19	I: And apart from this voluntary work did you do anything else in a different field?
20	P12: No.
21	I: Why did you chose to come here and do something here instead of doing something at home?
22	P12: That’s really a good question. Because I think that’s like [sighing]---no that’s not true. I wanted to say that it is not so easy to get in contact to organizations like that. But it’s just because I was lazy maybe. Yeah! And then it was like really easy to go to Greece for me. Because Manu was living downstairs and he asked me and I said “ <i>Yeah of course, I go.</i> ” And I think in my head it was like “ <i>ok these people---the situation was worse than in Germany</i> ” but it’s---yeah---it’s—you could also do something in Germany.
23	I: Yeah like you do now in Germany.
24	P12: Yeah, yeah, yeah...,
25	I: So, but it was like kind of your motivation to do something but it was also related to personal connection with people?
26	P12: Yeah, I think that’s one of the most things that people are thinking about. Like they want to do something, but they are lazy but if someone is coming and says “ <i>Hey I need help. I want to learn German</i> ” you are doing it. But you are not going around and say “ <i>ah, I think, maybe, some people need help</i> ” or---I don’t know---because you have so many things in your head like in your normal daily life. And then it’s in your mind that you could do something between university and meeting friends but it’s just like you are lazy.
27	I: Ok, then speaking of just before you left to come here for the first time. Did you prepare anything special to get to know the situation a bit more, the situation here in Greece...,
28	P12: What do you mean with preparation? Like reading stuff?
29	I: Yes, get informed.
30	P12: Yes I just read something. Because at this moment it was like every time in the news. So you know much stuff about it but I still read stuff about it that I didn’t know. For example how the people came to Greece or like the actual route. And stuff like this...,
31	I: And the situation in Greece? Did you inform yourself about it as well? Or rather not?
32	P12: No. [laughing]. Actually no. For me it was just like something “ <i>we are driving now to Greece and in Greece is something happening</i> ” and it was just like something in Europe is happening and we have to do something. It’s not like---but I think that was not the best way, because we are here in Greece and not---it’s not like---I thought it is a problem of Europe and not of Greece. That is how I approached the problem and I didn’t inform about the Greek situation.

33	I: So you saw it as Europe's problem. Good. Now---now let's talk about what you did here. Like the actual volunteering. Let's talk about the first tour. Just tell me a little bit how you experienced. What was in your mind before? Were you afraid or excited or...
34	P12: Actually there was not that much in my mind. Like how does the camp look like or how we are going to cook. Because for me it was like I never did something like that before, like cooking for 1000 people. So I was like I don't know, just be open-minded and then it will fit. Something like this. So I was not really---I had no image in my head or something. So I was just open-minded.
35	I: So you were not afraid or...
36	P12: <i>No</i> , no! Many people asked me this. Like <i>"do you have some vaccinations, because you could get ill. You know the situation could be really, really bad and you could be ill or something like this"</i> . And I was like <i>"wow, really, I don't know. We will see. We can't just put the pictures you see in the news to every---to Italy or Greece"</i> .
37	I: But you think that had also to do with the fact that you were together with people that you knew?
38	P12: I didn't know anyone.
39	I: I mean the group of people you came here with.
40	P12: I only knew Manu a little bit. That was it. I actually thought that the group of Soup & Socks was from the first tour knows everything about it. And yeah <i>"we are like, we are doing it like this, this and this"</i> and then after two days I realized that we are all on the same level. And that it is a completely new situation for everyone and [laughing]---yeah. It was kind of funny, but yeah.
41	I: Ok, then when your arrived here. The work here. How was it structured? You did two different things right? So maybe you can tell me a little bit about that.
42	P12: The first days were like really busy and really stressful. We arrived in the afternoon of the first day and then we checked everything out like where can we sleep, how is the camp, can we go into the camp, can we cook there, blablabla, how many people are there. And we talked a lot about the people. And on the second day we started cooking and it was just crazy because we cooked in a tent and it was way too hot. And it was the first time for me to cook for 1000 people. And yeah, but after three or four days it gets like really normal. And it was like, you have more time to go to the camp and talk to the people and do other stuff. That was really cool. And then I started in the second week to film like the team. The first thing in my mind was like I want to make a short movie about the tour of <i>Soup & Socks</i> . So I just filmed the situation how we cook, how we buy food, which ---- and something like this. And then I started to film stuff from the camp. And it was just because people came to me and asked <i>"hey, so you are from Soup & Socks and you are not religious, you are not from the government and stuff like this, you are just a student and you have a camera"</i> . And then they asked me if I can come to the tent and make an interview with them, because <i>they</i> have to say something. And then I think there were like five people who came to me. And then I started to film the camp. And this was really interesting for me, because I spent more time in the camp. And got an overview of the daily life and how it is.
43	I: And what would you say was the biggest challenges for you in the work?
44	P12: The biggest challenge in filming it was to---on the one hand to show what happens, like normal stuff, nothing special and on the other hand to film it in a respectful way. Not to show like small kids, and no food, and cold water, blabla, but on the other side it's the life. So it was just like a balance between... Yeah, that was quite hard. And to put it together to a movie was even harder.
45	With cooking, the problem for me---not that hard like for others--- but with the kids to go on a respectful ways. Because there was a language barrier. And sometimes the kids just want to make fun with you and you do something and you just have like something really hot in your hands and you are like <i>"no, no, no, please go, go, go"</i> and they were like <i>"I just want to play with you."</i>
46	I: Do you think that sometimes you would have needed more preparation to deal with this kind of situation that you experienced? Did you get to a point where you thought I can't do this anymore?
47	P12: I think it would be really good to speak a bit Arabic. I started learning it while working. But this would be

	like a really good thing. Because the most confrontation was based on the language barrier. But for the others---yeah...
48	I: Yeah, it's ok. And speaking of the other volunteers that were interacting with you in the camp. What did you experience? Was there any conflict?
49	P12: At the last time it was really good. Because the camp just started, it was just ten days old when we came. And there was just a group of Spanish volunteers and that was really good work together. Because it just fits with---it was just like <i>"yes that's fine"</i> and it was like every time talking to each other.
50	And now the situation changed. Because there are like---I don't know, 80 volunteers in the camp. And I was at two meeting in the morning and I was just like <i>"Ok, that doesn't make sense to me"</i> . But I don't want to be in conflict with them. So I am not--- I am just going out---because maybe I am not here for such a long time. And if they decide something maybe there are doing it because of a reason that I don't know. And I don't want to ask <i>"Why you are doing this?"</i> . I trust them. And on the other side, some people are doing stuff and don't reflect things. Like building tents, new tents, that are like really shitty and cost like way too much. And now they are standing there in the camp for nothing. And nobody is using this tents, nobody cares about it. They are just standing there, they are empty, they cost like way too much. And even if they are going to use them in one month it's getting winter, it's getting cold, so they don't reflect this. And this makes me just like [puking sound].
51	I: So now there are two points you talked about. That there are 80 people and it doesn't make sense to you. Can you tell me a bit more about why you think that it doesn't make sense?
52	P12: I think because they are---it's not like one group where is like three or four leaders who think a lot about it and discuss it with many people like a structure. No they are like four or five groups and everyone is just thinking about some point but not like the whole thing. So and they---I have the feeling they are not talking to each other. And this is shitty.
53	I: Do you think that there are people here that maybe should have stayed at home?
54	P12: <i>No</i> , no! I think everyone who wants to help here it's like a really good thing. But they need probably the time to learn how to work with this. How to make a structure. How to not spend money for nothing. But it's not like really easy to do volunteer stuff. It's not like you build a baby hamam and that's it. There is so much behind. So there are like 500 people at the moment in the camp. You can't just decide from outside---you are not one of the persons living in the camp---to do what they want. And that's like---and maybe some people forgot this. Even if one person of the camp can decide something <i>"ok we are going to build this or to build houses"</i> or stuff like this, this is also maybe unfair. Because this camp is not like a community. It's like random people who live together but it was not the idea behind <i>"oh yeah this guy from Syria is like really nice, I want to live with him in a camp"</i> . It's just like randomly happens. So I think many volunteers look at the camp and say <i>"ok this community needs something like this and this"</i> but it's not like this. I think there is not one solution but maybe some people can learn how to approach the thing better.
55	I: Maybe especially because you were filming. What do you think now about people going through the camp and taking pictures and filming. What do you think about this?
56	P12: I mean they are doing the same thing like me. I mean I don't know how they do this. I am evetime asking. And I try to make not like really bad photos which are in the newspapers. But yes, I mean they are the same like me maybe. If you respect---I mean it's not just like the people are just camping for a few weeks, this is like their home. It's the same like I go to your home and just make a movie about it while you are cleaning the dishes or something. Everybody would be like <i>"what are you doing?"</i> . Yeah, it's like really private and I think you have to ask every time. But you get the feeling, if you are going around with the camera and people see you with the camera and they say <i>"oh no please no"</i> . When they turn their face, so you know <i>"ok, no that's fine"</i> . I don't even have to ask and some people are just like making the gesture with their hands that you have to come and then some people are asking <i>"hey can you make some pictures of this?"</i> . And then you know ok it's fine, this person wants to show the privacy or wants to share the privacy. That's ok.
57	I: And now I mean you already kind of mentioned the big organization while you were talking about the tents. So what is your impression about the big NGOs that are here?

58	P12: The bigger the NGO is, that means they have more money, most of time, but it's slower and some of them are not really thinking about everything and maybe they are not really volunteers because they get paid for it. So for them it's just like a normal job.
59	I: So this could be your distinction between who is a volunteer and who is not. The payment?
60	P12: Yeah, I mean volunteer means something like you do it without getting something back, or? Am I wrong?
61	I: Yeah, there are different definitions..
62	P12: Yeah, for my side I am here as a volunteer not to get something back. I don't want to earn money or think that I am now one of the coolest persons and all of the kids love me or something like that. Just. Or making like the best movie or something like this. It just happened that I made a movie. It was just like "oh, hey, yeah let's do this!" People would ask me and I am ok.
63	I: And the big organizations we were talking about?
64	P12: Yeah, I think you can't say every big organization is good or bad, because of this. Like, it depends on the people who are on the front like the leaders and this is one of the bad things I think. That just a few people decide what to do and maybe don't discuss this with other people or with people from the camp. And because they are so big they need a structure otherwise it wouldn't work. Imagine we have like 20 more people here. We need as well structure. But this is on the one hand really good, to have a structure, that you have a plan. But on the other hand it's not working every time, like here in Katsikas [laughing].
65	I: What do you think is the one good thing about the big ones and the one good thing about the smaller ones?
66	P12: The big ones have more money. And they have like really good contacts to other big NGOs and they, if they really want to get something they could get something. And what's good for the small NGOs. They are more flexible. They don't have these structures. And they could be---they include more the people from the camp. Because of the---not the high structure, because it (inaudible-33:12) but on the other hand the small NGOs don't have that much money. They can't just say " <i>okay we want houses, ok we will build houses</i> ". That's not possible. But maybe they can talk to the bigger NGOs.
67	I: Talking about the locals, and the local culture, do you have any interactions in this sense? Like with local people?
68	P12: [laughing] Yeah, I meet some locals of course. And I think like the same like in Germany. Some are really interested in this and use their time to do something. And some people are just like "ok the camp is there and its really shitty but I still have my life and my daily life and I don't have time or money for it". Especially here in Greece most of the people don't have that much money. But I did not get in contact with locals who are really aggressive or, yeah..., I got the feeling like the same like in Germany. People here have less money and yeah..,
69	I: What would be a bad volunteer for you?
70	P12: [laughing] A bad volunteer? A bad volunteer is maybe someone who is just there because of telling other people " <i>yeah, yeah I was in Greece</i> ". Just like to improve themselves, or to feel better or to..., I don't know---maybe not to go to places to help but---not of the reason because they are pissed off this situation and they want to change something. Or other reasons they just came to places like this to just making photos and show it to friends and family. And then even not really working here, just chilling. And maybe just speak a little bit with people, but not really interested in, just to hear something, just to say " <i>yeah, yeah I talked to the refugees and they said the situation is really bad. I have the feeling it was like this but I prepared a tea for them and I think that was the best.</i> " Maybe this is a bad volunteer. I don't know.
71	I: And a good one?
72	P12: A good one? Is somebody who hears what the people are saying and reacts to this. Not just like " <i>here, you want this and this and that's fine.</i> " But it's not going to happen. And to discuss everything and to think about everything you are doing. Because everything you are doing makes something. Sometimes I have the feeling like " <i>ok, I can't do anything at the moment</i> ". Because we are waiting for wood to build walls. But I was thinking " <i>ok what should I do. I can't just sit here and do nothing</i> ". But what should I do. Should I just start buying ice

and going to the camp? That's bullshit! Sometimes you have to wait. Or sometimes you have to think about stuff. Maybe this is a good volunteer? I don't know. And also to take everything serious. I have the feeling some people don't take everything seriously. For them its like an excursion. They have a look at this, and are again in their nice home and have everything, they can study and everything. For me a lot changed when I came back home. I perceived everything totally different also. I mean I was aware of it before but I appreciated everything so much again. My whole life also. Because everyone of us could be in the exact same situation. And I would be so angry, probably more angry than them—because in the moment they are really still..., yeah..., We are all so aware of our human rights for us this situation would be a scandal. We would demand that we get into families. Or that we get houses where we can live. And then I don't understand how people, Germans, can say *"How can they expect something like this? That we just take some of them?"* This is so hard. But on the other hand---I had the discussion with my parents, because we have an apartment with kitchen, bed room and bath room, that means we could easily let someone live in it. I told them to do it. And they said *"We don't get money for it and we don't want it"*. And I don't understand why there should be a reward for it. And then they were like hesitating. For them it didn't matter which nationality or---it could have been also Germans, or French, or Syrians. For them its just not ok to have strangers in their house who also have access to the house. And I think that's a German thing. They are not so open. My parents are also not like *"of course you can sleep here"* when we have guests. It's a cultural thing. My mom says it's not ok for her to have strangers in her house. And to some extend I can understand it.

- 73 I: Last question. How do you perceive your contribution in the whole situation? What role do you play in this situation?
- 74 P12: For the people in the camp, I think I am just like one of these 80 volunteers. And that's ok. And maybe to different people in another context I am probably more, maybe not. But for the most people I am just one of these volunteers. And that's ok. That's fine. Because I am maybe. Yeah.
- 75 I: And now not speaking only of your role as a person but the volunteers' contribution. The role that the volunteers play?
- 76 P12: [hesitating] Maybe for..., I know what you mean but I cant...,
- 77 I: What do you think what is their role? What would happen if they would not be here? Would it be different?
- 78 P12: Yes, of course. Especially in the first days. I don't want to say that we make the life better of the people, or that we change a lot of things. But maybe just do small things. But make the people say *"ok, not everyone forgot us"*. It's really hard to say, because as a volunteer you have---or maybe not as a volunteer but every human---has like a wrong imagine of yourself and especially for people who have to live in this camp in the moment and who have no solution. Maybe that's bad [inaudible; 44:30] but that's still ok. I don't know. Maybe it would be changed like a lot if we are not here. So if here is just the army and the police. So you could also put monkeys there. It wouldn't be a difference. I think, maybe if we are not here..., the camp would not exist anymore. Maybe. Because it means that they would have changed nothing, or not that quick. So they are maybe at this time the same shitty toilets, the same shitty food, no place to pray, no place for kids, no school and stuff like this. And I think people would go away to other camps or to find a way to go somewhere. Or it would be in the same situation like in Turkey. Like they are at one place and then the police is coming at night and then they have to go to another place and stuff like this. And many people would go back home. I would do it maybe. And I can understand people who say this. It's like from the second tour somebody told me that he is thinking about going back to Syria. And I was like *"what the fuck"*. I couldn't imagine that. And then I was like *"ok, what the heck, you probably die in your country"* and he said *"yeah, but I am dying here like really slowly"*. And I was like *"ok shit"*. But I don't know. If volunteers are really making it better, or if they are just there for cooling the situation down and then coming to make a structure and things like this. But in the end I think it's a good thing what happens here. For especially the kids. If we are not here, there would be no school. So they would miss like a whole year just having no school, no education nothing. And that would be like really bad for the kids. Even for adults, they also learn English or Maths. And if we would not be here and they would have left, other camps would not have volunteers either. Somewhere they must stay where it could also be shit. And also if they build small things here like a women tent. I mean it is shit that they build here a second home because they still don't know when they move on, if they stay, what happens, but it is also important for people to say *"ok, like it is now it will be for a while and now I build a garden, and now I go to school every day, and I go in the evening to the woman tent and I will also have some fun there, and I will drink some tea and create friendships"*. You

can't just not arrive all the time. I mean probably it is not the feeling of “*ok, now I arrived here*” but you must---I think it's inside of human beings. I realize that often when I do camping somewhere. Then I put everything in order. Where do I sleep, where do I put the food, where do I put my cloths. This is a thing from humans that you always build your home, your safe haven. And I think at some point it is good for them, just to have a temporary home for a little bit. It is still shit. But maybe less shitty.

Participant 13

- 1 I: What I usually do is to start with you as a person. So if you could tell me a little bit about you and what you do here. Why you came here?
- 2 P13: I am from Denmark. And I am 34. I just finished a long project in the end of October and I was really, really tired of office work and work that I don't really think made sense. I was really worn out. And I was really like stressed out at some point. And just really tired of doing meaningless work. And then---so I finished this project and then I just looked into this situation and I thought it was absolutely crazy. And then I basically just took the decision to go to Lesvos. So I just bought a flight ticket. Because I wanted to switch and do something completely else. I finished my project and I knew I had to do something completely else and I didn't want to *do* something else before I have left everything behind me and done something meaningful. So for me it was like really meaningful to go to Lesvos. So I went there like I basically just bought the ticket and went. And I was there for a month and I was so happy about it. Like it was really (inaudible – 08:25) but I thought it was extremely meaningful and in complete opposition to the office big system I had before.
- 3 I: And have you been there with *Lighthouse* ?
- 4 P13: No, not yet. It was another organization. It was in the refugee camp and it also worked on the beaches. And that was the complete opposition to what I came from at least. Then I was there for a month and I went back home to Denmark and I applied for work and I eventually got one for October, which is one I am going back to start. And then I went back to Lesvos, because---I was actually supposed to apply for a temporary job to get some money, but then I went back to Lesvos. And I really, really liked it and thought it made so much sense. And then when the act happened, the Turkish European, the Turkish Greek act then I followed people to the main land. And then I met *Lighthouse* here. I was quiet conscious about where I wanted to work and how I wanted to work and with whom I wanted to work. And I heard quite many good things about Lighthouse. And then I was here and I bummed into Alex and yeah I basically just stayed. And I have been here since four months and I was supposed to be back four months ago..., in Denmark. [laughing]
- 5 I: [laughing] And how long will you stay?
- 6 P13: I am actually going back home on Friday, which is..., I have been building a school. And the main goal was that it was supposed to be community run. And it is community run now, so I am ready to go back. And also, I also think that at some point it's really..., like I really, really think that it is an amazing work but it's also a tough work and it's also a tiring work and---also sometimes it is easy to be here, because I just wake up in the morning and go to the camp and think about nothing else but what happens in the camp and like everybody around me is like also concerned with what is happening in the camp. And you work together and you do everything together, so it's kind of a time like another space time where you are just completely disclosed from the rest of the world. Which is absolutely amazing. But it's also a tough work sometimes. And you are exposed to a lot, like people suffering but also violence and really bad days. So I think I kind of got too adjusted of being here in terms of your limits for what you---like you can be a bit cold in the end. So I think it's good to go back and kind of readjust a bit and then look into it again “*I want to go back, I want to stay*”. And then because it is energy consuming. You have to go back and remind yourself that you also have another life outside the refugee camp.
- 7 I: But do you have sometimes days where you take a day off and do something else?
- 8 P13: Yes, so in the beginning it was kind of like--- people just worked so hard, constantly, all the time. And we had so many things to do and so many projects and we never really took a time off. But after a month we had this policy that everybody should have one day off in a week and we still have that policy. And it's like something that people just have to do because---I think quite many people prefer now and being---like it becomes---all of a sudden it becomes too much. Like you come and you have so much energy and you just want to do something

	and you just want to help and you just want to work..., all the time. And you do that from morning to evening and then in the end like people burn out and it's too much. So in order to like stay here for a longer period of time you have to---you have to take at least a day off in a week. And also to have---because I think basically we are the only ones bringing in energy to this place, so we should be the ones like having, <i>having</i> energy and being happy about our work and being like not be the ones shouting or being too frustrated. And like a day off a week really helps I think. So its like--- I think it's a good policy and actually we also..., Especially for our translators we try also to introduce that they should have two days off a week. Because some jobs are more hard than others. And being translator is like really, really tough.
9	I: I imagine. I think sometimes it kinds of protects you not to understand.
10	P13: Well, I understand basically, probably 20% of what happens. And I think that's fine. I think it actually made me be capable of staying that long because a tough part of it, you know, is to get really those intimate stories and frustrations. Like people's frustration, they leave it on you sometimes and sometimes it's good not to know that. If they call you something. And basically just be the dump...,
11	I: And when you were back home did you do any voluntary work there or did you just start with this with the refugee situation?
12	P13: Well, I have been kind of involved with issues like this. So it's also what I do for work. Basically I am doing research on rehabilitation people in difficult settings and how they overcome that. So basically I have done quite a lot of work on that. But I have also been writing it down and got a bit tired of that. And then it was really cool to come here and actually to do something. To get dirty and then like..., say <i>"okay if you say we should move that part to that place then we gonna do that"</i> and it takes us like two minutes. Instead of me writing it down, passing it down, making suggestions.
13	I: So also with your profession you were connected?
14	P13: For me it's very much professionally connected. So it's actually a way to act out, what I have been working on for quite a long time. And also to see if I can use it in..., like..., how can we make use of this that we know. You know make something, instead of file it and put it in paper stashes. And I actually really found out that so many things can be used and so many things can be..., like we know quite a lot and it's possible to actually just basically just do things. So that was also why. Because I knew I would like to work in another way so that was also---I thought this must be possible and this gave me all the opportunities to try things out and do things in another way and having another kind of impact. Trying things that I always kind of wanted to try, but you know I never really had the option to do it. What is really special of this context and what really has never happened before is that you get an idea---and that's the cool thing about being here---somebody else gets an idea and then you just do it and then like: one gets a hammer, and one buys a tent, and the next one applies for donation money, and then all of a sudden in a few days or a few hours or sometimes just minutes things start. And that's so cool, that's the really, really fun part of being here I think.
15	I: So that is one of your motivations. Are there any other things, reasons why you do this?
16	P13: Well personally to do something that make sense, definitely. To do something that I don't have to reflect upon all the time. Whether it is the right thing to do, whether I should do something else. Here I just switch off my brain, because there is no---it's not a question at all, it's just the perfectly right thing to do and it's really nice not to be concerned about <i>"should I change my job, or should I work whatever"</i> , because this makes so much sense to be here. So it's very---it's kind of a like intense, condensed feeling or way of living your life I think.
17	I: And one question that is also interesting is why did you decide to come here to do that? Why didn't you do something in Denmark?
18	P13: It's a good question actually. Basically I wanted to get away from the Danish (inaudible – 19:15) I think. And then I also just like felt so bad about the entire situation that I wanted to show abroad that---well, Danish asylum policy is absolutely horrible, so I kind of also wanted to go and do something else then..., you know <i>show</i> that I can do something else and that all of us don't disagree with it. And then it's amazing to meet so many people that actually felt the same way. And actually, basically just quit their job and just left everything and came here to help and do something..., What was the question again? My motivation?

- 19 I: No, it was why you came here instead of doing it at home, but...
- 20 P13: That was basically to be, also to *meet* other people like from other parts of the world. And I thought also that the need was kind of pressing in Lesvos. And I basically just wanted to go somewhere. I was actually looking for different opportunities in Denmark before I came here. But it's more like the bureaucratically, more like "*yeah maybe I should just work and then volunteer for two hours a day*". So it's not really the same, intense feeling. It's more like something you do like second hand, like I can--- "*okay, I can also volunteer like an hour a day*" or something. I was actually on my way to Germany to Hamburg to maybe work in the station. But, yeah, then I just basically came here. And yeah, my reasons for coming to Katsikas..., first of all I wanted to work on the mainland. And I was like looking for an NGO where it was possible to be creative, like an NGO that didn't have too many restrictions. And wasn't like too hold back by bureaucracy, where it was actually possible to try something out and do something and think by yourself and ask people what they wanted and like try to encourage them to do something without having permissions and something. And I think that basically that is the cool thing about this situation. Like trying to---I think that us being here kind of also challenges the way that organizations work, because they can see what is actually cool. Like the bad organisations---like those who wanted to make a community based tea, like they can do it from one day to another. But we have all this procedures, so it will take us like three, four weeks. And then we lose the trust of the people and like---I think we kind of challenge their way of working. And I think that's really, really fun to be part of. So I kind of feel it that I am part of changing---no not changing humanitarian work---but challenging how we think in humanitarian work, because the different actors have so many different opportunities to do something different. And that's fun, I think. Because like the military they what can they do [laughing] you know like---so everybody is restricted in their own way, like that's also how---basically I wanted to find---my third motivation was basically to find out how to work in the best way in the humanitarian sections. And I knew that would probably be something that I wanted to do. And it's really fascinating to see how, if we collaborate, can help each other. So see like, me as a *Lighthouse* person I can take a person in my *Lighthouse* car to the hospital. But then I can ask an independent volunteer to take him to---you know---if we collaborate---then that is possible. On the other hand I can't get training to the teacher, because I am not linked to capacities. And then I can ask *UNHCR* and they have the mandate to do this. So kind of like we have different restrictions, and different mandates and if we work together it is actually possible to do something, but the most frustrating part is, that we don't always work together. Like we kind of also work against each other and that's the most frustrating part I think.
- 21 I: Can you tell me a bit more about that "working against each other"?
- 22 P13: Yes, so it's basically a lot about planting a flag. Like refugees also become kind of business, like how many people can you help, who has the mandate to conduct this kind of project. For example the school. Okay now *Lighthouse* has the mandate for the school, but it could also be someone else who actually wanted to do the school and then they would be kind of competing. And I see that, they are competing all the time, like somebody is starting something up, other people coming to duplicate it and so many different organisations just want to claim the rights to that actual project. That is like so tiring. It's also a conflict that we kind of try to work a bit against each other. In trying to make the school like kind of clear that it is not a *Lighthouse* school but it's a community school. One of my main things that I wanted to do is connect different organisations and actors directly to the teacher, so they should be the ones deciding what they want. If they want training, they can get that from *UNHCR*. Or if they want, I don't know, donations for paper, they can go to *Olvidados* or whatever. Like they should be the middle of all this. Instead of us kind of claiming the area. And that's also a reason why I am leaving, because that's how I want it to be, but I also feel somehow that it is my thing. So when somebody comes in and be like "*oh maybe A.I.R.E. should take over the teaching*" or something. And they should, so actually only different organizations they should come and do it and that's what I tell the teachers all time. "*You should go to MSF or you should go to MDM and say we need a training*" and whatever. But then I say "*don't ask me*". I have been used as a middle man, but I am not an expert in child protection, so I want the organization directly involved. But I kind of feel like also, part of my---the school is also my property somehow, so it's good that I also leave and leave it to them.
- 23 So the thing is that like it becomes kind of a place where you put your flag. When organisations get money for something there are always some requirements, like you should have so many students or you should give out so much baby food per so many babies or whatever. And in the end it becomes a competition [laughing] like who gets the most babies or whatever. You know? And it is so dumb, because it is basically about giving them food. And in the end we stand here fighting each other because everybody wants to do the football or everybody wants

	to do the school or everybody wants to do---and that's annoying, I think. And I think that's like, all these requirements and the structures that you are part of when you get donation money is just like really---it really creates a culture, like kind of a competing culture, where..., Like some kind of colonialism actually. We put our flag. You can't come in, you can pay us to be a specific part of it but you can't get in, because it's <i>our</i> project and whatever. So, I really think that the more people manage to collaborate the better. And I think volunteers are both, good and bad at that.
24	I: Do you think that in those problems that you were just saying, that there is a difference between the big organisations like <i>UNHCR</i> , <i>IOM</i> and the smaller ones ?
25	P13: Yes.. a big, big, big, big difference. I think there is a difference in like how close they can get to the people. I think the smaller you are, the closer you can get to the people. And if you are not close to the people then you basically can't do anything. If people hate <i>UNHCR</i> then they don't want to move into their tents. So it's not always so much about the tents, but also you know <i>"don't force us to do anything or don't force us---don't say---don't just treat us like somebody who you can just do anything."</i> It's really about collaborating with people. And that's also why quite many have been interested in like working with <i>Lighthouse</i> . Because somehow we got the trust of people. So that's also like---if we---some organisations, let's say <i>Oxfam</i> ---like <i>UNHCR</i> , they had to do some protection to school children. And they would never have managed to get the children, gather the children to do protection. They would not even be able to gather 20 kids, almost. But by having a good connection to the teachers and actually having a school, we could basically just say <i>"you make sure that they are there, at that and that time in the morning"</i> and then <i>UNHCR</i> can fulfill their requirements because they collaborate with us, who have a good connection to the refugees. And one of the reasons that we have a good connection to the refugees is that we can respond quite quick when they need something. Like when they---like if they need a school book, then we can buy it within an hour. Whereas <i>UNHCR</i> has to apply for money and it takes up to three weeks and then they forget about it and then it becomes a promise that never fulfilled. And also when asking the refugees what makes sense to them. They say like <i>Olvidados</i> and <i>Lighthouse</i> and the other NGOs there are the ones like digging with shovels when it rains and they are the ones being there when something happens. And you know people from <i>UNHCR</i> or <i>Oxfam</i> they can't do that, because it's not their working hours. I think every organization is part of some kind of structure that makes them capable of doing something and incapable to do other things. And by working together and I think that's what the situation really, really shows like when working together it gets new possibilities. Like on Lesbos when the boats came in. <i>UNHCR</i> didn't have the mandate to go to the beaches. But people were suffering, dying at the beaches. And independent volunteers went and eventually decided to work together and <i>UNHCR</i> provided the buses and the second help. But they were not required to go to the beaches. Which they are now. So now---I also think it should be like that, they should also take over when things are good and they have their permissions, because they have the money and they have the mandate and they have political power.
26	I: Speaking of this camp now. Do you think that there are too many organizations? And maybe too many volunteers. Because now it's August and I have observed that there are like 60 people participating in the meeting. What is your perception of this? You think it's too much?
27	P13: I am really double about it. In the summer I was extremely annoyed, but I think it's also---some volunteers are working---now I am working with children and I think that's really a problem. So many people in and out that they are not concerned about how they work and what they expose people for when they work in the setting. Like having too close connections with children, like hugging them all the time, for somebody---like let's say a person comes in to the camp for the first time, at some point all the kids will probably come to him and say <i>"I love you. I love you"</i> and giving him a hug, because they think that is what they expect. And to me that is a security issue, because if you have that relation to strangers, and we have quite many cars coming in and out, they are so vulnerable. But on the other hand like it's also extremely beautiful that so many people come from all over the world and basically just want to help. And these people get connections to people from all over the world, so it's not like them coming to Europe but Europe coming to them. And I think that's a really nice sign to show. But I definitely think that in the summer there have been too many volunteers and I also think too many short term volunteers that had no idea of how---like first of all how you behave in a refugee camp---and what you should and shouldn't do and what implications your actions have and I think like that's what the big organizations are good at. Like they are professional in it, they know the implications of their actions and I think that's really, really important to be aware of. And also the thing about---you know we have also had some volunteer groups coming that were like---some organizations were like <i>"oh, but we get more volunteers, like we have to activate them, get them kids they can play with or something"</i> , so it's kind of like kids become like a tool to actually

volunteer at some point. It is also the worst case, but it has actually happened. But most people they really---they come here because they want to help, there are also seen many volunteers not living up to very basic codes of conduct and that's sad, if they come here to volunteer. And also there are many misunderstood ways of helping---like all those Greek people coming in here in the beginning---like 30 Greek people every day and just walking inside among the tent---which is like people's private home. Just coming in playing with the kids and just leaving again. And some random people coming in like driving in the middle of the camp and opening their trunk and giving out candy or whatever and it's actually---I would even call it harmful and especially extremely undignifying. And you see even kids and grown ups fight over a candy or umbrellas or cloths or whatever. So in this case the volunteers have no idea of what position they put people in, because---first of all it is really undignifying to put people in a line and making them fight over nothing. Because they are in a situation where you are just so frustrated and by like volunteers coming in and acting in a specific way, then you just push to that behavior. No kids want to see their parents fight another man over an umbrella. And that's when volunteerism is not ok. Basically not ok, because you have to be aware of what you do.

28 I: So you think that someone who is coming here should have some kind of preparation? Even if the person does it only alone at home?

29 P13: Basically I also seen *UNHCR* employees doing extremely bad distributions and the exact mistake. But I think actually the best case would be if the bigger organization provide a training for volunteers that are here. And actually maybe use instead of seeing them as kind of a---you know---while they are here---kind of---instead of like provide a training, let's collaborate. And that would be useful. And I also think that organizations should be extremely aware of informing their volunteers about how to act and what the implications of their ways of acting are. Because everybody comes here with a good heart, they just wanna give candies to the kids, whatever, they just wanna make them happy. But it's not like animals that you give things to. The ways of working people should definitely be aware of and if you work in a good way, I think, being a volunteer is an extremely good thing. Both for like the simple value, showing that "*hey, we want you, we are concerned about you*" but also like in terms of the actual work that people are doing. I think---I can't even think about what this camp would have been like if no volunteers were here, so it's kind of---I think---the volunteer initiative kind of preserves the dignity of people. Like giving them proper food or involving them in the work, giving them proper cloths. You know, all of those things that people are stripped off when they come as a refugee, when they lost all of their cloths and like had no capacity to make their identity in any way. If like we make---if we kind of facilitate that people can be someone---like you can be a teacher, you can be like helping in the kitchen, you can be whatever. Give a man a camera. You know, like then they have something to work with and then they can be someone. But that's the volunteers, who have done that. They have made them capable of being someone whereas with the military and the army and *Oxfam* and *UNHCR* it is mostly like functional. You know, the basic need, like you need somebody at the entrance, "*we need a hospital*", "*we need a doctor*" who can fix their legs if its broken. And then we need, you know, a tent---and very, very basic needs. But volunteers come and like they get to know people and have like this very close---or not very close---but a relationship to people anyway and that kind of makes them allowed to be human beings as they were before. And like actually being someone and I think basically that's the most important thing about being a volunteer.

30 I: Okay, that's a nice closing line, I think. Unless you have to add something.

31 P: [laughing] No.

Participant 14

1 I: Where are you from? Which organization are you here with?

2 P14: I am _____. I am from Spain, Madrid. I am 24 years old. I have come here with two friends more. They are architects and they wanted to come here to build things, to build tables, houses.... with that main idea. And I am... I have studied business, so I wanted to come here to help in every issue, but if I could help with maths, English... this was my idea... yes.

3 I: And you are with an organization?

4 P14: Yes. I have come with *Olvidados*. You know the meaning?

5	I: Oh yes it means the forgotten ones, and in the middle there is VIDA.
6	P14: [laughing] You know the play with the words.
7	I: Since when are you here and how long will you stay?
8	P14: Yes, we came together on the 14th of August and I am going to stay until the 31st of August. So three weeks, a little less maybe. And then I have to go back to start my university in September. I have to study a little thing before going. So I have to come back.
9	I: And is this the first time that you do voluntary work or you already did something before.
10	P14: Yes it is the first time, like volunteer yes the first time. In Spain not more than maybe sometimes on Christmas, but only one or two days. But not like one week, two weeks. And volunteering, for example, giving blood.
11	I: Why did you chose to come here? What was your motivation?
12	P14: My motivation was spending my holidays in something that could give me a feedback. So coming here maybe is a good and safe maybe options to understand how people live here and understand a little more the war. Because I did not know before I came here about the problems deeply. And here you speak with everybody, everybody talks and tells the history. So you can understand a little more the kind of things that are happening out of our border lines in Europe. How families live in other countries. What difficulties they have. And yes... I wanted to come here to give help, but as well to understand the problems and later I can explain, in Spain, to the people, who don't know anything.
13	I: Yes, okay. Before you came you didn't know really prepare. You didn't know much. You just came here?
14	P14: Yes I almost knew nothing. I knew something, the problems in Syria, but I didn't know, you know about different parties that are fighting and I knew that there is one... I don't want to speak about politics... but now I am understanding a little more, because it is like the roots of the war and after I don't---this is not the main issue. But the issue is understand the people, how the war has affected the people, has affected them and try to give them something.
15	I: Yes, that's true. And a normal day here how is it? What do you do?
16	P14: Okay, so we have to stay here from meeting at 9 am and we organize all the tasks that we are going to do for all the day. But more or less we have tasks for all the week. And I start the day at 9 am here but my first commitment is at 10 o'clock. I am a teacher. Maths teacher. From ten to 11 with children between ten and 12 years old. And they have studied in their countries. They know a lot. The ladies are much better than the boys [laughing]. They are very kind, very nice. And the boys are always speaking. And I try to..., I don't know. And..., I love my..., they are my friends. Should I tell you the names?
17	I: Yes you can! I will put it anonymous later.
18	P14: [names of children participating in school]. I have nine children.
19	I: And you know all the names?
20	P14: Yes I must. I must. And okay... this is the only thing that I am doing about giving lessons. And later I am here in the shop until 1 pm from more or less 11. So one or two hours.
21	I: So actually now you should be in the shop? [laughing]
22	P14: Yes. But Marco is helping me. No problem. Marco is my friend. [laughing] But no problem. Later at 1 pm we have break. And later we have to work from 4 pm to 7 pm. And I do several things. I could be here at the shop. I could do baby food. Yesterday from 5 pm to 6 pm I did baby food. Giving bananas for children between zero and three years. And finally between 6 pm and 7 pm I am the gate man. The man in the door. Sit down in order to defend the door from the children. Dangerous children.
23	I: Then your day stops at 7 pm and then you leave the camp and do something?

24	P14: Yesterday we were playing football. With you, you were watching. And the day before, for example, we climbed that mountain, but it is an extra activity. But with the people from the camp. Mix people. Volunteers and friends..., refugees. The painters, I call them the painters. You know ____ and ____? The most famous painter. Incredible, eh?
25	I: What would you say what is your experience here so far? Is it good? Like, what is the best thing that you feel here in the work that you do?
26	P14: Because I think that it is---Okay, I think that this is work, but I am working like enjoying. So this is the perfect line to work. You have to work enjoying, maybe not all the time, but most of the time. I am with volunteers, I am with refugees and we are like a family and I love it, because..., Yeah. Yeah. Okay there is a distinction. But I like, because I am doing activities here that are for them, but after I go out with them, we play football, we go to the bar, we got to play billiard, so everything and I like it. I was asked spending time with them in a haima and actually this is my forth day. But they invited me and ...,
27	I: And is there anything that is difficult for you?
28	P14: Difficult? Eh, sometimes... yes, you face situations, for example if people come to the shop and are spending a lot of time. So if a family comes and you can not give the proper things, you can not find something that they need, you can not answer some need... So it's difficult this, to say no. But I try to give the best. And more difficulties I don't know. Maybe the sun. [laughing].
29	I: Yeah ok that's also difficult. [laughing].
30	P14: And all the activities are outside.
31	I: It's very hot actually it's true. Okay, and you said already a little bit, but the interaction with the refugees in the camp. How do you think about it?
32	P14: There are many good people and I think the kids are the most interacting people here. They are always playing with us. But as well we are friends more with the man, you know males, because the women here, I think, the interaction with them is more difficult.
33	I: Okay. And was there anything bad that you experienced? At the moment?
34	P14: Bad? No!
35	I: Good! And the interaction with other volunteers? How to you perceive that?
36	P14: It's good. There are different teams, different organisations. We work different, but we share a lot of opinions..., a lot of time together. We try to stay sometimes all the nights together. And... Yes, it is good.
37	I: Okay. Perfect. And then the big organizations? Like <i>Oxfam</i> , <i>UNHCR</i> , <i>Doctors without borders</i> . Do you have any opinion about them?
38	P14: Yeah, I have heard about them and I think they develop the job as..., as much as they can. And it's a different thing because they are more... they are big organisations. But I think they are good. I don't know very deeply how they work, but when I went to the haima [tent]..., (...) But in the haimas they have put everything, blankets everything. So I don't know what they..., I think they are good.
39	I: And the local people? Like the Greek people? Have you had any interactions with them?
40	P14: Ahhh [laughing]. They are very hospitable. A lot of hospitable people here. And they are very kind. And they are like Spanish. They are open. They try to help us. And they are---they interact a lot with us. But maybe I miss a little to see Greek people here in the camp. Because there are not many. But we have a couple of friends that come here after work to work with us, with refugees a little.
41	I: But how did you meet them?
42	P14: The first day that I came here on Monday was National Party and I met a Greek girl _____. You know her?

43	I: Is she working here?
44	P14: She was working on Monday, because it was a party. But now she is working in a normal job. But when she finishes the job, she comes back here and stays with us from 7 pm until I don't know. And spend a little time with us. And yesterday I saw another girl, a Greek girl, that she works in agriculture here. Yes... and she has studied agriculture here in Ionannina, like agricultural engineering. And she came here in order to say that she can teach Greek to people.
45	I: But no negative interaction? No one that was judging you for working here or anything like that?
46	P14: No, not anything like that.
47	I: Okay, that's good. What do you think about the organisation and the structure of <i>Olvidados</i> or the volunteer organisation in general here? Do you think it's a good thing? Do you think it is organized in a good way or it could be improved maybe?
48	P14: Yes, they try to give the best. But obviously in every place many things could be improved. And here they are well organized. We are like maybe 15 volunteers of <i>Olvidados</i> . And yes we are---they try to---they are very nice people, like very helpful. They try to be thoughtful. Very practice people. They explain the things properly but maybe for some activities some things are not really well done. Because there is much work to do here. So maybe you can't afford all the things. But their commitment is the best!
49	I: So the last question would be how do you perceive the contribution of the volunteers in this situation? Like what is the role of the volunteers in this refugee camp?
50	P14: I think we need more volunteers. Our role is important. People that want to help other people like this. We come here, maybe some people for two weeks, maybe some people for two months. But the time is not the most important. It is important obviously. People are here for months. But I think we need more people that come here for just a few weeks or---only one week, but it's very difficult. Because if you come here for one week, you get to know the people and you want to stay longer. But I think we need more people like this here. Okay, now the camp is not as big as it used to be in the past.
51	I: Yes but why do you think you need the volunteers here? What is the contribution of the volunteers here? Why are they important?
52	P14: For many reasons they are important, because if nobody stays here this people will live worse. This people now are living with scarcity and kind of poverty and if we don't give support with cloths, food. Everybody that tries to give more than material things..., I think they are very important. You know, conversations..., languages, teaching languages. Even this kind of support at school and the kindergarten, with a smile. This kind of things if we are not here we can not do, so I think people have to be here. Because no people no this things.

Participant 15

1	I: What is your background? Who are you? What do you?
2	P15: My name is___ and I am a sculptor and /or machinist and/or metal fabricator. I like to travel a lot, as does the lady that I am married to. And she found cheap tickets to Greece so she did that and I said <i>"well with all this happening we can't be that close without doing something – you know to help out"</i> . And then we found this place that way.
3	I: So actually the purpose of coming here was mainly to go on vacation? So first she found the tickets to Greece, firstly the purpose was to go on a holiday?
4	P15: First it was supposed to be a vacation and then we decided that a vacation was not an okay-thing to do in the phase and in the close proximity of something like this.
5	I: And then you combined it? Or you just didn't do the vacation at all?
6	P15: We cut about half of the vacation out and did some obligatory archaeological viewing before and after being

	here.
7	I: Okay, interesting. And have you done this kind of voluntary work before somewhere?
8	P15: Not with war refugees. Maybe in the art field, helping out with schools here or there – you know – doing something to teach young kids about the things that I do or maybe not even the things that I do. But not really much of it really.
9	I: Okay and that was back home in the States?
10	P15: Yes exactly that was in the States!
11	I: So that you traveled somewhere else to do volunteering did not happen before?
12	P15: Never!
13	I: Okay, interesting. What is your motivation to do that? Why did you start this?
14	P15: Well, because this kind of stuff is always going on somewhere. But this was maybe the first time that I realized that it was going on somewhere... and that it was actually possible for me to have some kind of positive effect however small.
15	I: Okay. Because it is more accessible you mean?
16	P15: I do not know if it is necessarily accessible. Maybe its the scale of the crisis plus you know pic a place. A lot of the other times that this has been going on maybe I did not feel that I would have had the ability to help out in any meaningful way. Or even more that. Maybe I did not feel it was even possible as in maybe I get taught out of the country as I try to show up. But I knew I would never be able to be tossed out of Greece.
17	I: That's true. So it's a bit about the location where it's happening.
18	P15: I think so.
19	I: And before you came here did you know anything about the work in refugee camps? Did you prepare anything?
20	P15: I didn't know anything at all actually. I just figured that you have got hundreds of people living in camping conditions and I have a skill set that can apply to something and I would find something to do.
21	I: Okay. Tell me about your skill set! Tell me about what you actually did in the camp!
22	P15: In April I was a welder and a carpenter and an electrician and a good taller and a little bit of a plumber I guess. I don't know. And I spent a bunch of time talking to people, so I guess that counts for something too.
23	I: Yes of course! So you came here with an organization?
24	P15: We attempted to do that and the organization was happy to have us and signed codes of conduct but didn't actually have an idea what I could do to make there job easier. So that's how I met this group [Soup and Socks].
25	I: And then you decided to leave that organization?
26	P15: Well, I don't think I ever even arrived. When I got there and I said <i>"Hey now I am here. And you still haven't told me what you need me to do!"</i> and they said <i>"ohhhh, talk to Florian"</i> . In fact that organization didn't even know exactly where they were. They didn't know how to describe how to get here. Their directions where something like <i>"Take the road out of town for two km and we will be on the right"</i> . And I said <i>"but there are seven roads out of town"</i> . [laughing] At least. But yes after much prodding I got enough information to find the place. So that's how that worked.
27	I: Ok, interesting. So the last time you stayed for how long time?
28	P15: Last time that was a 9-day-stay. And it was supposed to be a little shorter. We skipped some of the things that we were supposed to be doing to stay longer.

29	I: And this time? How long will you stay?
30	P15: About 16 days in total.
31	I: And you always do that in your vacation time?
32	P15: I don't get vacation time. I am self-employed, so I have to figure out how to not work during that period.
33	I: But the time that you would have normally spend for holidays or traveling you now use...
34	P15: Correct!
35	I: Tell me a bit more about your work in the camp. What did you perceive as good in your daily work and where did you see challenges?
36	P15: The good stuff was that I didn't ever had to stop moving. There was always definitely something to do. I like that. The bad stuff was very few people had a big picture view of what was going on. Sort of " <i>these are areas where we really, really need help and these are areas where we kind of need help</i> ". There was no one doing big-picture-triage. And maybe it was at that time not possible. It was pretty new when I got there, maybe less than a month old.
37	I: So you think it was unstructured in a certain way?
38	P15: Oh it was totally unstructured. I mean not just a little. Even when it's unstructured though. I mean people make observations or not. I thought a lot of people where not making observations about what the things most desperately needed were.
39	I: Where there any tensions between different kind of voluntary workers?
40	P15: I didn't really notice a lot of tension. I noticed a lot of chaos but a lot of cooperation.
41	I: And how was the interaction with the people living in the camp?
42	P15: All... all good! You know even in the few occasions I saw people getting mad out of frustration they could be talked down in a really short amount of time. So it never turned into anything worse than a small argument.
43	I: Did you ever interact in any kind of way with the local people here?
44	P15: I was staying in an extra room of a family in Kadini. Very nice people. I got to be good friends with the guy at the hardware store up the road. And I guess that's pretty much the extend of my interactions.
45	I: What do you think about the big organizations like <i>UNHCR</i> , <i>Oxfam</i> etc. and their work?
46	P15: When I was here last time I had no contact with them. And I knew that they were there and I saw materials and equipment but..., Big organization tend to be able to get up to speed kind of slowly. Maybe they started acting after I left. And I have had no contact with them this time, so I don't have any idea what they are doing.
47	I: Why did you come back here?
48	P15: Because I like the idea of this maker space [Habibi.Works]. Kind of what I did before in the last days was to build some furniture with two or three guys that live there. And they seemed really excited about it because it was something more to do than wait. That is a really big problem. That some people don't have anything else to do than waiting. Or don't have anything useful to do. And so this [Habibi.Works] seemed to be a really big thing to be involved in and I think it's a pretty therapeutic possibility for the people... and for us too!
49	I: So you think it can be beneficial for both parties?
50	P15: Yeah, totally!
51	I: Do you think that you will come back a third time?
52	P15: Yes! Yes! Providing it's still here.

53	I: That's good. How do you perceive your role as a volunteer in the whole situation and in the refugee camp?
54	P15: It's a hard one to answer. --- You know I guess when I show up here I am pretty happy not to be in charge because I am in charge of my professional life all the time, so when I am not in charge and my only job is to just work or maybe teach someone something that's pretty easy for me and pretty ok. I can deal with that.
55	I: What do you think about the role of the volunteer in the refugee camps? Is it important?
56	P15: I can't imagine how horrible this would be if it was only the army whatever food they provide and people having to live by their wishes. I think the volunteers take a lot of pressure off the people from the camp. Without the volunteers it would be a terrible situation.
57	I: And is this only for the work they do?
58	P15: I think when you sit in a situation like this, to know that someone cares or even quite a few people. That probably feels pretty good. Since they all know that we are all spending our own money to be here and our own time. We are not professionals. The army they are professionals.
59	I: And back home in the States. Did you talk with many people about this situation?
60	P15: Definitely!
61	I: So you think it helped to spread the message in a certain way?
62	P15: I think so. It's hard for a lot of people to know that it's... When I came back the second time many people were surprised because they maybe thought it was over.
63	I: Is that the media which is taking part in it? What do you think?
64	P15: That's part of it. I think that's a big part of it, because they want new stuff all the time. And most people are not looking for information. The information don't come to find you. Maybe it did back in January and February, but certainly it doesn't come back to find you now.
65	I: It is interesting because in Europe it is also like that but since the States are even further away I imagine that probably they are not talking much about it anymore now.
66	P15: Yes very little. Every now and then I just saw a recent thing where they went to take pictures of crowds of people moving from place to place and they went back to the same location and now it's all gone [Idomeni]. That was a pretty small side story that had no real information about what's happening and where this is going or even what happens to these people once they get into their destination. It's not over at that point. There is no talk about that either. This is bad enough. It can't be too easy when you get to where you are going and you live in a tiny little place and you don't have anything to do. It's kind of just like this [situation in Katsikas camp] except you don't live in a tent.
67	I: Do you think you will do any voluntary work when you get back home to the States?
68	P15: The level that I do. Community gardens, this nature things. I will continue doing that.
69	I: But I guess you don't have that many refugees in the States.
70	P: Very, very few. And even the mayor of the city that I work in essentially open the doors of the city but I do not think we got one yet. I am from Boston.
71	I: Cool, thank you.

Participant 16

1	I: Who are you and how did you end up here?
2	P16: I'm _____. I am 24 years old and I am studying design and actually I, it was quite funny the circumstance that

	I came here and I am really happy for that, because I was searching in the last time for a work and getting more knowledge about this as well. Because normally you just talk about this refugee thing and you talk about it with a lot of people. But a lot of people don't know people from Syria or people who have been refugees, so it was like: <i>"Ok, I have to do something"</i> . And then I went to the Suppensause [Information-Event of the organization Soup & Socks, which took place in Heidelberg, Germany] and then I was like: <i>"Ok this is something I really want to support in any way"</i> . And the more I got to know the organization I really want to join it, so during one week I decided to go. It was really fast!
3	I: And what would you say was your main motivation to work in refugee camps right now?
4	P16: I think the thing is... it is many things. First understanding and doing something because I think every person has to do a little part and make other people understand, talk about the refugees because... it's hard to explain. The thing is that it's like intercultural understanding that being here as a German person means that we represent German people in a way and we are all different so we show that German people are not just like one German person. We show them that we are people that are open-minded and we are persons who care. And I think that is really important here... to make the people understand that they are not just rubbish, and just let them here and we don't know where to put you. And then they are in this tents, and they don't have houses without anything and they feel like there is no space in the world where they can be. And I think it is really important to show them that there are people who care. And that we want to change something. And if they get knowledge and go to school, they can improve themselves and really be a --- a lot of more possibilities than before --- for example Ahmed who is learning languages now understands that he can learn so much. And I think it's like communication and making them feel better.
5	I: And did you do any voluntary work back home in Germany?
6	P16: In Germany just less. But I have been living for one year in South America in Chile and there I was working in the slums. And we were --- like I was teaching English, but it was more like sometimes teaching and sometimes playing with the kids and spending time with them.
7	I: Why did you decide to come to Greece to do something instead of maybe at home?
8	P16: Actually at home I have been trying it. I just have to try enough because I noticed that during University I couldn't do it anymore so I stopped. I have a friend and sometimes I went with him teaching German classes but the last semester was too hard. So I just quit it and decided to make it again when I have the time to. In Germany I want to continue doing it again.
9	I: Before coming here did you prepare yourself in any kind of way? Like inform yourself about the situation about the people in the camp or even about the situation of the people in Greece?
10	P16: Yes. But I think much too less because of the time. It was such a spontaneous decision that it was preparing taking my stuff and going. But I was reading in the newspapers and I was talking a lot to a friend. He is called _____ and he is from Syria and he was living for more than 4 month in a friend's house just in the kitchen. So he did not have to live in the German camp. He is a really interesting person and it's really cool to talk with him because he is really open minded and very alternative. I was talking a lot to him and asking him about his opinion.
11	I: Interesting. Starting here now. About the work that you do here where do you see the positive aspects and where do you see a challenge or some problems?
12	P16: In the camp it's really important that there is a school and that the kids are doing things and they are doing things during the morning. And not just sitting around. But there are still sitting around a lot and it's too much. And they sometimes feel like they are just there. It's so important to challenge children and make them – give them the possibility to just develop. I think the school is the most important thing first. And better food and then you can start a project like ours [a workshop]. I think it's still so hard because they --- are all like a bit in the air in every kind of way. They are trying to make a school, themselves. The really important thing is that they get independent but the possibilities are so less. And sometimes they ask themselves why and when they are getting out of this. I can understand this situation is just so terrible. So I think in comparison to other camps this camp is quite --- it has a lot of activities, what is really important. But it's just too less [sic] things. Too less possibilities and too less perspectives. This builds so much frustration. And I think that the important thing of our project is

	that we are trying to give perspective. That is really cool. And I am really proud and happy to participate here. Because I think that if they want they can learn and they can develop themselves. Getting the stupid and sad, or not sad..., bad time go faster just by doing things. And maybe here with us they have the possibilities to learn things that they can use after and also notice how to work in a group again. And how to be more positive. Like --- . It's impressive because they are in some ways quite positive in some ways. But I think it's a lot of sarcasm as well. I think our project [workshop] is something really cool but we really have to be careful as well. And always reflect again to really do something and so they feel understood. That is the important thing.
13	I: Do you think it [workshop project] is more useful to them than to cook and provide them with food?
14	P: I think so. But I think that a lot of people don't notice that and maybe it needs some time and they notice that they have more possibilities than just getting their food. <i>"Don't just give the people fish. Teach them how to fish."</i> I think that's something we try.
15	I: I know that you also go regularly to the camp, so maybe you can tell me something about the interactions with other volunteers. Did you experience any good or negative thing about it?
16	P16: Mh...
17	I: Or did you maybe observe something?
18	P16: Its actually interesting because you see which are the persons who have been there really long-term, because they know a lot. They are more used to the things. And I think it is really important that there is a lot of people who speak Arabic. That is something that for me is quite frustrating. Because I think always that language is something like a key. I think it's sometimes a bit hard that its depending so much --- Like people want to do something but then the organization is like – the structure is too complex. So this is quite a hard problem. But I think it's always like that. Hard to change.
19	I: And the interaction with refugees in the camp? What did you experience there? Positive and negative maybe?
20	P16: It was really impressive how amorous the kids are. They love you in the first moment. And the old people as well. They are really open to you what is really – like I think they have a positive view of the people that they are coming, like the volunteers which is really important because it would be horrible if they wouldn't trust. But its all really new for me. I know in the first moment I did not know how to behave and I think that I am a person that still has to learn a lot because everything is just so new for me. I was too less time in the camp. Even I try to go every day. I am just too new. So I think that they have a positive feeling of the person. Makes it all more harmonic.
21	I: And what was like your first thought or feelings when you first came into the camp? Where you afraid, where you prepared? Do you remember?
22	P16: I was so curious, because I was really impressed by the way they were developing the camp. Like they have plants and everything. You saw , that they are trying to make their life a bit better but at the same moment I thought that it's a horrible --- how can be that they are living here for months now and the water like---. It was just too much feelings. On the one hand I felt really horrible and on the other I was really impressed by the way they were trying to make life in some way better out of this situation. But you see it all depends on the persons. There are people in the camps who really try to get out of it. And make plants and tomatoes and don't just throw everything away. Their houses are really like destroyed and you see how the motivation is to make something out of it. Completely understandable because every person is so different.
23	I: Talking about the local people, the Greek people. Did you interact with them? Do you know anything about their culture and situation here before you came?
24	P16: Before I came I almost knew nothing. It was really strange. Because I don't have friends from Greece or anything. But now here I am interacting a lot. It's really funny because we went several times to the carpentry and we were buying things. It was really funny, because I felt a bit like it was South America. The way you buy things and they invited us to tea and gave us tomatoes and everything. I think it was really funny. I think the old guy loved us. I think that it's really interesting because they have a lot of profit from this situation now like the local people in Katsikas I think have a lot of profit from the fact that here is people. The same thing with the

	owners of this house. You noticed that they don't have any relation to the camp and sometimes they don't have any opinion or see them still with a very bad view. And if you talk with them about it like Flo did they finally say " <i>Yeah, of course I can understand it.</i> " and " <i>Yeah, I support it</i> ". But before a lot of people haven't reflected about it. And this I noticed as well at this place. I think now they are getting more in contact.
25	I: And how do you perceive your contribution as a volunteer in the whole situation? What role are you playing as a volunteer? Not you as a person, but in your opinion the volunteers in general.
26	P16: I think it is communication and intercultural communication. Which is a big word but it means that we try to understand the culture of the people here and we show how we live. We are in some way preparing a lot of people for when they are coming to Europe. They already know a little bit about our situation and the way we live. Because I think its really hard to live in a camp. And then they come to Germany and its hard again because they don't understand the culture, they don't understand the language. There are so many problems and I think that if they want to come to Europe they have to prepare themselves as well and they have to get a lot more open minded (not everybody but some people) to learn a new language, to understand the new culture. If they see that it works here, hopefully they are open minded as well in Germany. The other thing is that we as a volunteer can make people in Germany understand how the situation is here . I think a lot of parents of my friends or other persons just in our everyday life, for example the boss of a job don't have the understanding for it. And I think it's really important to communicate in a way the thing here to the people in Germany. Tell them about the way they live here. Because sometimes it is in the newspapers and there is something different and suddenly no one has it in their mind. I think the tolerance is just too less. I think it's really important to make people more tolerant in every way like we have to be more tolerant and the people here have to be more tolerant.
27	<i>After interview:</i>
28	P16: We have an extreme high responsibility here. And it's ok that people come and go but it is so important that there are constant people here under the volunteers. The worst thing is that most us can't guarantee for it because we also have ties in Germany. We can't just stay here. The people who can stay. Impressive! How much time they take. It is always a big question. What does it do to the people. I think the fact alone that people come and go. It makes it so hard to build relationships again and again. There is nothing constant somehow. It is important to have the right attitude. I don't know..., if people just want to see it. [sigh] It's difficult. It is mostly difficult. It is always a double edged sword.
29	I think that small organization can do more. Oxfam or UNICEF when they finally decided something, the people have already found another plan. It is frustrating. The system is bad. Everything takes too long. And you see much more as a private or self-organized organization. Because you can still talk with the people and listen to the people and ask what they want. Sometimes you don't know where to start. I wanted to do something at home. And then I realized that I don't have capacity.
30	I feel like I have been pushed in. Well I don't study social work, I study something totally contradictory. When I talk sometimes with _____, I feel like she knows so much. We are a very diverse group. This is really important. Because there are so many different point of views.