The European refugee crisis in Greece: understanding host communities

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis explains how Greeks, despite having consistently revealed high levels of xenophobic sentiments in cross-European surveys, behaved in a prosocial manner towards asylum seekers in the context of the European refugee crisis. It draws on data collected over six months of ethnographic fieldwork in Greece and is composed of three independent, yet interrelated, papers, each of which examines a unique research question and simultaneously contributes to addressing this overarching empirical puzzle. Specifically, the *first paper* examines whether self-reported prejudice is a good predictor for actual discrimination in this context of crisis. It argues that cases of discordance emerge from the fact that this construct does not capture the affective dimension of relevant attitudes; emotional dynamics emerging from interpersonal interaction seem to have played an important role in guiding action in the case considered. Exploring the triggers of prosocial behavior, the *second paper* uncovers the central role of situational dynamics in leading ingroup members to offer help to asylum seekers. The ability to discern individuals, rather than groups, as well as the degree of emergency asylum seekers faced in the course of intergroup contact determined the actions of host community members. To a large extent, this explains why Greeks became so immersed into helping asylum seekers. This contradicts an explanation that is highly articulated within the public discourse, namely that this behavior was a result of the refugee heritage of host community members. The *third paper* conceptualizes the latter explanation as a perspective-taking intervention that ultimately underlined the shared identity of Greeks with contemporary asylum seekers and identifies the ways in which this resonated with host community members. Based on the emerged typology suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of such interventions are introduced. Overall, this thesis makes a number of contributions to ethnic relations literature.

Keywords: European refugee crisis; Greece; prejudice; discrimination

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

***Greece, September 2015**. The sun sets over the sea, immersing the late summer sky in a profusion of purple. Locals are sitting on the benches along the village's harbor, chatting with each other and glimpsing from afar the summer visitors. This evening the atmosphere is especially festive as the wedding of a Greek-American couple was taking place earlier at the village church. The post-wedding festivities are about to begin and the international guests are being seated in one of the tavernas*[1] *by the harbor. The traditional Greek band starts playing its first chords, immediately silencing the locals' chats. In fact, locals have been longing for such a musical moment to interrupt their routines. The newly married couple is the first to start dancing, as is the custom. As the night progresses the circle of dancers grows bigger, and the scene is suffused with a heady joy. Old and young dance together to the fiddles' tune, mumbling the song's lyrics: "may the bride and the groom live long; may the whole world live long; may the in-laws live long; may the bride and the groom have a happy marriage…"*[2]*. Mid-song a bedraggled group of people arrives; they appear to have come from somewhere behind the square. The guests are puzzled; no road exists in that direction. That is where the sea lies. The locals, however, understand immediately. Everyone freezes and, then, the music stops. The circle of dancers is dispelled, making way for the newcomers to cut through. The festivities are interrupted. A new "normality" begins.*

[1] Traditional Greek restaurants

[2] In Greek: «να ζήσει η νύφη και ο γαμπρός να ζήσει ο κόσμος όλος, να ζήσουν και τα πεθερικά και ευτυχής ο γάμος.»

The puzzle

In 2015, a refugee wave hit the shores of the Greek islands: approximately 885,000 people mostly embarked in rubber boats crossed the Aegean straits between Turkey and Greece in search of refuge (UNHCR 2016a). In the early months of 2015, these landings were occasional, as they had been since the 1990s. However, in the forthcoming months these became a daily and finally an hourly occurrence. By September 2015 overcrowded boats were arriving to the Greek shores all day and all night. Before the arrival of international actors associated with the industry of migration[3] (Andersson 2014), host communities were left to their own devices and willingness to provide assistance to these newly arrived people. And this is when the "big overturn" [*μεγάλη ανατροπή*] happened, in the words of the prominent Greek anthropologist Efthymios Papataxiarchis (2016a): Greeks, who, on the basis of cross-national European surveys, are amongst the most xenophobic populations in Europe, acted in solidarity with asylum seekers and became immersed into offering help to these populations. In fact, Papataxiarchis even coined the term "patriotism of solidarity" [*πατριωτισμός της αλληλεγγύης*] to indicate the mainstreaming in Greek society of this welcoming behavior towards asylum seekers. But, how did this happen? How did Greeks, although consistently revealing high levels of xenophobic sentiments, behave in a prosocial manner towards asylum seekers? This empirical puzzle gives rise to several questions that are also of broader theoretical, methodological and empirical significance and have long lain at the core of ethnic relations literature. What is the relationship between prejudice and discrimination? Are the employed survey questions representing attitudes towards outgroups good proxies for behavior towards them? Why do ingroup members help outgroup

[3] This includes, among others, NGO workers, volunteers, missionaries, journalists and researchers.

strangers? Does the sharing of a common identity between groups foster inclusive behavior? Thus, although the starting point of this thesis is situated on a particular empirical puzzle, the thesis engages with debates that are of analytical importance to the broader literature.

Significance of Investigation

Understanding the social mechanisms leading to the emergence of prejudice and discrimination towards outgroups has long lain at the core of ethnic relations literature. Setting out to explain the reasons behind the increased prevalence of anti-immigrant attitudes in Western societies (Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky 2006), a major strand of this literature has uncovered individual- and contextual-level attributes that contribute to this trend (see Ceobanu and Escandell 2010; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014 for reviews).[4] In terms of socio-demographic characteristics, educational level is considered a crucial factor in explaining attitudes towards outgroups, with higher levels of education decreasing the prevalence of prejudice (Hainmueller and Hiscox and 2007; Hello, Scheepers, and Gijberts 2002). Labor force status and occupational classification are also predictors of prejudice: ingroup members from lower socioeconomic strata or who are unemployed, and thus associated with greater vulnerability, unskilled and low-skilled manual laborers also reveal more prejudice towards outgroups (Quillian 1995; Semyonov *et al*. 2006; Semyonov, Raijman, and Gorodzeisky 2008). In addition, individuals who reside in

[4] As Ceobanu and Escandell (2010, 313-314) underscore the literature on attitudes towards immigrants is characterized by a considerable diversity in the terminology employed to describe this construct. This poses barriers to comparability of results. Acknowledging this limitation, I consistently employ the term 'anti-immigrant attitudes' even if respective scholars have defined the construct differently. The same holds for the construct focusing on immigration policy preferences, which I refer to as 'anti-immigration attitudes.'

rural areas are more likely to develop prejudice towards outgroups compared to those who reside in urban settings (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov 2009; Semyonov and Glikman 2009; Billiet, Meuleman, and De Witte 2014).

Significant empirical attention has been placed on the way in which intergroup contact impacts intergroup relations (e.g. McLaren 2003; Hjerm 2007; Schneider 2008; Enos 2014; Denis 2015). This strand of research has been mostly guided by two established theories of ethnic hostility, group threat theory (Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967; Quillian 1995) and intergroup contact theory (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998), which seemingly make opposing predictions with regards to the above relationship. On the one hand, group threat theory postulates that prejudice increases with the presence of foreigners in society, due to increased competition between groups over scarce resources; while, on the other hand, intergroup contact theory suggests that the presence of more foreigners in society increases chances of interaction between groups, which, in turn, facilitates the recognition of intergroup similarities, thus leading to the reduction of prejudice. It has recently been empirically demonstrated that the processes described above can operate simultaneously on different analytical levels, however: increased intergroup contact leads to the reduction of prejudice and discrimination on smaller units of analysis as in these cases contact can be of a personal nature, while it simultaneously leads to their increase on larger units of analysis where this interaction is of an impersonal nature (Oliver and Wong 2003; Ha 2010; Biggs and Knauss 2012).

In their comprehensive review of the literature, Ceobanu and Escandell (2010, 310) stress that, although this literature provides important insights with regards to the formation of prejudice, it suffers from a number of limitations. In this vein, they argue that it is imperative to strengthen the literature's conceptual

apparatus and to expand its theoretical and analytical focus. To reach this conclusion, they stress, among others, that studies have adopted varying definitions with regards to who is considered "immigrant;" naturally, this introduces issues of comparability of results (see also Pottie-Sherman and Wilkes 2017). In fact, this practice also overshadows the diverging stigmatization different minorities bear in society and, thus, their differential impact on the formation of prejudice and discrimination (Biggs and Knauss 2012; Charitopoulou and García-Manglano 2018). Some studies define "immigrants" as all foreign-born (Semyonov, Raijman, Tov and Schmidt 2004; Kunovich 2004; Hjerm 2009; Billiet, Meuleman and De Witte 2014); others as non-Western immigrants (Schneider 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers 2010); and non-European Union immigrants (Quillian 1995; Scheepers, Gijberts and Coenders 2002; Semyonov *et al*. 2006), among others. Especially before the outbreak of the European refugee crisis[5] limited scholarship had focused particularly on attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers, or preferences of related policies towards these populations (Coenders, Gijberts and Scheepers 2004; Ivarsflaten 2005[6]; Lubbers, Coenders and Scheepers 2006; O'Rourke and Sinnott 2006 Coenders, Gijberts and Scheepers 2013).[7] Nevertheless, evidence from these studies suggests that the same attributes that impact attitudes towards immigrants, also impact those towards refugees and asylum seekers but in a less pronounced manner.

[5] The definition of this phenomenon is highly contentious. See *Annex* A for detailed explanation of the definition I employ throughout this thesis.

[6] Ivarsflaten (2005) considers preferences towards restrictive immigration policies together with preferences towards restrictive asylum policies, as related items load to one dimension. Therefore, this study does not permit a comparison between the two.

[7] The European Social Survey (ESS), which has been one of the principal data sources for this literature, only included questions focusing specifically on refugees and asylum seekers in its Round 1 (2002/2003), which were partially and fully re-introduced in Round 7 (2014) and Round 8 (2016), respectively. Perhaps, this data gap can explain the limited analytical focus on this outgroup.

Naturally, with the outbreak of the European refugee crisis, a revived interest in the study of factors shaping attitudes towards refugees, in particular, prevailed. However, the findings of this emerging literature seem inconsistent when considered all together. Examining the issue during a period of the phenomenon's heightened saliency within the public discourse, Bansak, Hainmueller and Hangartner (2016) demonstrate that the willingness of Europeans to accept refugees is shaped by economic, humanitarian, and religions concerns: more employable refugees, with greater vulnerabilities, and not of a Muslim religious denomination are preferred by Europeans. In a way confirming this finding, Czymara and Schmidt-Catran (2017) demonstrate that following the 2015/16 New Year's Eve sexual assaults in Germany, which led to the framing of refugees as 'threatening' within the public discourse, Germans, although became less accepting of Arab and African immigrants simultaneously became more accepting of people fleeing persecution. Nevertheless, evidence from Greece (Hangartner, Dinas, Marbach, Matakos and Xefteris 2019) and Hungary (Gessler, Tóth and Wachs 2019) suggests that greater exposure to the European refugee crisis – measured as a function of residential proximity to points of arrival and/or temporary accommodation of asylum seekers – increased anti-refugee attitudes. Therefore, although exposure to the 'threatening' event of the 2015/2016 New Year's Eve assaults, which became associated with the European refugee crisis within the public discourse, made Germans less anti-refugee,[8] greater exposure to the European refugee crisis, more broadly, increased anti-refugee attitudes in Greece and Hungary. This differential impact of a specific event, on the one hand, and overall exposure to the phenomenon, on the other, on attitudes

[8] Note that this finding contradicts evidence suggesting that exposure to events that frame outgroups as threatening increase prejudice (Legewie 2013) and discrimination (Blinder, Ford and Ivarsflaten 2019).

towards refugees indicates the importance of understanding further the mechanisms associated with the formation of attitudes towards refugees. Disentangling the social processes that emerged after the arrival of refugees in newly established asylum centers in Norwegian communities, Bygnes (2019) highlights that the non-actualization of host community's negative expectations about the arrival and presence of refugees propelled a mood change towards an increased acceptance of these populations. Nevertheless, this did not necessarily alter Norwegians' perceptions on similar issues at the national level. It therefore seems that, attitudes towards refugees can be expressed in different forms and shapes simultaneously. Although this insight could potentially explain the aforementioned inconsistent findings, further research is needed so as to fully comprehend the linkages of findings across different contexts.

Scholarship has also shed considerable light into the impact of the European refugee crisis on discriminatory behavior towards outgroups. However, similarly to the literature on attitudes towards refugees, the findings of this line of research also reveal variability. Examining voting behavior for far-right parties,[9] results have been inconsistent across different contexts: greater exposure to refugees led to an increase in support for far-right parties in Denmark (Dustmann, Vasiljeva and Damm 2016), Greece (Vasilakis 2017; Dinas, Matakos, Xefteris and Hangartner 2019), and Hungary (Gessler *et al*. 2019),[10] but to a decrease in Austria (Steinmayr 2016). Moreover, focusing on anti-refugee violence, another expression of discrimination,

[9] Far-right parties are often defined as anti-immigrant (Van der Brug, Fennema and Tillie 2000; Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart 2007), as mobilization of grievances over immigration is the single most important unifying factor of all its European counterparts (Ivarsflaten 2008).

[10] In Turkey, a country that has received approximately three million Syrian refugees, support for the ruling party *Justice and Development* (AKP), which adopted a welcoming approach towards these populations, was only modestly reduced by the refugee influx (Altindag and Kaushal 2017).

Jäckle and König (2018) support that situational factors – such as highly threatening events and particular ways of media reporting – can explain the occurrence of xenophobic violence in Germany. Correspondingly, exposure to Aylan Kurdi's photo – the 3 year-old Syrian boy whose dead body was found facedown on Turkish shore in September 2015 – led to a considerable increase in monetary donations for funds to aid Syrian refugees (Slovic, Västfjäll, Erlandsson and Gregory 2016). In other words, situational factors seem to not only have guided behavior that is harmful towards refugees but also helpful. However, further research should be conducted towards this dimension. In fact, prosocial behavior towards refugees in the context of the European refugee crisis remains underexplored within the sociological literature, as only few anthropological studies have focused on such behavioral expressions (Papataxiarchis 2016a; Kallius, Monterescu and Rajaram 2016). It is therefore of analytical importance to develop a sociological understanding of the triggers of prosocial behavior towards asylum seekers.

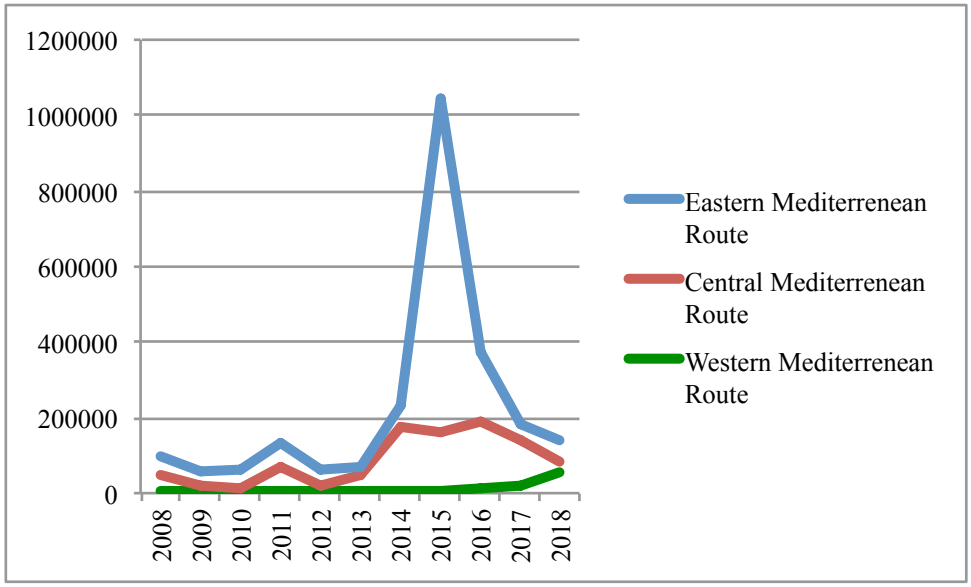
Background

The European refugee crisis in Greece

Asylum seekers have long crossed the Mediterranean Sea in an irregular manner to reach European soil in search of refuge. For this purpose, three principal routes are usually used: the first, the Western Mediterranean Route, refers to crossings from Morocco to Spain; the second, the Central Mediterranean Route, refers to crossings from Libya to Italy, and the third, the Eastern Mediterranean Route, refers to crossings from Turkey to Greece (European Border and Coast Guard Agency 2019a; 2019b; 2019c). As *Figure 1* illustrates, the number of asylum seekers using each of

these routes varies significantly across time. For instance, from 2008 until 2013, the yearly number of arrivals along each of the three routes was fewer than 65,000 at most. In 2014, however, a considerable increase in the number of arrivals to Europe along the Central Mediterranean Route was noted, amounting to 170,000. Though, no similar pattern was noted in either of the remaining routes.

Figure 1: Arrivals to Europe via the three Mediterranean Routes



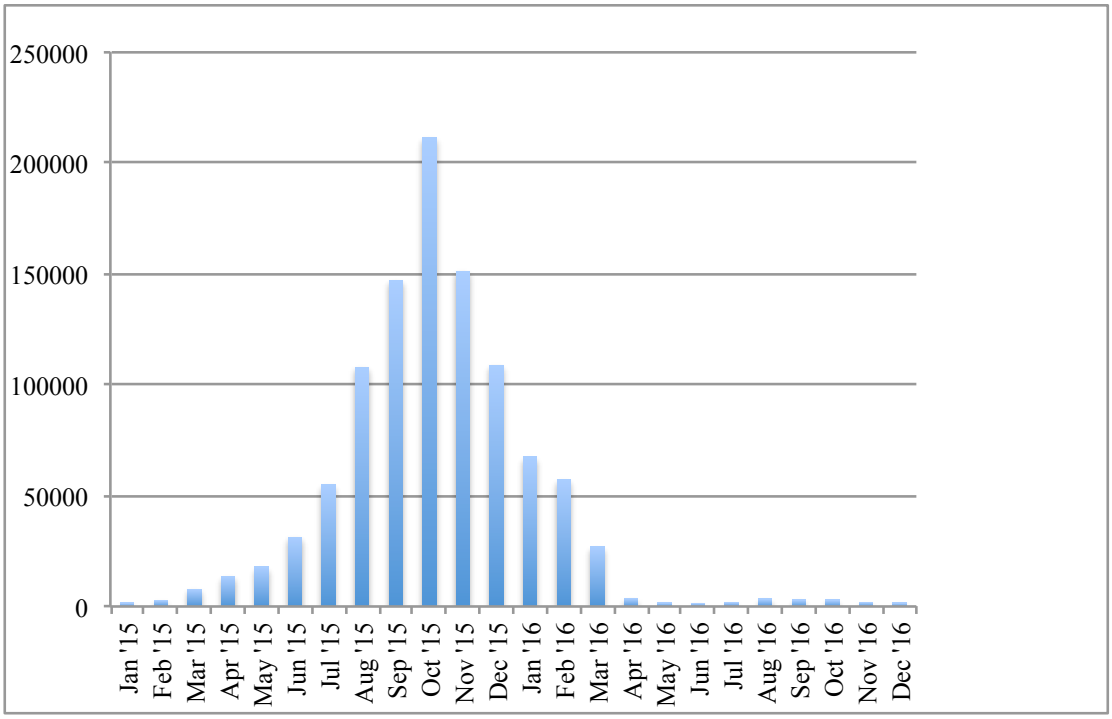
Data Source: European Border and Coast Guard Agency (2019a; 2019b; 2019c)

Nevertheless, in 2015, a significant increase in the number of asylum seekers arriving to Europe through the Eastern Mediterranean Route occurred, which not only led to overpassing in size the other two routes but also noted the highest ever-recorded number of such arrivals within a year. Specifically, approximately 885,000 people arrived to Europe through the Eastern Mediterranean Route, while the arrivals along the Central and Western Mediterranean Routes equaled to 154,000 and 7,000, respectively. In 2016, arrivals to Europe through the Eastern Mediterranean Route decreased to 182,000, while through the Central and Western

Mediterranean Routes these amounted to 181,000 and 10,000 respectively. Scrutinizing the nationalities of people arriving to Europe through each route for 2015 and 2016, it becomes evident that respective asylum seekers were fleeing from different upheavals; the nationalities of asylum seekers arriving to Europe along each of this route varied significantly. According to data from the UNCHR (2016b; 2017a), the majority of people undertaking the Eastern Mediterranean Route in 2015 and 2016 originated from Syria, followed by people originating from Afghanistan and Iraq. However, the nationalities of those arriving to Europe along the Central Mediterranean Route were significantly different: originating mostly from African countries, most of the people came primarily from Nigeria and secondarily from Eritrea.

This unprecedented overall increase in the number of asylum seekers arriving to Europe in 2015 and 2016 – which was primarily driven by the stated increase of arrivals through the Eastern Mediterranean Route – has come to be represented as the European refugee crisis. At the frontiers of the Eastern Mediterranean Route, Greece has acted as the gateway to Europe for this flow. *Figure 2* shows monthly arrivals to Greece over 2015 and 2016. As illustrated, these arrivals exhibited significant variation across time: arrivals started increasing from January 2015, reached a peak in October 2015 – with approximately 212,000 monthly arrivals – and started decreasing thereafter.

Figure 2: Monthly arrivals to Greece in 2015 and 2016



Data Source: UNHCR (2016a, 2017b)

Importantly, these arrivals were geographically concentrated on few of the Greek Aegean islands in close proximity to the Turkish shores.

Most often, asylum seekers crossing the Aegean straits did so in overcrowded rubber boats.[11] Up until March 2016, asylum seekers, following their safe arrival and initial registration, continued their journeys to mainland Greece via regular ferryboats.[12] The principal port of arrival to mainland Greece was this of Piraeus, the chief port of Athens; from there, asylum seekers headed towards Northern Greece. The continuation of their journeys was not always continuous and straightforward. Often, asylum seekers spent few days mostly at the city of Athens

[11] Some asylum seekers arrived to the Greek islands embarked in bigger and wooden rickety trawlers, especially in the heights of this phenomenon.

[12] Especially during periods when the arrivals peaked, demand overpassed capacity of available ferryboats. As a result, asylum seekers had to wait a few days to leave from respective islands to mainland Greece. They therefore stayed in irregular settlements at ports and surrounding public areas (e.g. Maravas 2015).

and gathered in public areas (e.g. squares, parks) before undertaking their next steps. In this context, and especially during the summer months of 2015, irregular campsites were created in such areas where asylum seekers would be accommodated for that short period (Kritikou 2015; Georgiopoulou 2015). Mostly walking along the Western Balkan Route and aiming at reaching Northern European countries, asylum seekers then crossed from Greece to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)– as of 2019, Northern Macedonia–, then to Serbia, Hungary, Austria, and, finally, to Germany.

However, barriers to this movement of people were later introduced; borders along the route were gradually sealed. In mid-September 2015, Hungary concluded the construction of a fence along its border with Serbia, which blocked the entry of asylum seekers to the country (Samuels 2015). In response, the refugee flow was deflected to cross from Serbia to Croatia, and not to Hungary (Mullen, Watson and Capelouto 2015). In mid-October 2015, Hungary also completed the construction of a fence along its borders with Croatia, sealing that route too (Lyman, 2015). In November 2015, the army of FYROM erected fences along its border with Greece, stranding asylum seekers in Greece (BBC 2015). In response, an irregular camp was created close to the Greek border town of Idomeni, with asylum seekers waiting for the opening of the border for months (Prifti 2015). This informal refugee settlement, which lacked any form of basic infrastructure, has been estimated to have accommodated at times approximately 10,000 people (Anastasiadou, Marvakis, Mezidou and Speer 2018).

With the Western Balkan Route ultimately closed and the number of arrivals to European shores decreasing, in March 18, 2016 the European Council reached an agreement with Turkey. Among others, the EU-Turkey Statement oversaw the return

to Turkey of all people crossing to the Greek islands after March 20, 2016. In exchange, for every Syrian returned to Turkey another Syrian would be relocated to a EU country. Moreover, Turkey committed to "prevent new sea or land routes for illegal migration opening from Turkey to EU." These developments led to a new phase of the phenomenon, as asylum seekers became formally immobilized in Greece. Parenthetically, in May 2015 the European Commission had introduced a new policy framework, the 'hotspot approach' as part of the European Agenda on Migration that came in full operation following the EU-Turkey Statement (Danish Refugee Council 2017). In response to the increased flows, the objective of the 'hotspot approach' was to assist Italy and Greece "to fulfill their obligations under EU law and swiftly identify, register and fingerprint incoming migrants" (Greek Council for Refugees 2019). To achieve this goal, five EU agencies – the European Asylum Support Office (EASO); the European Union Border Agency (FRONTEX); the European Union Police Cooperation Agency (EUROPOL), and the European Union Judicial Cooperation Agency (EUROJUST) – would cooperate and assist these two countries to formalize the registration of asylum seekers in accordance to the EU's regulations (ibid). In this context, five hotspots, which were under the legal form of First Reception Centers – and were renamed to Reception and Identification Centers (RICs) – were inaugurated in Greece (ibid).[13] Upon their arrival to Greece, asylum seekers were transferred to a RIC so as to undergo reception and identification procedures. In the early days of the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement, these populations were also restricted within the premises of the RIC for the first 25 days following their arrivals, a measure that was later abandoned.

[13] The first RIC started operating on the island of Lesbos in October 2015 followed by one on the island of Chios in February 2016; one on the island of Samos and Leros respectively in March 2016; and one the island of Kos in June 2016.

Simultaneously, a total of 27 temporary camps, officially referred to as temporary accommodation centers, were created in mainland Greece (Greek Council for Refugees 2019), to accommodate some 48,000 people, who were stranded in Greece following the closure of the borders, in March 2016 (Norwegian Refugee Council 2017). Similar infrastructure was created on Greek islands for the accommodation of vulnerable groups, while the UNHCR initiated an accommodation scheme aiming at the establishment of 20,000 open accommodation places (Greek Council for Refugees 2019). With the processing of asylum applications happening at a slow rate, the EU-Turkey Statement being partially implemented, and asylum seekers continuing to arrive, by August 2016, 57,000 people were stranded in Greece (Sakellis, Spyropoulou and Ziomas 2016). All this contributed to Greece's gradual transformation from a transit country to a reception one.

At the time of writing, that being the late months of 2019, the phenomenon is still unraveling in Greece, in different forms and shapes however. For analytical purposes, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage with the events that took place after the end of 2016. As already indicated by the events of the second half of 2016, Greece was gradually transformed from a transit country to a reception one. Therefore, the social dynamics that emerged thereafter were associated with immobility of asylum seekers. For this reason, I only focus on the early phases of this phenomenon, during which asylum seekers were mostly *passing* through Greece.

Prosocial behavior of Greeks during that period

In light of these events, Greeks expressed their solidarity with asylum seekers and often assisted them in varying ways (Papataxiarchis 2016b). According to public opinion data collected in January 2016, 58% of Greeks revealed that they assisted asylum seekers while 42% that they did not (Dianeosis 2016).[14] This assistance included, among others, the offering of food, medicines and toiletries, clothes, and money. Providing further evidence towards this direction, on March 6, 2016, the "Network of Social Solidarity" [*Δίκτυο Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης*] organized an initiative to collect various goods asylum seekers needed on Syntagma Square, the central square of Athens. Thousands of people responded to these calls and the amount of goods collected overpassed any expectation (To Vima, 2016). Nevertheless, apart from such material help, Greeks – especially those located on the islands that received asylum seekers – often immersed themselves into directly helping these people (Kakissis 2015; Vickery 2015). Implicitly illustrating the extent of this assistance, it should be underlined that in 2016 two official proposals were filed to the Norwegian Nobel Committee for the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Greeks, who offered help to asylum seekers. The first proposal was this of some 230 international academics and public figures who nominated for the awarding of the Nobel Peace Price the so-called "Aegean Solidarity Movement," comprised of 16 solidarity groups and individuals (Boffey 2016). This proposal was accompanied by an online petition hosted on Avaaz.org making the same call and with some 620,000 signatures at the time. The second proposal was filed by the Academy of Athens, the Hellenic Foundation of Culture, the Hellenic Olympic Committee, and

[14] These data were obtained by *Public Issue,* a Greek-based public opinion company, from January 7, 2016 until January 15, 2016. This is a representative sample of 1,220 respondents.

the Hellenic Universities Rectors' Synod and nominated for the award two residents of the Greek island of Lesbos, Aimila Kamyvisi and Stratis Valamios, together with the US actress Susan Sarandon[15] (In.gr 2016). As the Norwegian Nobel Committee does not divulge information relating to candidacies of Nobel Prize Awards before the passing of five decades, it is not possible to verify whether these proposals were taken into consideration. Nevertheless, their filing, in addition to earlier behavioral descriptions, indicates that a considerable part of the Greek population actively assisted asylum seekers.

Prejudice in Greece

Greeks have shown to be amongst the most prejudiced populations in Europe. More specifically, several survey-based studies investigating determinants of anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe demonstrate that Greeks hold, on average, among the highest – and often the highest – levels of anti-immigrant attitudes (Semyonov *et al*. 2006; Hjerm 2007; Schneider 2008; Billiet, Meuleman and De Witte 2014; Davidov, Meuleman, Schwartz and Schmidt 2014). Moreover, evidence from a 2016 Pew Research report suggests that Greeks are a bit more concerned with the presence of refugees in their society relatively to the European average:[16] in particular, 72% of Greeks consider refugees to be a burden for Greece because they take their jobs and social benefits, with the European median being 50%; 55% of Greeks believe that refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in their country, with the European median being 59%; and 30% of Greeks blame refugees for crime more than other

[15] Susan Sarandon spent a week on the island of Lesbos in December 2015, aiming at publicizing the plight of those people arriving to the European shores and at directly helping them (Sayej 2015).

[16] This report draws on data from the following countries: Hungary, Poland, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Greece, UK, France, and Spain.

groups, a percentage that equals to the European median. The same report also shows that Greeks together with Hungarians, Italians and Polish, hold the most negative views concerning the presence of Muslims in their countries.

Prejudice towards migrants in Greece during the period of the European refugee crisis is also represented electorally, with one of Europe's most extreme far-right parties, the *Golden Dawn*, being then represented in the Hellenic Parliament (Mudde 2014).[17] Having been in a political marginalization since its foundation as a political party in 1993, the *Golden Dawn* first entered the Hellenic Parliament in May 2012 after gaining almost 7% of the public vote (Mylonas 2013). In the elections that have followed since in Greece – with the exception of the most recent one in July 2019[18]– the *Golden Dawn* received a similar percentage and as of September 2015, it became the third largest political party by occupying 18 out of 300 seats in the Parliament (Mylonas 2016).

Structure of Investigation

This thesis comprises three independent, yet interrelated, papers and a concluding chapter. Each of these papers examines a unique research question. Simultaneously, however, each paper contributes to addressing the overarching question of this thesis. Specifically, the *first paper* sheds light into the relationship between prejudice and discrimination, and investigates whether the typically employed self-reported constructs of prejudice are good predictors of discriminatory behavior in this context of crisis. I argue that self-reported attitudes towards asylum seekers are

[17] As of July 2019, the Golden Dawn is not represented in the Hellenic Parliament.
[18] In the elections of July 7, 2019, the Golden Dawn received 2.93% and did not manage to secure its entrance to the parliament.

not consistently perfect proxies for actual behavior towards these populations. I develop this argument on two stages. First, I examine the validity of the construct of self-reported prejudice. I provide suggestive evidence that the survey questions I used to capture the attitudes of interest incorporate three types of biases, which arguably have led to a slight overestimation of prejudice among the populations most exposed to asylum seekers. Although these biases do not provide robust evidence in explaining the identified discrepancy between self-reported attitudes and observed behavior they act as a reminder of dimensions that need to be taken into consideration when designing questions so as to make them good measures of the intended constructs. Second, I explicitly examine whether this construct is a good predictor for behavior. I demonstrate when a discordance between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination is noted, the emotional dynamics prevailing in the course of intergroup interaction seem to have guided actions of host community members towards asylum seekers. On the basis of these insights, I propose that survey questions used to represent attitudes towards outgroups should not only capture the cognitive dimension of said attitudes but also the affective one. This could improve the measurements of prejudice and in turn make them better predictors of discrimination.

The *second paper* addresses the reasons leading intergroup members to help outgroup strangers. Through an in-depth consideration of intergroup behavior, I demonstrate that the *type* of intergroup contact guided prosocial actions of host community members towards asylum seekers. I therefore argue that prosocial behavior towards asylum seekers can be explained on the basis of the situational dynamics that characterized intergroup contact; these dynamics predetermined individual actions and often constituted individual predispositions irrelevant in the

process. The ability to discern individuals, rather than groups, as well as the degree of emergency are two, often highly intertwined, such characteristics that considerably impacted the nature of intergroup contact. This explains why even the same individual engaged in a dissimilar type of behavior. With this *second paper*, I therefore argue that Greeks assisted asylum seekers as a result of the way in which they came in contact with these populations, as this urged them to adopt a particular type of behavior.

The *third paper* places attention on the impact of identity dynamics on intergroup relations in the same setting. I engage with an emerging line of research within the ethnic relations literature that explores whether perspective-taking interventions that highlight the sharing of a common identity between ingroup and outgroup members can reduce prejudice. To this end, I draw on the extensive direct and indirect parallels between the experiences of Anatolian Greek refugees[19] and contemporary asylum seekers that prevailed in the Greek public discourse following the outbreak of the European refugee crisis. Investigating the ways in which ingroup members engaged with this parallel, I identify two broad patterns of engagement: the first, *frame consonance*, refers to cases were ingroup members endorsed the parallel, and the second and most predominant, *frame dissonance*, refers to cases were ingroup members rejected it. Importantly, this rejection of the parallel occurred both by juxtaposing the presence of a superordinate identity, this of common humanity, as well as a subordinate one, this of distinctiveness of Anatolian Greek refugees. On the basis of the uncovered typology of frame engagement and related processes, I highlight that perspective-taking interventions could become more robust if, while

[19] As extensively described in the *third paper*, in 1922 some 750,000 Anatolian Greeks from Asia Minor fled to Greece in search of refugee, while following the 1923 Lausanne Convention of the Exchange of populations a further half a million moved into Greece.

underlying the common features between ingroup and outgroup members, simultaneously stress the distinctiveness of the ingroup; do not introduce boundaries within the ingroup; and draw on widely understood concepts thus prohibiting their misinterpretation.

In the concluding chapter, I discuss the findings that emerged from each paper combined, so as to directly address the overarching empirical puzzle of this thesis but also to highlight the implications of these findings for the ethnic relations literature. After engaging with potential alternative explanations, I underline directions for future research.

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Annex A

As already indicated, I refer to the phenomenon associated with the intensification of border crossings into Europe during 2015 and 2016 as *European refugee crisis*. This term has been contested on a number of grounds and, in response, alternative terminological approaches have been used in the literature. These alternative approaches range from Europe's or Mediterranean "migration crisis" (e.g. Crawley and Skleparis 2017; Czymara and Schmidt-Catran 2017) to so-called (European) refugee crisis or "refugee crisis" (e.g. Kallius, Monterescu and Rajaram 2016; Greussing and Boomgaarden 2017; Jäckle and König 2018; Bygnes 2019; Kandylis 2019) and refugee wave (e.g. Mandić 2017). A first point of contention that is brought into the forth by these terminological alternatives is related to whether this phenomenon is a *crisis* of human mobility. This is represented by the insertion of commas to the word crisis, or the addition of words 'so-called' into the employed term. Juxtaposing the numbers of people comprising this flow to the overall size of the European population, the proportional size of this phenomenon is shown to comprise a significantly small percentage of the European population (den Heijer, Rijpma and Spilkerboer 2016; Chetail 2016). In similar vein but introducing another point of comparison, another strand of the literature challenges the characterization of the phenomenon in Europe as crisis by demonstrating that this only comprises a spillover of the displacement unraveling in the Middle East: only a fraction of the overall number of displaced Syrians, which is the nationality comprising the largest percentage of the flow under consideration, arrived to Europe (Mandić 2017; Chetail 2016). Relativizing the phenomenon in the above terms suggests that, to an extent, the conditions of crisis that prevailed were not triggered by the number of people arriving to Europe but instead by the inefficiency of European countries to address

the issue. Den Heijer and colleagues (2016) underline that the structural weaknesses of the Common European Asylum System made it impossible for European governments to effectively deal with the intensification of border crossings and asylum applications. In this vein, it has been suggested that the phenomenon can more accurately be characterized as a crisis of refugee *reception* (Christopoulos 2016; den Heijer *et al*. 2016).

Undoubtedly, relativizing the number of displaced individuals that arrived to Europe with respect to the above dimensions allows understanding more accurately the magnitude of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, it should also be acknowledged that the phenomenon has been geographically concentrated not only among specific European countries, but also among specific regions within these countries. By implication, the number of displaced individuals crossing through some areas of Europe was very high relative to respective local populations. For instance, the Greek island of Lesbos, an island of 86,000 inhabitants (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011), was the arrival point for over 600,000 people in 2015 and 2016 (UNHCR 2016a; 2017a), while other Greek islands did not act as arrival points for any asylum seekers. Similarly, the irregular campsite of Idomeni, which as already mentioned at times accommodated over 10,000 people, was in close proximity to the Greek border village of Idomeni, whose population amounts to 154 inhabitants (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011). This suggests that, when adopting a micro-perspective the characterization of the phenomenon as a crisis of human mobility is in instances relevant; some local contexts experienced it as such.

A second point of terminological divergence relates to whether this is a *migration* or *refugee* phenomenon. It is imperative to consider which term is more appropriate to use, as these two words are often used within the public discourse to

subtract or provide legitimacy to mobility – with migrants often illustrated as non-deserving and refugees deserving of moving (Holmes and Castañeda 2016; Crawley and Skelparis 2018). According to the International Organization for Migration (2019), migrant is "any person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons." Importantly, this is an umbrella term reflecting common, rather than legal, understanding. On the other hand, the term refugee is legally defined and according to the 1951 Geneva Convention in relation to the status of refugees, is "a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owning to such a fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (ibid). As the country of origin of people comprising this flow is primarily Syria and secondarily Afghanistan, the term *refugee* crisis seems more appropriate: the decision to move seems to be closely associated with the situation of war and other related political instabilities in these two countries.

A third point of terminological divergence relates to the geographical positioning of the phenomenon, or the absence thereof. Placing it solely on the Mediterranean Sea, by using the adjective Mediterranean (e.g. Jeandesboz and Pallister-Wilkins 2016; Perkowski 2016; Freedman 2016), indicates that the phenomenon unraveled solely along the European borders. This significantly fragments its analysis, as its expression in European land is imperative for understanding it spherically. This limitation is overcome when positioning the

phenomenon on the European level, by using this adjective in the related terminology (e.g. Papataxiarchis 2016a; Niemann and Speyer 2018). Nevertheless, this terminological positioning is bore with another limitation: it indicates that the refugee crisis was only expressed in Europe. Therefore, this oversees that the phenomenon also unraveled in non-European countries, where these populations had been before arriving to Europe (e.g. Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan). Undoubtedly, the non-geographical confinement of the phenomenon in the terminology overcomes this limitation (e.g. Chouliaraki and Stolic 2017; Hangartner *et al*. 2019; Dinas *et al*. 2019). Simultaneously, however, this is an important omission that fails to accurately represent the phenomenon: it either hints that there is a worldwide refugee crisis, or simply adopts a Eurocentric stance. Another approach employs the adjective *Syrian* and therefore focuses on the phenomenon's origin (e.g. Dinas and Fouka 2018; Ostrand 2018). Despite its limited employment when referring to the European context, this approach permits drawing links across different geographical areas in which the phenomenon unraveled. It also hints at the demographic composition of those comprising this flow. Naturally, this simultaneously overshadows other nationalities that were also a significant part of this phenomenon. Although acknowledging the appropriateness of this latter approach, I employ the adjective *European*. I do so as a means of being consistent with the greatest part of the literature, and therefore I use the concept that is most commonly employed instead of introducing another one.

Scene 1

Greece 2015. *We left Platanos*[20] *early in the morning, as we wanted to be back home by noon. I had a telephone appointment at 12.30, so I had to be back by then. Before leaving, though, we bought several small water bottles and stored them in our car. It was the period when the refugees were walking all the way to Platanos. And the whole area from Elato to here is a wasteland. There is no spring to drink water from, no tree to give shelter from the sun - nothing. And they were walking. Under the burning sun. So, we had water bottles and a few sunhats in our car to distribute. Every now and then we would stop, mostly when we saw small kids, and give them water and sunhats. Naturally, this took a lot of time. Also, because of the caravans of people, we had to drive carefully. In any case, after a point we had to hurry up as I did not want to miss my appointment. We did not stop anymore.*

We managed to arrive home on time. To our surprise, however, what did we see as we approached our house's gate? A pile of garbage! A pile of garbage! – and on the inside of the gate. I couldn't open the door. I couldn't drive our car into our parking. All this made me flip; I started kicking and pushing all this garbage aside in order to manage to get into the driveway. Eleni[21] *ran into the house to make sure that I did not miss the phone call, while I stayed out to clean up the mess. There was all manner of trash: food, diapers, shoes, clothes- everything. Everything one disposes in a bin was there. At my front gate. And I cleaned up everything with my hands.*

After a while, when I had cleaned everything up, I rushed to the house and washed my hands, just moments before the phone rang.

The same evening I was sitting on our balcony. The sea was calm. At some point, I heard someone crying "Help! Help!" I had become so desensitized that I whispered to myself: "Go drown for all I care.[22]*" At the end of my thought, Eleni came and asked me, "Did you hear someone crying for help?" I responded, "Yes." She then asked, "What should we do?" "Nothing", I replied, "nothing…" Eleni then added, "and if we don't hear this cry again…"*

Once again, we called the coastguards. We rushed to the shore to help.
This is how I felt: swinging back and forth from absolute denial to breaking my back. Every single day. Every single day …

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[20] To ensure anonymity, I have changed the names of locations.
[21] To ensure anonymity I use pseudonyms through this paper.
[22] The phrase he used, *δεν πάτε να πνιγείται όλοι σας,* is primarily used metaphorically in Greek language and can also be translated to "go to hell."

Paper 1: Explaining the gap between self-reported prejudice and discrimination: evidence from the European refugee crisis in Greece

Abstract

Are survey questions representing attitudes towards outgroups good proxies for behavior towards them? Focusing on the case study of Greece in the context of the European refugee crisis, I study the gap between self-reported prejudice and observed behavior. I employ a novel methodological approach, in which I ethnographically assess survey questions usually employed in the literature to represent prejudice, combining it with evidence from in-depth qualitative interviews and ethnographic insights. I demonstrate that to a large extent the gap between self-reported prejudice and discrimination can be attributed to the attitudinal construct's sole focus on cognitive preferences. I develop this argument on two stages. First, I investigate whether self-reported measures of prejudice incorporate biases that threaten the construct's validity. I uncover three types of such biases, which although have led to a slight overestimation of prejudice among the populations most exposed to the European refugee crisis, do not explain the identified inconsistency. Second, I examine cases where self-reported prejudice appears to be a poor predictor of prejudice; in other words, I focus on individuals whose self-reported prejudice is inconsistent with their behavior. I uncover that this discordance results from the emotional dynamics characterizing their intergroup encounters in such a situation of crisis. On the basis of these findings, I make suggestions that would improve the validity of self-reported prejudice and would also make it a better predictor of behavior.

Keywords: survey questions; prejudice; discrimination; emotions

Introduction

Over the past decades, scholarly attention has focused considerably on the study of the determinants of prejudice in Western societies, with survey data being the principal source for much of this research (Semyonov, Raijman, Tov and Schmidt 2004; Semyonov, Raijman, and Gorodzeisky 2006; Semyonov, Raijman, and Gorodzeisky 2008; Hjerm 2009; Schlueter and Scheepers 2010; O'Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Strabac and Listhaug 2008; Savelkoul, Scheepers, Tolsma and Hangendoorn 2011; Billiet, Meuleman, and De Witte 2014). Implicitly challenging this line of research, a strand of the literature has scrutinized the validity of self-reported measures of prejudice and has uncovered a number of biases these constructs are incurred with (Krysan 1998; Gilens, Sniderman, and Kuklinski 1998; Janus 2010; Blinder, Ford, and Ivarsflaten 2010). Sociologically, the interest in the study of such attitudes lies on the implicit assumption that attitudinal measures can be used as proxies for behavior (Krysan 1999). But, the verification of this assumption in the context of ethnic relations remains largely overlooked within contemporary sociological scholarship. In fact, the only study investigating the issue has demonstrated a considerable discrepancy between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination (Pager and Quillian 2005).

In light of the outbreak of the European refugee crisis, the importance of understanding this disjuncture between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination has been further demonstrated in explicitly empirical terms. Evidence from Greece, one of the countries that has lain at the epicenter of this phenomenon, regarding the ways in which local populations interacted with refugees is contradictory and echoes to the aforementioned relationship. On the one hand, Hangartner and colleagues (2019), using survey data collected from Greek island

communities, find that "immediate exposure to large-scale refugee arrivals induces sizable and lasting increases in natives' hostility towards refugees." In other words, they find that exposure to the European refugee crisis increased locals' self-reported prejudice towards refugees. On the other hand, Papataxiarchis (2016a; 2016b) in his anthropological study of island communities that came in direct contact with the phenomenon finds that a norm of "patriotic solidarity" (ibid 2016b) emerged and thus locals actively assisted asylum seekers as part of their everyday practices with critical voices being "few and muted" (ibid 2016a). He therefore demonstrates that locals did not interact with incoming populations in a discriminatory manner; on the contrary, he suggests that they actively assisted them. In combination these two studies highlight a considerable inconsistency between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination: locals who were highly exposed to the European refugee crisis became more prejudiced towards asylum seekers, but did not not only act upon these altered attitudes, but, instead, offered help to these populations.

Aiming at extending the discussion of Pager and Quillian (2005) and simultaneously reconciling the findings of Hangartner and colleagues (2019) and Papataxiarchis (2016a; 2016b), I investigate the reasons behind the disjuncture between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination in the context of the European refugee crisis in Greece. I employ a novel methodological approach that combines the methods adopted by the aforementioned studies and thus bridge two methodologies that are rarely used in tandem: I use survey data, as per Hangartner *et al*. (2019) and ethnographic methods, as per Papataxiarchis (2016a; 2016b). To research a plausible conclusion, I first assess the validity of survey questions often used to represent prejudice by ethnographically exploring whether these incorporate biases leading to mismeauring the intended construct. I uncover three types of

biases: the first results from respondents' misconceptions of words, or statements altogether; the second from the fact that some survey questions tap into contextual conditions of particular geographical areas; and the third with social desirability pressures. Although these biases provide suggestive evidence of a consistent overestimation of prejudice towards asylum seekers among local populations most exposed to the European refugee crisis, their magnitude seem to account for only a small part of the inconsistency under scrutiny. Nevertheless, their identification act as a reminder of the dimensions that need to be taken into consideration when designing survey questions, thus underlining directions on how to improve further the construct's validity. Second, I shed light into why self-reported prejudice cannot predict observed discrimination. I therefore focus particularly on individuals that revealed a discrepancy between their self-reported prejudice and actual behavior. I find that in these cases observed behavior was primarily guided by the emotional dynamics prevailing in the course of intergroup encounters in such situations of crisis. Based on this finding, I suggest that the incorporation of survey questions that capture the affective dimension of prejudice could better capture the construct of interest, also making it a more accurate proxy of relevant behavior.

Theoretical Background

Predictors of prejudice towards refugees

Studies investigating the determinants of prejudice towards outgroups through the employment of survey data have identified a number of attributes as key (see

Ceobanu and Escandell 2010; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014 for reviews).[23] Within this framework few studies have focused exclusively on prejudice towards refugees and/or asylum seekers, but these have uncovered similar patterns with the literature that focuses on outgroups broadly defined. Specifically, the impact of education is shown to be determining: people holding higher educational qualifications are less prejudiced towards refugees compared to people with lower educational qualifications (Coenders, Lubbers and Scheepers 2013; Coenders, Gijberts and Scheepers 2004).[24] Moreover, ingroup members from lower socioeconomic strata or who are unemployed as well as unskilled manual laborers reveal more prejudice towards refugees, though compared to prejudice towards outgroups this difference is less pronounced (ibid). In addition, individuals who reside in rural areas are more prejudiced towards refugees compared to individuals who reside in urban areas (Coenders, Scheepers, and Gijberts 2013). Following the analytical patterns of research investigating attitudes towards minorities,[25] the impact of the size of refugee minority on the development of prejudice towards these populations has also been examined. In this vein, Coenders, Lubbers and Scheepers (2004), who use survey data on 22 countries derived from the International Social Survey Program (1995), find that greater influxes of asylum seekers lead to less resistance towards these populations. However, when the number of asylum applications increases

[23] Importantly, varying definitions of outgroups have been adopted; for example, some studies define these as non-native populations (Semyonov *et al*. 2004; Semyonov, Raijman, and Gorodzeisky 2006; Hjerm 2009; Billiet, Meuleman, and De Witte 2014), others as non-Western populations (Schlueter and Scheepers 2010), or focus is being placed on specific ethnic minorities (Coenders and Scheepers 1998). Studies that explicitly define outgroups in terms of refugees and/or asylum seekers are significantly fewer in number (Coenders, Gijberts and Scheepers 2004; O'Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Coenders, Scheepers and Gijberts 2013), as in most cases these are considered to be part of the broader immigrant populations (Ivarsflaten 2005).

[24] Note that similar patterns are identified when the outgroup is alternatively defined. See *Thesis Introduction* for a more detailed analysis.

[25] See *Thesis Introduction* for further details.

beyond 1.6 per 1,000 capita, and therefore asylum seekers become a relatively noticeable minority, the opposite relationship is noted.

In any case, in light of the outbreak of the European refugee crisis, scholarly attention on understanding the determinants of prejudice towards asylum seekers became more pronounced (Bansak, Hainmueller and Hangartner 2016; Czymara and Schmidt-Catran 2017; Hangartner *et al*. 2019; Gessler, Tóth and Wachs 2019; Bygnes 2019), with almost the entirety of these studies employing survey data. Within this framework, it is imperative to merit special attention to the study of Hagnartner and colleagues (2019), which focuses on the case of Greece and examines the effect of locals' exposure to the European refugee crisis on their attitudes towards refugees. They demonstrate that the levels of prejudice held by Greek islanders exposed to the phenomenon increased. They also note an equivalent within-island variation, as islanders who reside closer to ports and refugee camps, which as the authors suggest signifies a higher exposure to refugees, became more prejudiced towards these on-the-move populations. Although not focusing on prejudice – and thus on an attitudinal construct –, the study of Papataxiarchis (2016a; 2016b) implicitly contradicts this of Hangartner and colleagues. In his ethnographic account of communities at the "frontline" of the European refugee crisis, he details instances where host community members actively assisted asylum seekers, while he underlines that the critical voices "were few and muted." In combination these two studies point to the existence of a strong empirical puzzle with theoretical implications, however: how can we reconcile that host communities although became more prejudiced towards asylum seekers they simultaneously acted in solidarity with them.

The relationship of prejudice and discrimination

As illustrated above, attitudinal measures of prejudice are widely used in the literature as they are assumed to be good proxies for discriminatory behavior (Krysan 1999). However, the validation of this assumption remains largely overlooked within contemporary sociological literature (see Pager and Quillian 2005 for an exception). Early sociological research had placed significant attention on understanding whether a correspondence between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination exists, demonstrating, however, a significant discordance between the two (LaPiere 1934; Saenger and Gillbert 1950; Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow 1952). In his landmark study, LaPiere (1934) set out to examine race relations in the United States of America at the time of the Great Depression. He therefore travelled across the country with a Chinese couple noting the discrimination they encountered: they visited 251 businesses, among them, hotels, auto-camps, restaurants, and cafes, and only one time were they refused service. After six months, he mailed a questionnaire to visited businesses, which included a question on whether they would accept members of the Chinese race as guests to their establishment. The reported refusal rate amounted to 91%. With this early experiment – which undoubtedly is not free of methodological limitations – LaPiere highlighted the existence of a considerable disjuncture between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination. Conducting similar studies but instead scrutinizing prejudice and discrimination towards black populations, Seanger and Gilbert (1950) and Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow (1952) also demonstrated such a discrepancy and towards the same direction.

Despite the consistent disproval of these early studies of a correspondence between prejudice and discrimination, the issue remained overlooked by sociological literature for many decades that followed: as Fiske (2004 in Pager and Quillian

2005) identifies in her review, only ten articles investigating the issue were published in sociological journals with the most recent one being published in 1973. Importantly, this does not reflect the abandonment of the use of prejudice as proxy for behavior, but rather an epistemological shift in the field, where the use of survey data for the study of social phenomena became mainstream (Osborne and Rose 1999; Savage 2010). However, Pager and Quillian (2005) brought this line of inquiry back into the sociological field, by conducting a direct comparison of employers' attitudes in hiring ex-offenders and their actual hiring behavior. They therefore first conducted an audit experiment in the Milwaukee metropolitan area and measured in actual hiring situations employers' willingness to hire black and white people, with and without criminal records. After several months from their experiment, they delivered a survey to the same employers that captured their likelihood of employing black and white male ex-offenders through a vignette. They uncovered an important disjuncture between self-reported intentions to hire these populations and their actual hiring decisions: first, employers who reported a greater likelihood of hiring an ex-offender were not more likely to actually employ this candidate; and second, although survey responses failed to unveil any racial prejudice, actual behavior indicated that employers were more likely to hire a white compared to a black ex-offender. Therefore, in line with earlier studies, Pager and Quillian (2005) uncovered a discrepancy between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination, though in the opposite direction. This directional difference with earlier studies should be interpreted through the prism of the changing norms towards prejudice across time. In any case, it seems that self-reported prejudice continues to be a poor predictor of actual discrimination.

On the contrary to the field of sociology, social psychology has placed significant attention on understanding the relationship between prejudice and discrimination. In line with the aforementioned sociological insights, this literature has also uncovered that the former is not a good proxy for the latter: in their comprehensive meta-analyses on the issue, Schütz and Six (1996) and Talaska, Fiske, and Chaiken (2008) have shown that prejudice and discrimination exhibit low levels of correlation (i.e. r=.29 and r=.26, respectively). Several studies have disentangled the affective and cognitive dimension of this attitudinal component so as to better understand the relationship between prejudice and discrimination (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2007; Talaska, Fiske, and Chaiken 2008; Zhou, Dovidio, and Wang 2013). In this vein, questions drawing on both emotions as well as on preference towards outgroups were posed to respondents and were independently analyzed. By studying behavior in laboratory settings, these studies have consistently underlined that the affective dimension of prejudice is strongly correlated to discriminatory behavior, contrary to the cognitive dimension, which exhibits low levels of correlation with discrimination.

The 2015/2016 European refugee crisis in Greece

Since the outbreak of the European refugee crisis Greece has been at its epicenter. Of the 1.4 million asylum seekers that crossed into European territory in search of asylum in 2015 and 2016, approximately 1 million used Greece as their gateway to Europe (UNHCR 2016; 2017). These arrivals have been very unevenly distributed across the country's borderlines: almost the totality of these individuals, more than 85% of this overall number, crossed the Turkish-Greek sea borders and arrived on

the Greek islands of Lesbos, Chios, Kos, and Samos, all located in the East Aegean Sea (UNCHR 2017). The local populations of these four islands amounts to a total of 183,000 inhabitants (Hellenic Statistics Authority 2011). Given the size of these populations relative to the refugee inflow, these events were experienced as momentous by the islands' inhabitants. Up until March 2016, the incoming populations spent a limited time on the islands: soon after their arrival and registration, asylum seekers would embark on ferries that would transfer them mainly to Piraeus, the port of Athens, from where they continued their journeys to northern Greece along the Western Balkan Route with the aim of reaching northern European countries. Often, asylum seekers also spent limited time in the country's capital city prior to undertaking the next steps of their journeys. This resulted in the formation of informal camps in some of the city's main squares and parks, thus also directly exposing urban host communities to the European refugee crisis.

However, in March 2016, the closure of the Western Balkan Route with the erection of previously dismantled borders and the policy alteration associated with the EU-Turkey Statement [26] immobilized these populations. As a result, approximately numerous official and unofficial refugee camps were created in Greece, together with numerous refugee settlements of a different kind, including squatted buildings and rented apartments, to accommodate the 62,000 (as of December 2016) stranded asylum seekers awaiting bureaucratic processing and decisions regarding their asylum applications (International Organization for Migration 2017). Again, the size and concentration of refugee camps has been very unevenly distributed across the country, with many of these camps being located in

[26] The EU-Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016 outlines nine action points that collectively aimed at stopping irregular migration from Turkey to EU countries.

the outskirts of Athens, resulting in the common presence of these populations in city spaces.

Methods

Data

The data analyzed is based on 90 in-depth interviews I conducted in three communities in Greece from July 2016 to December 2016 as part of a broader ethnographic project. These interviews were equally distributed across respective communities, meaning that 30 respondents were nested in each community. These three communities vary in numerous ways. The *Refugee Camp Community* is a rural community, located on one of the islands that acted as gateways to Europe for asylum seekers. It is in close proximity to a refugee camp, and thus constitutes the sample's locality most exposed to the refugee crisis. Its economic base is constituted in the main by the primary sector of the economy. The *Tourism Community* is also a rural community located on the same island. Although not in close proximity to the refugee camp, it was exposed to the European refugee crisis – yet, to a lesser degree – as it constituted one of the island's main arrival points. The primary and tertiary sectors constitute its economic base. The *Urban Community* is located in Athens, in close proximity to one of the squares that acted as an informal camp and meeting point for asylum seekers. Respondents residing in this community were the least exposed to the refugee crisis. The tertiary sector constitutes its chief economic base.

The salience of the phenomenon in these localities ensured that respondents were not only aware of its existence, but also familiar with it. This is of vital importance as the commonly addressed issue, within public opinion research, of

measuring pseudo-opinions instead of opinions is overcome: survey questions often address issues that respondents have no knowledge of and thus their evaluations are simply an impulsive response to the questions, rather than an illustration of a pre-existing attitude (Bishop, Oldendick, Tuchfarber and Bennett 1980). Although within the Greek context all residents are aware of the European refugee crisis, the responses of individuals who have not directly encountered the phenomenon would resemble prevailing moralities towards asylum seekers, rather than personal opinions. By implication, this could have led to the measurement of pseudo-opinions rather than opinions of these populations. It is because of these reasons that individuals residing in localities not directly exposed to the European refugee crisis were not included in the sample.

Methodology

The methodological approach I employed builds on in-depth interviews that encompass a structured-section, including both closed- and open-ended questions, as well as a semi-structured section. More specifically, I asked respondents to evaluate a standard battery of seven items exploring attitudes towards asylum seekers,[27] which were drawn from the *Dianeosis Social Survey*[28] (2016).[29] These closely

[27] Undoubtedly, due to the nature of my project in most cases I had already interacted with respondents prior to this, and discussed the issue under investigation. This is a limitation to this study, as the questionnaire distribution was characterized by a greater ease between the interviewer and the interviewee that typically characterizing questionnaire distribution.

[28] Dianeosis is a Greece-based research and policy institute created in 2015, with the aim to "conduct in-depth investigative journalism reports" and "produce open data research and related projects." Its activities are financed by "private funds without though any restrictions or conditions." Dianeosis coordinates and runs several research projects on topics that are of importance to Greek society. Within this framework, Dianeosis ran a project to capture Greeks' perception on issues surrounding the European refugee crisis. This survey was fielded by *Public Issue*, a leading opinion poling company in Greece, from 7th to 15th January, 2016.

resemble the survey questions commonly employed in questionnaires, and probe economic, cultural, and social dimensions of attitudes toward asylum seekers. These items stated that, (i) refugees[30] increase the levels of criminality in your area; (ii) refugees increase the risk of terrorism in Greece; (iii) refugees have a negative impact on the economy of your area; (iv) refugees increase the level of unemployment in your area; (v) refugees constitute a threat to Greek customs and traditions; (vi) refugees are a burden on public health; (vii) refugees cannot be integrated because they are Muslim. Responses were given on an 11-item Likert scale, ranging from "totally disagree" to "totally agree." Their summation represents the index of attitudes towards asylum seekers. This is internally reliable, as indicated by its Cronbach alpha, which equals 0.80. Simultaneously, I asked respondents to briefly explain the reasons for providing this evaluation to each of the above statements. My aim was to uncover the ways in which respondents interpreted these statements, as well as to understand how they made sense of their opinions in a manner that fits the addressed attitudinal dimensions. This was followed by the semi-structured section, where I explored the respondents' attitudes towards asylum seekers in greater depth, including and expanding on the dimensions addressed in

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. Nevertheless, I introduced some alterations to the statements that better fitted my study. I discuss these alterations in detail in the methodological appendix of this thesis.

[29] The anti-asylum seeker policy preferences and attitudes index constructed by Hangartner *et al*. (2019) is built upon similar items. However, they place greater focus on policy preferences. I have not included such items in my index because I wish to explore an index that resembles commonly employed indexes measuring attitudes towards outgroups. In addition, drawing on insights based on my multi-sited ethnography, policy preferences are related to local experiences of the European refugee crisis; ultimately, policy preference reflect trust in political authorities to implement policy, rather than individual preferences towards asylum seekers.

[30] In the course of the structured section, I use the term refugees [*πρόσφυγας*] instead of asylum seekers [*αιτών άσυλο*]. In Greek the term asylum seeker is highly legislative and is rarely used in everyday language. In the course of the semi-structured section, I used the terms refugee and migrants [*μετανάστης*] interchangeably in an attempt not to position myself within the highly politicized terminological debates and or reveal personal stances to respondents. My sole aim was to ensure that responses were given only in reference to the agents of the European refugee crisis and not to other outgroups.

the structured section. In addition, the semi-structured section allowed me to situate the micro-mechanisms linking individual attitudes to behavior.

In comparatively analyzing data collected in the structured and semi-structured sections, I unveiled biases incorporated into the index measuring attitudes towards asylum seekers, whilst also examining the relationship between self-reported attitudes and adopted behaviors. To do so, I first focused on statement interpretations and evaluation justifications. Second, I examined whether individual responses to similar issues exhibited variation between the two sections. Third, I explored the relationship between the attitudes as measured by the construct and the behavior each respondent adopted in relation to asylum seekers, advancing the understanding of how the commonly measured attitudes towards outgroups relate to the behaviors towards these outgroups in a context of crisis. Importantly, this methodological approach bridges two paradigms that have rarely been combined, namely studies analyzing survey data, on the one hand, and ethnographic studies, on the other. This adds great value to this study, as due to the epistemological split of these two paradigms the ways in which findings of studies that use such methodological approaches relate to each other have not been addressed.

Before continuing further it is imperative to underline two limitations associated with the employed methodological approach, associated with the fact that typically, survey questions are delivered to respondents via the telephone, while in this case I delivered the questionnaire in-person. As documented in the literature, delivery modes impact data collection in diverging ways; telephone-based interviews, for instance, are found to yield higher non-response rates in comparison to in-person interviews (Massey and Tourangeau 2013). This pattern is reinforced by this study, as the response rate of the sample equals 93%, while this of Hangartner *et*

al. (2019), for example, equals 8%. This demonstrates that the adopted delivery mode leads to a diverging response rate compared to that of telephone interviews. Moreover, by physically delivering survey questionnaires respondents could gather information with regards to my personality, a fact not possible if delivering them via the telephone due to lack of physical interaction. In turn, this could have potentially led respondents to provide answers conforming to the position they thought I held.

Self-reported prejudice and observed behavior

Drawing on self-reported prejudice, respondents residing at the *Refugee Camp Community* are found to be on average the most prejudiced towards asylum seekers with a standardized mean attitude of 0,59, followed by respondents residing at the *Tourism Community* with a mean attitude of 0,47 and lastly by respondents residing at the *Urban Community* with a mean attitude of 0,41 who are therefore the least prejudiced in the sample. These findings indicate an association between the level of exposure to the European refugee crisis and prejudice: populations more exposed to the European refugee crisis hold higher levels of prejudice. Specifically, respondents residing in the *Refugee Camp Community* were the most exposed to the European refugee crisis, followed by those residing at the *Tourism Community* and finally by those residing at the *Urban Community*. Therefore, these findings are in line with those of Hangartner and colleagues (2019), as the effect they identify also points in a similar direction.

However, intergroup behavior does not follow the same pattern. Before proceeding further, I should clarify that my behavioral outcome rather than being one relating to intergroup tensions is an expression of intergroup cooperation.

Specifically, I focus on cases where ingroup members offered help to asylum seekers. In this vein, residents of the *Urban Community* although on average being the least prejudiced towards asylum seekers, were found to be the most distant from the phenomenon and in most cases avoiding interpersonal interaction with members of the outgroups. Correspondingly, drawing on self-reported prejudice it would have been expected that respondents residing at the *Refugee Camp Community* would offer the least help to outgroups, their observed behavior does not reinforce this as I go on to show in a later section of this article. The only community where self-reported prejudice seems to, on average, be corresponding to action is that of the *Tourism Community*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that variation is noted within all three communities, with individuals reporting low levels of prejudice distancing themselves from asylum seekers and those who espouse high levels of self-reported prejudice actively assisting them. Overall these findings are also in accordance to the observations of Papataxiarchis (2016a; 2016b), who describes that in a community highly exposed to the European refugee crisis locals actively assisted incoming populations. Having therefore highlighted that my data are simultaneously in line with the patterns Hangartner and colleagues (2019) as well as Papataxiarchis (2016a; 2016b) identified, the focus then shifts to understanding the reasons behind this inconsistency between self-reported attitudes and actual discrimination.

Biases of self-reported prejudice

(Mis)conceiving words and statements

The first type of bias systematically impacting the construct of self-reported prejudice is related to the fact that respondents adopt varying interpretations of

words and meanings within standardized statements and, in turn, these often diverge from respective interpretative frames applied by the analytical process. More specifically, significant misconceptions of this manner are noted in reference to the word "terrorism" [*τρομοκρατία*], as it appeared in the statement, "refugees increase the risk of terrorism in your area." Undoubtedly, the majority of respondents understood terrorism as an act of indiscriminate violence against civilians, which coincides with the interpretative frame applied to the analysis. However, 11 respondents, of which 5 are nested in the *Refugee Camp Community* and 6 in *Tourism Community,* equated "terrorism" with the "feeling of terror" [*τρόμος*]. This interpretation is of an idiosyncratic nature and does not coincide with the discursive use of the word in Greek language. In extension, the evaluations of this group of respondents, who all agreed with the statement albeit at varying levels, reflect a statement that would measure the extent to which the presence of refugees in society increases feelings of terror among local populations. When explaining her full agreement with the statement, *Sofia*, a 68 year-old woman residing in the *Refugee Camp Community*, claimed: "I agree because everyone is terrorized. Before [the arrival of refugees] we used to sit in small groups outside our houses every evening, by the road, chatting. Now we are all locked up in our houses." Evidently, her evaluation along with that of the other respondents of this subgroup, reflects a dimension of attitudes towards asylum seekers that diverges from the one intended to be measured, challenging the comparability of evaluations of this survey questions. However, in providing a definitional clarification of the meaning of the word "terrorism" to these respondents, approximately two thirds of them, 7 individuals, responded that they ascribed a very low probability to the occurrence of such an event, implicitly indicating their disagreement with the statement under

scrutiny. As a result, due to this conceptual misalignment, the incorporation of this statement has led to a slight overestimation of prejudice towards asylum seekers held by respondents residing in the *Refugee Camp Community* and *Tourism Community*, and were thus more exposed to the European refugee crisis.

Another pattern of conceptual misalignment arose in reference to the statement, "refugees pose a threat to Greek customs and traditions." Statements of this variety are operationalized in the literature as capturing perceived cultural threat, with higher levels of agreement representing higher levels of feelings of threat (see McLaren 2003). Due to an interpretational mismatch, in certain cases the relation is reversed, and low levels of agreement instead reflect higher levels of perceived cultural threat. This pattern is noted among 6 respondents, all women, and can be illustrated in the exemplary, within this framework, testimony of *Ntina*, a 54 year-old woman. *Ntina* expresses her disagreement with the statement, which signals, according to the survey's interpretational framework, low levels of prejudice towards asylum seekers. However, both her justification of the survey question's evaluation and overall in-depth response reveal that she holds the opposite opinion. "I cannot become Muslim. I have been raised and lived as a Greek Orthodox. I am Greek Orthodox. How could I ever believe in Islam? They [the refugees] can never force me to become Muslim," she explained, implicitly indicating that her disagreement with the statement was a result of the strength of her own cultural values, rather than a lack of perceived cultural threat.[31] Additionally, in the course of the in-depth interview she revealed her belief that asylum seekers are altering the country's religious identity, speculating that this will eventually result in to the country's "Islamisation." Although emphasizing that her religious embeddedness in

[31] Interestingly, *Ntina* immediately confines cultural threat to religious dissimilarities between the ingroup and outgroup populations.

Greek orthodox values would make a genuine alteration of her religious beliefs impossible, she highlighted that, on a societal level, this is likely to occur, a development she strongly opposed. Her low evaluation of this statement, along with that of the remaining women of this subgroup, rather than reflecting low levels of perceived cultural threat, constitutes a form of resistance to the cultural threat that they do, in fact, perceive. In this case, this diverging manner of evaluation has led to a slight underestimation of prejudice across female respondents.

Attributing blame: evaluations beyond statements

The second burden of imprecise quantification of self-reported prejudice is associated with the fact that some survey questions do not capture the expected dimension of personal preferences, but somehow illustrate conditions prevailing in each location. Especially in contexts of such a crisis, where, within a short period of time, the inflow of outgroups increases significantly altering various contextual conditions, opinions are instead captured in the attribution of blame for these alterations, an aspect not part of these survey questions. This bias again challenges the validity of the construct, as it seems that in cases it does not accurately capture prejudice. For instance, all respondents residing in the *Refugee Camp Community* expressed their agreement with the statement "refugees pose a health threat to local populations," albeit at varying levels. According to the analytical schema, this agreement signals higher levels of prejudice. However, upon accounting for the justification respondents provide for their evaluations, which in the majority of cases is related to the continuous burst of the refugee camps' sewage pipelines in the

town's outskirts[32] and the associated health threats, it becomes evident that, rather than capturing opinions, this item is in fact tapping into contextual conditions. Instead, the cause each respondent attributed blame to for this health threat is more revealing of the attitudinal dimension the item intended to measure. For instance, 8 respondents blamed the responsible governmental authorities for failing to create the necessary infrastructure that would have prevented this development, underlining that asylum seekers are not to be blamed for this. Absent these justifications, however, their evaluations are interpreted as revealing prejudice, a fact that hints towards an overestimation of prejudice among respondents residing at the *Refugee Camp Community*.

Similarly, in reference to the statement, "refugees increase the level of criminality in the area,"[33] accounting for provided evaluations, it seems that it does not always accurately capture the intended dimension of prejudice. The justifications of 8 rural respondents, 5 of which reside at the *Tourism Community* and 3 at the *Refugee Camp Community*, who agreed with the statement – a sign of prejudice according to the analytical schema – highlighted the contrary: although they agreed with the increase of criminal rates, which in most cases they identified with the violence that erupts among refugees in refugee camps, they explained this as a result of the precarious framework asylum seekers are living in and should therefore be understood within this very context. *Vangelis*, for example, a 39 year-old man from the *Refugee Camp Community* who agreed with the statement, put the actions of asylum seekers into perspective by stating that: "we [meaning local populations] quarrel with families who live on different floors in our building blocks. Imagine if

[32] To contextualize, unofficial estimations suggest that this refugee camp has been consistently accommodating beyond its capacity, often more than 100%.
[33] Again, Hangartner *et al*. (2019) use a similar item ("Asylum seekers in our country are more to blame for crime than other groups.")

you had to share an ISOBOX[34] with another family that you also didn't speak the same language with." *Petros*, a 58 year-old man residing in the *Tourism Community*, similarly argued that "anyone living under such conditions [referring to the conditions in the refugee camps] would act in such a manner; Greeks, Germans would all have acted similarly." Therefore, while agreeing with the statement, these respondents' explanations reveal an undercurrent of sympathy for the refugees who are forced into a context that induces criminality and do not blame them for their actions.[35] Despite this, their evaluations are interpreted as a sign of prejudice, which again hints towards a slight overestimation of prejudice for respondents residing in these two rural, and most exposed to the phenomenon, locations.

A diverging attribution of blame is also noted in reference to the statement, "refugees increase the level of unemployment in your area" among respondents residing in the *Urban Community*. Within this community, 28, out of the 30 respondents, strongly disagreed with the statement, indicating a low perception of economic threat and by extension revealing low levels of prejudice. However, their respective justifications indicated that these are not directly associated with attitudes towards asylum seekers, but rather with the prevailing economic insecurity and high levels of unemployment in Greece.[36] For example, *Maria*, a 73 year-old woman, who despite being prejudiced towards asylum seekers, strongly disagreed with this statement; said in her words, "it is not fair to attribute everything to asylum seekers. They are not to be blamed for the high levels of unemployment; this is because of Tsipras, Samaras and all our politicians." Similarly, *Voula*, an 88 year-old woman,

[34] An ISOBOX is a small prefabricated hut used to accommodate asylum seekers in refugee camps.

[35] It should be underlined that, two respondents provided a dissimilar explanation, suggesting that the refugee crisis generated a window of opportunity for local populations to engage in criminal behavior.

[36] Note that following the burst of economic crisis urban populations have experienced comparatively greater changes in their everyday lives compared to rural populations.

disagreed with the statement, because "unemployment pre-dated [the European refugee crisis]." The depth of the economic crisis in Greece means that this item does not capture prejudice, as respondents associate unemployment almost exclusively with the economic realities preceding the European refugee crisis. It therefore seems that this constituted this statement relatively irrelevant in capturing prejudice within this context due to the preexisting high unemployment rates in the country. It therefore seems that the particular nature of unemployment in the country has led to an underestimation of prejudice among respondents residing in the *Urban Community*.

Social desirability

The third bias stems from social desirability pressures that induce individuals to answer in a way considered socially acceptable, even if this does not accurately reflect their preferences. This type of bias has already been identified in the study of interethnic relations (Krysan 1998; Gilens, Sniderman, and Kuklinski 1998; Janus 2010). I also identified a social desirability bias among 5 respondents, all holding higher educational qualifications. Accounting for the educational demographics of individuals residing in highly and lesser exposed to the European refugee crisis communities, it seems that this bias amplified the difference of prejudice between communities, making those residing in the *Urban* and *Tourism Communities* seem less prejudiced. In any case, respondents of this subgroup demonstrated awareness of the connotations associated with each evaluation and despite being prejudiced towards asylum seekers, as indicated during the in-depth discussion, they evaluated statements in a manner that concealed their opinions, and therefore revealed the contrary.

According to her statement evaluations, *Melina*, a 60 year-old higher educated female residing in the *Tourism Community*, is not prejudiced towards asylum seekers. For instance, she expressed her strong disagreement with statements that reflect perceived cultural threat (i.e. "refugees pose a threat to local costumes and traditions;" "refugees will not be integrated because they are Muslim"), which she justified by cherishing multiculturalism and underlining its benefits to society as a whole, though on a theoretical level, removed from a personalized discourse. Nevertheless, in the course of the in-depth interview, when engaging in an active representation of her opinions inevitably building on personal experiences, *Melina* contradicted her earlier survey question evaluations, as she underlined the incompatibility of values arising from religious difference between incoming and receiving populations. In doing so, she, for instance, highlighted that Muslim men might demand the end of females' employment in high status positions. She also expressed her concerns of Muslims' willingness to integrate: in her words, "[…] They want to come to Europe because they think that this is the best place on earth […] Once they come, many of them, want to impose their way of living and culture. But they left their societies in order to go to the best of societies." Along similar lines, according to the evaluations given by *Pavlos*, a 25 year-old higher educated male, residing in the *Urban Community*, provided, he held no prejudice towards asylum seekers. Importantly, the manner which he provided his evaluations hinted that these were pre-formulated in a way; his reaction to each survey question was instant, and he took no time to consider his answer, but provided it in a mechanic way. In any case, he directly contradicted most of his evaluations in the course of the in-depth interview. For example, although he disagreed with the statement, "refugees have a negative impact on the local economy", because, "they have even

increased consumption of goods and services in the neighborhood", when directly engaging in a discussion on the issue he revealed that following the outbreak of the phenomenon, local businesses faced a significant decrease in revenues, as locals stopped going about the neighborhood to do their shopping and spend time in the area's numerous cafes. In other words, when providing his responses to the structured section, where connotations to answers were easier to identify, *Pavlos* opted for socially desirable answers. However, in the course of the in-depth interview where the conversation flowed with greater ease and beyond clear-cut dichotomies, he expressed his opinion on the issue without being driven by the impression he wanted to give.

As already mentioned, all respondents susceptible to social desirability pressures hold higher educational qualifications. Although this is an important common denominator, the concealment of their opinions can be interpreted as an attempt to negotiate membership to a social group for which the prerequisite is a specific type of social identity. They therefore ascribe to the verbal articulation of expected opinions within this framework, in an attempt not to be confronted with an identity inconsistency. This can be demonstrated by the fact that whenever they mention something that abstracted from its context could be interpreted as a signal of prejudice, they immediately remind the interviewer of their social identity. For example, *Pavlos*, following a description of behaviors and situations associated with the phenomenon he had described as disturbing he clarified that, "being left-wing, I, of course, am not a xenophobe." This reveals his concern to be perceived in a manner that diverges from his social identity. Undoubtedly further research to validate this pathway needs to be undertaken. Yet this type of bias has hinted at the

underestimation of prejudice among higher educated respondents, which is in accordance with the prevailing literature on the role of social desirability.

Overall, this section has uncovered important biases that indicate patterns of mismeasurement in self-reported prejudice. In the main, these have hinted that the average differences in attitudes among respondents nested in these communities are of a smaller magnitude than those identified. By extension, this provides suggestive evidence that prejudice varies less with exposure to the refugee crisis. In any case, this noted mismeasurement could neither explain the broader patterns of inconsistency between self-reported prejudice and discrimination, nor suggest that the statements do not capture prejudice.

Self-reported prejudice, behavior and emotions

By focusing on cases where respondents revealed such an inconsistency, I here shed light into why self-reported prejudice is not always a good predictor for observed discrimination. I find that the drivers of this seemingly behavioral alteration are primarily associated with the emotional dynamics that emerge in the course of interpersonal interaction. Especially within such a context of crisis, the emotions that prevail within interactions are often so intense that they manage to render prejudice, as measured by self-reports, irrelevant in informing action. In fact, often respondents are induced to a spontaneous decision-making and to engage in a type of action that is reactively constructed (Snow and Moss 2014). This spontaneity should not be mistaken for irrationality (Kahnemann 2011), but rather understood within the social interactionist field where emotions guide situational definitions and, subsequently, action (Hochschild 1979). It seems that, these emotional dynamics cannot only

incentivize prejudiced individuals to engage in a type of action that demonstrates sympathy towards asylum seekers, they also de-incentivize individuals with low levels of prejudice from doing so.

To illustrate these dynamics, I first draw on the case of *Ioanna* a 50 year-old woman residing in the *Refugee Camp Community*, who, based on her survey statement evaluations and her overall representation of attitudes holds high levels of prejudice towards asylum seekers. *Ioanna* clearly articulates her fears towards these populations and her concerns that the cultural differences between host and incoming populations makes long term coexistence impossible. However, this prejudice is not reflected in the ways she interacted with asylum seekers; her actions revealed the contrary, as she actively assisted asylum seekers in various situations. For example, referring to an encounter with an asylum seeker, *Ioanna* describes: "Driving along the island's main road, I saw an old man, a grandpa, on the side of the road. He was carrying a bag. I was driving. I felt sorrowful. And I say to myself, starting from here he needs to walk at least 10 kilometers to reach the camp. So, I stopped and told him, 'come in;[37] come in'."' This is crucial, as despite being prejudiced towards these populations, *Ioanna* did not hesitate to voluntarily give a lift to an asylum seeker. As it can be inferred from her narration, the triggering mechanism of engaging in this type of behavior is associated with the emotions of sorrow she experienced when entering this situation, indicating that this discontinuity can be explained on the bases of the emotional dynamics associated with interpersonal interaction. Importantly, this type of behavior is not an exceptional case engaged in only once by *Ioanna*, which, in addition, was confined

[37] In recounting this story and reproducing her words, she uses the formal form of the singular 'you' [*ελάτε* and not *έλα*]. To address this individual with this pronoun further highlights her respect towards him.

to a "more vulnerable" asylum seeker, as a senior member of society would be defined. Instead, it was a recurring one that was also extended to "less vulnerable" asylum seekers. For instance, when she saw a Pakistani asylum seeker in his early 30s sitting on the pavement close to her house and crying, *Ioanna* sat by him, trying in the few words they had in common to understand what had happened to him. When asked to explain this action, *Ioanna* clarified, "You cannot not feel for him. He is a human, as we all are." Again, she indicated that her emotions of compassion, this time, that emerged from interpersonal interaction led her to frame the situation in a manner that stressed the commonalities rather than the differences with this individual and, in turn, to adopt this type of behavior. Therefore, her cognitive attitudes towards these populations, became irrelevant in the process of guiding her actions, clearly indicating that her self-reported prejudice is not a good proxy for her observed behavior.

These mechanisms are further illustrated through *Yiannis'* testimony. *Yiannis* is a 36 year-old man residing in the *Refugee Camp Community* who, as indicated both by the construct and his responses during the in-depth discussion, is prejudiced towards asylum seekers. He openly calls for an end to this interethnic coexistence, highlighting that asylum seekers have significantly deteriorated the quality of life in his area. However, again his measured attitudes towards these populations did not consistently inform his behavior. On many occasions, he undertook initiatives with the ultimate aim of assisting asylum seekers. For example, upon encountering a Syrian asylum seeker with a deep wound on his arm in a local shop, *Yiannis* rushed to the pharmacist, brought iodine and bandages. Without a second thought, he took care of his wound. Undoubtedly, engagement in this type of behavior contrasts expectations based on his attitudes. In delving into the motivations behind this act,

Yiannis responded that, when he saw the man's wound, he "felt deeply sorry for him." Again, this highlights that the emotions that emerged from the interaction were the driving force behind his behavior, rather than his attitudinal predispositions. Similar to *Ioanna*, this does not constitute an exception to his repertoire of action, but rather a typical type of behavior. In fact, he has even remained in contact on Facebook with three young male asylum seekers, aged 20-22 (i.e. holding demographics that, according to public discourses, place them on the "less vulnerable" side of the spectrum), who had been stranded for a limited time on the island. He explained that they "developed a friendship […] and they are now sharing photos of their new lives." It is therefore evident that despite being prejudiced, the emotional dynamics emerging in interpersonal encounters led *Yiannis* to help these populations, and even keeping contact with them in the absence of physical interaction. As these two cases of respondents residing in the *Refugee Camp Community* paradigmatically illustrate, holding high prejudice towards asylum seekers does not imply that behavior towards these populations is of a discriminatory manner.

Focusing on residents of the *Urban Community* - who on average are the least prejudiced in the sample - it is significant that the identified behaviors do not reveal the expected patterns. In their majority, these populations kept distance from asylum seekers, thus avoiding any kind of interactions, a fact that can again be explained by the emotional dynamics associated with interaction. For example, *Eirene*, a 37 year-old woman, according to her self-reported prejudice holds very low levels of prejudice towards asylum seekers and her holistic framing of the issue showcases an understanding for the difficulties these populations are going through. However, her attitudes are found not to be a good proxy for her behavior. *Eirene*

avoided any kind of interaction with asylum seekers and offered no assistance to any of these populations; as she described, her only involvement "was keeping an eye on the phenomenon; [she] was vigilant to ensure that everything was under control." Delving into the reasons of adopting this behavioral stance, it becomes evident that the strong emotions prevailing in the situation 'paralyzed' her, making her unable to act otherwise. Trying to make sense of her behavior herself she reveals, "I did not know how to respond; I was watching it, but it was its whole energy… I felt that I could not simply enter in the whole… I could only watch from afar." The prevailing dynamics associated with the creation of an informal refugee camp in the middle of the city where asylum seekers had no access to basic infrastructure overwhelmed *Eirene*, as many other respondents of the neighborhood. This acted as a barrier to taking action, leading her to maintain distance from the phenomenon, despite holding low levels of prejudice towards asylum seekers.

Similarly, *Manolis*, a 52 year-old man, despite holding low levels of prejudice did not undertake any action that showcased these attitudes. Although he did not engage in undertaking any active form of discrimination against asylum seekers, he implicitly did discriminate against these populations: as he testified, he altered his daily routes in the neighborhood in order to minimize encounters with asylum seekers. Aiming at understanding the reasons that led him to adopt this type of behavior, which contrasts highly with his self-reported attitudes, it again becomes evident that the triggering factor was the emotional dynamics associated with the situation he encountered. In his words: "I was scared… not of them… but of the foreign… it is the fear of the foreign… [*το ξένο που σε ξενίζει*]... it felt like... they were not wearing European clothes… They were all wearing Djellabas. Djellabas [*κελεμπίες*] everywhere. We sometimes are scared in an abstract sense, not of

specific people." The inference here, then, is that his behavioral stance resulted from the emotions of fear he experienced in direct interaction, which were triggered by the differences in appearances between host and incoming populations. These emotions could guide his actions because they could build on the implicit stereotypes he held towards these outgroups, which could not be captured by the construct of self-reported prejudice, as he was unaware of holding these (see Devine 1989). In any case, this once again underlines the limitations of the use of self-reported attitudes as a proxy for discriminatory behavior in this context.

Focusing on respondents whose self-reported attitudes constituted a good proxy for behavior, it becomes evident that their common denominator is that they managed to become emotionally detached from their interethnic encounters. This emotional detachment allowed for their attitudes to inform their behavior. By therefore illustrating the counterfactual condition, the role of emotions in altering the relationship between measured attitudes and behavior is further evidenced. *Nikos*, for instance, a 47 year-old man residing in the *Tourism Community*, holds low levels of prejudice and acted in solidarity with asylum seekers. In fact, he actively assisted these populations. At the early days of the European refugee crisis, for instance, he regularly transported asylum seekers in his car, at a time when this was considered an act of smuggling and therefore he could have faced legal charges. Despite this heightened involvement into the European refugee crisis, his narrations of interethnic experiences were devoid of emotional references. Only when I directly asked him to address his emotions during these encounters did he clarify, "the whole situation was like a championship. There was no time for emotions to emerge. I only now started processing them." He therefore clearly indicates that the urgency of the situation induced him to spontaneously engage in a script of action and that

emotional dynamics did not intervene in this process. As a result, his attitudes, as measured, directly informed his behavior. Prior to continuing further, it should be stressed that it is beyond the focus of this paper to identify the conditions that allow for such emotional dynamics to intervene; instead the focus here is to uncover the reasons behind the non-linear relationship between attitudes and behavior.

The case of *Christina*, a 63 year-old woman residing in the *Urban Community*, provides further evidence to indicate the centrality of emotions in informing her behavior, explaining the inconsistency in focus. As identified by her statement evaluations and her generalized illustration of attitudes, *Christina* holds low levels of prejudice towards asylum seekers. Importantly, these attitudes are found to act as a good proxy for her behavior: she directly engaged in the provision of assistance by coordinating across the neighborhood the distribution of needed goods to asylum seekers. However, while recounting her engagement with asylum seekers, her illustrations indicated that despite her direct contact with these populations, she was emotionally detached from them. The language she uses makes no reference to any kind of emotional dynamics that emerged from this interaction; she framed her actions as a standardized procedure that had to be executed in the most efficient way. In fact, when directly asked about her emotions that emerged during these encounters she clarified, "this is not an emotional issue. If you have emotions, the wolf will eat you. You cannot have any feelings. It is a condition." It is therefore clear that she managed to remain emotionally detached from her interpersonal interactions. Her actions therefore seem to be primarily cognitively rather than affectively driven.

In similar vein, respondents holding high levels of prejudice acted in a discriminatory manner; it becomes evident that these individuals managed to be

detached from emotional dynamics. This is demonstrated in the account given by *Giorgos*, a 56 year-old man residing in the *Urban Community*. According to his survey statement evaluations as well as his holistic approach to the issue, he holds high levels of prejudice towards asylum seekers; interestingly, this is despite the fact that he benefited economically from the phenomenon, as his business experienced increased profits with the arrival of asylum seekers. Demonstrating his prejudice, he kept distance from asylum seekers, although he was induced to a daily interaction with them within his work environment. He openly expressed his negative opinions towards these populations and in fact actively participated in local actions that called for an end to this development. Again, what is striking is that he does not express any (negative) emotions towards these populations; the expression of his prejudice as well as his illustrations of his interethnic encounters is solely of a cognitive nature. Again, when I asked him to address his emotions that prevail among these interactions he explained, "there is no space for emotions. As a doctor would have to cut your hand and leg to protect you from getting gangrene… it is exactly the same here. You become tough to survive." *Giorgos* clearly illustrates his emotional distance from the phenomenon more generally and asylum seekers more specifically. By not getting emotionally involved in the situation, he allowed for his attitudes to inform his behavior in a relatively linear manner.

Discussion and Conclusion

Before discussing the implications of these findings, it is imperative to stress their limitations. The way in which I collected these data is different to the way survey data are usually collected. As I already underlined, I personally distributed the

survey questions, while such questionnaires are usually distributed over the telephone. Although the method of distribution I employed permitted me to achieve a significantly higher response rate compared to average surveys, this simultaneously indicates that the composition of my sample is different: most likely, I managed to survey people not usually surveyed, a fact that challenges the comparability of these two samples. Moreover, by personally distributing survey questions I did not ensure visual anonymity of the interviewer as in telephone-based interviews. This might have made respondents more self-conscious, which, in turn, might have introduced social desirability, or similar, pressures culminating the so-called interviewer bias (Salazar 1990). These methodological limitations thus directly challenge the extent to which these data correspond to survey data collected over the telephone. Acknowledging these limitations inherent to my methodological approach, I focused on uncovering biases that are mostly interpretational in nature, and thus independent of interviewer bias. Even in the case of social desirability bias, I highlighted the *processes* that led respondents to be influenced by related pressures. Nevertheless, the levels of self-reported prejudice I identified in each *Community* compared, follows the patterns of Hangartner and colleagues' (2019) findings, indicating that despite of potential interviewer bias my data are in line with theirs, which they collected over the telephone.

Despite these limitations, this paper makes significant contributions to the broader literature of ethnic relations by setting out to untangle the relationship between self-reported prejudice and actual discrimination. Simultaneously, however, it is also of empirical value, as it reconciles the findings of the study of Hangartner and colleagues (2019) which demonstrates that prejudice increased as a function of exposure to the European refugee crisis in Greece, and this of Papataxiarchis (2016a;

2016b) which illustrates that communities highly exposed to the same phenomenon offered help to asylum seekers. Ultimately, these two studies indicate the existence of a disjuncture between self-reported prejudice and observed discrimination (see LaPiere 1934; Pager and Quillian 2005). To understand the reasons behind this, I first examined the validity of constructs capturing prejudice. I uncovered three biases that have led to a systematic mismeasurement of prejudice and in combination provide suggestive evidence that the identified difference across communities in self-reported prejudice as a function of exposure to the European refugee crisis is less pronounced. Specifically, the first bias relates to the fact that respondents in cases misinterpreted words and meanings of survey questions. As Schober and Canrad (1997) have underlined the standardization of wordings in survey questions does not necessarily lead to the standardization of understanding among respondents. In reference to the case study examined, this bias led to the mismeasurement of prejudice towards an overestimation of it among respondents residing in the rural communities of the sample, which were more exposed to the European refugee crisis compared to the urban one. Moreover, a bias of a same nature also here led to an underestimation of prejudice among female respondents. While, the existence of this bias does not allow us to draw stronger conclusions regarding its size and direction, it acts as a reminder that even seemingly straightforward words and meanings can be interpreted in multiple ways, leading to mismatches between intended and actual understanding, and thus hampering the comparability of survey data (see also Suessbrick, Schober, and Conrad 2000; Schober, Conrad, and Fricker 2004). Undoubtedly, the issue of poor wording of statements and the inconsistent meaning respondents can ascribe to these statements is an issue that has been extensively discussed in survey research (see Fowler 2012).

The second bias, which to the best of my knowledge has not been identified by earlier studies, relates to the fact that survey questions sometimes tapped into contextual characteristics. Because of this, these did not always accurately capture respondents' opinions. This bias can be prevalent especially in situations of crisis where the context is affected by short-term alterations. In the context of the European refugee crisis, for instance, some localized structures changed following the phenomenon's outbreak. For example, the alterations introduced in the environment of the *Refugee Camp Community* in a way pre-determined individual evaluations to specific survey questions, leading them to illustrate the conditions they encountered rather than their opinions on the matter. As I showed, in such cases, opinions were not captured by respondents' evaluations to survey questions, but instead were reflected in the subject to which they attributed blame for these developments. This underlines the importance of taking into account situational characteristics when intending to capture opinions through survey data, especially in the context of a crisis. In any case, present of this bias, the evaluations of respondents nested in the same community did not reveal significant variation. This is important as it permits its identification when quantitatively examining survey data. This type of imprecise quantification points to suggestive evidence of an overestimation of prejudice across respondents residing at the *Refugee Camp* and *Tourism Communities*, as well as to an underestimation of prejudice across those residing at the *Urban Community*. On the basis of this finding, it is implicated that the difference in prejudice Hangartner and colleagues (2019) identify across communities is actually less pronounced.

The third bias I identified, social desirability, uncovers that some higher educated individuals provided an evaluation to survey questions that does not

accurately reflect their preferences. This finding is in line with earlier literature on the issue, which demonstrates that higher educated individuals are not less prejudiced than lower educated ones, but rather are more aware in hiding their real preferences (Janus 2010). Nevertheless, I extended this line of research by providing suggestive evidence of a potential mechanism that have led respondents to conceal their opinions in this vein. Individuals seem to have provided socially desirable answers in order to conform to a specific social identity they wanted to signal and thus ensure hiding an identity inconsistency. Undoubtedly, the size of this bias does not permit me to draw strong conclusions with regards to its impact on the construct of self-reported prejudice. However, accounting for the distribution of educational qualifications across the sample – with urbanites holding higher levels of educational qualifications compared to remaining residents – it seems that this bias has in a way contributed to amplifying the differences in identified levels prejudice as a function of exposure to the European refugee crisis.

However, the identified biases did not provide evidence to challenge the validity of self-reported measures of prejudice, but rather only acted as a reminder of the issues that need to be taken into consideration when formulating survey statements. Therefore, in order to explain the inconsistency between the findings of Hangartner and colleagues (2019) and Papataxiarchis (2016a; 2016b) in this manner, I proceeded with investigating the predictive power of self-reported prejudice on observed discrimination. By comparing respondents whose self-reported prejudice did and did not diverge from their actual behavior I identified that, cases of the disjuncture of interest can be attributed to the emotional dynamics that emerged from interpersonal interactions. Especially within a context of crisis such as the one studied here, prevailing emotions associated with intergroup interaction are often

very strong and it seems that these have acquired a determining role in guiding behavior. Undoubtedly, with this insight I do not aim at restating the centrality of emotions in guiding action, which has been widely establishing within the sociological field (e.g. Elster 2007), but rather explain why in cases self-reported prejudice have not acted as a good proxy for actual behavior. I should here reiterate that it is beyond the focus of the study to explain the reasons behind the emergence of these strong emotions and understand their diverging impact on respective respondents. In any case, when scrutinizing cases of respondents acting in ways diverging from their self-reported prejudice it becomes apparent that this inconsistency could be attributed to the emotional dynamics characterizing intergroup interactions; respective respondents unveiled the centrality of emotional dynamics in leading them to act in the manner they did. In other words, it seems that affect occupied a central role as the guiding force of behavior in the setting examined. This insight echoes to the findings prevailing in the social psychology literature, demonstrating the vital role of the affective, instead of the cognitive dimension, of these attitudes in informing behavior towards outgroups (Stangor, Sullivan, Ford 1991). However, the construct of self-reported prejudice I employed here – which as already stressed, resembles but is not identical to those commonly employed in the ethnic relations literature (See methodological appendix for detailed discussion)– solely draws on the cognitive dimension of prejudice; the affective dimension of prejudice is not captured in any way. Combining my findings with these insights from the social psychology literature, it seems that the incorporation of survey questions that capture the affective dimension of prejudice to the construct of prejudice could make it a better predictor of behavior. For instance, these statements could draw on respondents' key emotional dynamics towards outgroups.

Undoubtedly, further research should be conducted in order to evaluate this suggestion.

Lastly, I hope that this study will encourage further sociological research on understanding the relationship between self-reported prejudice and various types of actual discrimination. Moreover, I hope that it will also encourage the synthesis of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Studies employing either of these methodological approaches rarely draw on one another. However, as I here demonstrated the creation of bridges between the two can be of great value to the scientific value and can thus expand understanding on the interrelations between these two strands of literature.

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Scene 2

Greece, 2015. *They'd dragged a little girl with hypothermia out of the water. She was around six or seven. And they brought her here. The doctor was here too, she was a volunteer from Greece. In order to warm her up, we had brought a hairdryer from home. A hairdryer! You know, the one we use to dry our hair! We joined two tables and put the kid on top. I was watching the doctor; she was saying, "we are losing the kid" and crying. And then, the kid would "come back." We would massage her to warm her up. And I was hovering the hairdryer above her. At some point, I begged the doctor to let me go. "Don't move an inch," she said. When you have a young child before you, your own kid's age and the doctor asks you, "what's the pulse? Did it fall below 50?" and her writhing... And then, the pulse rises to 52. These are tough emotions and to be there and be involved like this... and without being prepared for it… The ambulance didn't arrive for an hour. They took the child to the hospital. In the end, everything was fine. The next day we were told that it had all worked out! But that day I collapsed on a chair and said to Zeus: "I want to go." I wanted nothing other than to leave and go take my children into my arms… That was a powerful one [experience]. I'll never forget it. And I cannot believe that I lived through it. Afterwards I was asking Zeus, "Did all this happen?" These are the kind of things you see on TV. I would see them in films and tell myself that these things can't possibly happen… but they do!*

Paper 2: Type of contact matters: prosocial behavior towards asylum seekers and the European refugee crisis in Greece

Abstract

Why do ingroup members help outgroup strangers? Focusing on the case of Greece in the context of the European refugee crisis, I study behavioral motivations of host community members who offered their assistance to asylum seekers. Drawing on an in-depth consideration of behavioral patterns and their variation, I assert that the *type* of intergroup contact significantly influences prosocial actions. The situational dynamics emerging as a function of the distance that separated host community members from asylum seekers when they came into contact determined the actions of the former, who, often, even overrode personal predispositions. More specifically, the ability to discern individuals, rather than groups, as well as the degree of emergency asylum seekers were facing at the time of contact led to dissimilar behavioral outcomes even among the same individuals. On this basis, I hint at the importance of not only quantifying intergroup contact, but also of qualitatively assessing it, when examining its role on intergroup relations. To develop this argument, I employ an extreme case methodology and draw on the basis of 37 in-depth interviews and broader ethnographic insights.

Keywords: prosocial behavior; asylum seekers; European refugee crisis; type of intergroup contact

Introduction

Poseidon[38], a 38-year-old man born and raised on the Greek island of Lesbos, recounts a windy night during the summer of 2015, in the early days of the European refugee crisis: despite the rough sea, an overcrowded rubber boat had just arrived at the shore of his village and, together with a few other locals he had assisted in its landing. These newly arrived people continued their journeys, and *Poseidon*, in an attempt to return to the routine of his everyday life, went to his usual café to watch the football match that was on. Suddenly, he heard someone running back to the village in despair: it was a Syrian man who was searching for his lost money. *Poseidon* assisted the man in his search, which was fruitless; thus, after offering some words of consolation, he decided to drive him to the nearest reception camp. To their surprise, the money was there: someone had found it tangled in the life-vest that the man had put aside. "The man was crying for half an hour," *Poseidon* recalled. Residing in a community located just a few kilometers away, up the hill, *Hephaestus*, a 40-year-old local, also recalls nocturnal encounters with asylum seekers during that same summer. *Hephaestus* had been out, drinking and chatting with friends until the early morning hours. In fact, he confided that, he always longed for those moments of summer socialization during the lonely winter months, and therefore tried to enjoy them as much as possible. However, when fatigue overcame him, he decided to walk home. That night, the usually empty road leading to his house was distinctly crowded; asylum seekers were sleeping along the paved road leading to his front door. He maneuvered between the sleeping bodies and entered his home.

[38] To ensure anonymity, I use pseudonyms through this paper.

In light of the current European refugee crisis, intergroup contact between European host community members and asylum seekers has become commonplace on the continent: similarly to *Poseidon* and *Hephaestus*, European populations residing primarily along the Western Balkan Route (see thesis introduction for a detailed description) came in extensive contact with asylum seekers. Against this background, a burgeoning literature has shown that these encounters increased prejudice and discriminatory behavior towards asylum seekers in Greece (Vasilakis 2017; Hangartner, Dinas, Marbach, Matakos, and Xefteris 2019; Dinas, Matakos, Xefteris, and Hangartner 2019). Simultaneously, and perhaps contradicting this line of research, anthropological studies focusing on Greek communities illustrate that host community members often acted in solidarity with asylum seekers (Oikonomakis 2018), offering them assistance when necessary (Papataxiarchis 2016a; 2016b).[39] With broader scholarship on intergroup relations having focused primarily on understanding the emergence of prejudice and discrimination towards outgroups (cf. Ceobanu and Escandell 2010; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014; Adida, Laitin and Valfort 2016), and instances of prosocial behavior towards outgroups remaining underexplored, the conditions that led host community members to assist asylum seekers in the context of the European refugee crisis are unclear. This scholarly emphasis on negative expressions of intergroup relations also poses barriers to understanding the ways in which cooperative relations can be fostered within multiethnic settings: the absence of prejudice and discrimination does not necessarily imply that ingroup members would interact with outgroups in a prosocial manner.

[39] See the *first paper* of this thesis for a detailed discussion on the relationship between attitudes and behavior towards outgroups.

Aiming at extending intergroup relations literature in this direction, I here focus on the case of Greece and examine the conditions that led ingroup members to offer their assistance to members of the outgroup. At the frontiers of Europe, Greece acted as the main entry point for the refugee flow under consideration, but rarely was the country where these populations applied for asylum. Intergroup contact was thus temporary, and host community members were ultimately interacting with strangers. Through an in-depth consideration of host community members' behavioral patterns and their variation, I assert that the *type* of intergroup contact was an important factor underlying the provision of assistance to asylum seekers: the short distance separating host community members and asylum seekers together with the nature of the emergency characterizing the situation were decisive factors that led ingroup members to assist the outgroup. In this vein, the situational dynamics prevailing during the course of intergroup contact triggered specific mechanisms that determined individual behaviors and allowed ingroup members to overcome individual predispositions towards the outgroup. For instance, *Poseidon* experienced the immediate challenges often associated with the arrival of asylum seekers first hand, while also interacted with individuals in need of help on a personal level. This urged him to spontaneously offer help to outgroup members. In contrast, *Hephaestus* interacted primarily with groups of asylum seekers, a fact that prevented him from easily developing an interpersonal connection with them. More importantly, however, he came in contact with asylum seekers who were facing contextual, rather than immediate, emergencies. This made the opportunities *Hephaestus* had to offer help not easily discernible. By uncovering the micro-processes that encouraged some individuals to engage in prosocial behavior and others not to do so, I argue that offering assistance to asylum seekers largely

depended on the way in which ingroup members came in contact with the outgroup. Although I do not suggest that the mechanisms I here identify are exhaustive, this is a first step towards deepening understanding of cooperative intergroup interactions. To reach this conclusion, I first engage with existing literature that explores how intergroup contact impacts intergroup relations. Then, I outline individual motivations to engage in prosocial behavior as addressed in the literature, paying particular attention to rescue efforts. After describing the employed methodology, I illustrate the first encounters and interactions host community had with asylum seekers with varying degrees of distance, while also consider cases of variation in behavior. To further strengthen my argument, I engage with a plausible alternative explanation and highlight its limitations in explaining the issue under consideration. On the basis of these findings, I suggest that, when examining the role of intergroup contact within intergroup relations, it is imperative not to only quantify contact, but also qualitatively assess its type. As I go on to show, ingroup members can experience intergroup contact in a significantly different way, even when the outgroup remains exactly the same.

Theoretical framework

Intergroup contact, prejudice and discrimination

The way in which intergroup contact impacts intergroup relations has been a subject of extensive theorizing and empirical testing. Within this framework, and according to the contact hypothesis, interaction between ingroup and outgroup members is considered to improve intergroup relations (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998). The mechanisms through which this process is facilitated are related, among others, to

changes in ingroup representations of the outgroup, as well as reduction of intergroup anxiety and increase in the ingroup's empathy for the outgroup (Brown and Hewstone 2005). In the classic formulation of this hypothesis, Allport (1954, 264) emphasizes that the above outcome ensues only if intergroup contact is *meaningful*. He identifies four conditions that are necessary for the occurrence of meaningful contact: equal status between the groups, common goals, institutional support, and intergroup cooperation (ibid, 281). Without these conditions, he predicts that contact would strengthen the negative associations that the ingroup has for the outgroup. Studies conducted in laboratory settings have consistently provided evidence in favor of the contact hypothesis, and, in fact, they have also highlighted that contact's expected outcomes occur even in the absence of the conditions Allport underlined as necessary (see Pettigrew and Tropp 2006 for relevant meta-analysis). However, studies that assess this hypothesis in real settings – and thus in situations where contact is not manipulated in the same manner as in laboratories – provide mixed evidence (Paluck, Green and Green 2018). Naturally, in non-laboratory settings contact has been operationalized in various ways; Lee, Farrell and Link (2004) contend that this conceptual variability could explain the considerably prevalent variability of findings.

Considering the proposition of Lee and colleagues (2004) and scrutinizing the ways in which contact is operationalized by the sociology literature conducted in non-laboratory settings, I identify three broad categories that each reveals internally consistent findings. The first category operationalizes contact by considering the demographic percentage of outgroups in large geographic areas (e.g. countries, regions); the findings of this category demonstrate that contact increases prejudice and discriminatory behavior (Quillian 1995; Lubbers and Scheepers 2000;

Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky 2006). However, it should be stressed that this finding does not preclude the simultaneous decrease of prejudice and discrimination when focusing instead on smaller analytical levels (Stein, Post and Rinden; Oliver and Wong 2003; Schlueter and Wagner 2008; Schlueter and Sceepers 2010; Biggs and Knauss 2012; Weber 2015). The second category operationalizes contact as vicarious observation of outgroups in public settings. According to the relevant research, this form of contact leads to an increase in prejudice (Enos 2014; Hangartner *et al*. 2019) and discriminatory behavior (Dinas *et al*. 2019). Within this framework, the studies of Hangartner and colleagues (2019) and Dinas and colleagues (2019) merit special attention: both focus on island communities in the context of the European refugee crisis in Greece and show that exposure to asylum seekers increased anti-refugee sentiments and far-right voting. In addition, Hangartner and colleagues (2019) demonstrate that the populations that came in most extensive contact with asylum seekers were less willing to assist asylum seekers. The third category considers intergroup contact that is mediated through third parties, for instance news outlets. Focusing primarily on cases that uncover the fatal risks migrants are confronted with, this line of research reveals that contact decreases prejudice and also increases instances of inclusive forms of behavior towards outgroups (Slovic, Västfjäll, Erlandsson, and Gregory 2017; Sohlberg, Esaiasson and Martinsson 2018; Thomas *et al*. 2019; Cavalli and Charitopoulou 2019). For instance, exposure to the tragic image of the dead body of the three-year-old Syrian toddler, Aylan Kurdi, lying faced down on a Turkish shore in September 2015 led to significant increases in monetary donations to the Swedish Red Cross for a fund to aid Syrian refugees in particular (Slovic et al. 2017), while exposure to the 2013 Lampedusa shipwreck, which involved the death of 368 migrants, decreased

preferences towards restrictive immigration policies (Cavalli and Charitopoulou 2019).

Drawing on these categories, it seems that a potential way to reconcile the findings prevailing in the literature is by considering the characteristics of intergroup contact. Aspects such as intergroup proximity, duration of contact, and the physical environment, among others, are some of the dimensions of intergroup contact that differ across these categories. Yet, despite the extensive research on how intergroup contact impacts intergroup tensions, the consideration of such situational dynamics has remained largely overlooked by sociological literature.

Furthermore, the impact of intergroup contact has mostly been examined in relation to outcomes measuring intergroup tensions; its impact on outcomes at the other end of the spectrum, namely intergroup assistance remains underexplored. Moreover, in this context, attention has been placed on constructs that capture the cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of said tensions. The way in which these dimensions relate to each other after intergroup contact has taken place remains largely underexplored (see Denis 2015 for exception). Evidence from social psychology suggests that intergroup contact more easily alters the behavioral dimensions of intergroup tensions – compared to the cognitive and affective ones (see Lee et al. 2004, 59 for extensive discussion on related processes). On the basis of this insight, it seems reasonable to first explore the behavioral dimension of intergroup assistance, as this should be more susceptible to change upon intergroup contact.

Helping strangers and situational dynamics

As I aim to extend intergroup relations literature to consider the impact of intergroup contact on outcomes relating to the cooperative realm, it is imperative to draw on the literature that addresses motivations underlying prosocial behavior. This type of behavior is often regarded as puzzling: from a rational action theory perspective, actions are guided by self-interest (Goldthorpe 1998), and therefore individuals are expected not to undertake actions that enhance the well-being of others by incurring a loss to themselves. Examining this puzzling behavior, sociological literature has extensively focused on such motivational factors that extend beyond the individual (Simpson and Willer 2015).[40] Within this framework, social organization, which broadly includes norms and values, has been asserted as crucial to facilitating prosocial behavior (Durkheim 1984 [1893]; Elster 1989; Ostrom 1990). Despite illustrating the broader context that facilitates the emergence of this kind of behavior, factors representing social organization do not fully explain variation of prosocial behavior on the intra-personal and inter-personal levels. Taking this line of research one step further, studies have found that, among others, the identity of the recipient of prosocial action is determining: individuals act prosocially more readily towards members of their ingroup compared to members of outgroups (Whitt and Wilson 2007), and, in a similar vein, towards people with whom they share social ties, compared to strangers (Baldassarri and Grossman 2013; Leider, Möbius, Rosenblat, and Do 2009). Moreover, the possibility of future interaction gives rise to higher levels of cooperation compared to one-off interactions; establishing ongoing relations aligns self-interest with cooperation (Parks and Rumble 2001; Simpson and Willner 2015; van Lange, Klapwijk, and Van Munster 2011). Considering these

[40] It should be noted that this literature does not consider individual predispositions obsolete.

insights in relation to the case study at hand, offering assistance to asylum seekers becomes even more puzzling, as host community members shared no prior ties or common identities[41] with these populations, while the latter's transient presence ultimately indicated that the probability of further interaction was low.

Studies in the field of social psychology, which have been conducted primarily in experimental settings, provide insights with regard to the reasons that lead individuals to offer their help, particularly to strangers. More specifically, these have uncovered that situational factors are more important than individual level ones in facilitating the behavior under scrutiny (Lefevor and Fowers 2016). As also indirectly demonstrated by the above sociological literature, the characteristics of the people in need of help are crucial. For instance, the size of the population in need explains variations in the levels of prosocial behavior: individuals offer more help to a single individual compared to larger groups, as the former arouses higher levels of empathic emotions, which are, in turn, responsible for guiding actions (Small and Lowenstein 2003; Slovic 2007; Small, Lowenstein and Slovic 2007; Västfjäll, Slovic, Mayorga and Peters 2014). In fact, even small differences in the size of a group can lead to large differences in the extent of help provided (Kogut and Ritov 2005a; 2005b). This seems counterintuitive because, as the size of a group in need increases, so does the overall need of help. However, individuals tend to consider the proportional difference their actions would make to the overall sample, rather than the absolute numbers of people they would help with their actions (Kogut and Ritov 2005b). Another dimension that explains this counterintuitive finding is associated

[41] I engage into more detail with the issue of common identity in a subsequent section of this paper. In any case, it should here be clarified that as Kalyvas (in Carstensen 2015) highlights the Anatolian Greek refugee identity has become today a positive geographical and cultural identity, and is thus abstained from its essence of displacement. In this vein, he suggests that descendants of Anatolian Greek refugees do not feel as close as one would expect to contemporary asylum seekers.

with the fact that exposure to personal information about the person in need, as well as analogous humanizing processes also triggers higher levels of empathic emotions and, in turn, prosocial behavior (Kogut and Ritov 2005a; Cuddy, Rock and Norton 2007). The number of bystanders present in a given situation is also important: more bystanders lead to lower levels of prosocial behavior (Fischer *et al*. 2011), a phenomenon that has been defined as the bystander effect. This can be explained by the fact that the responsibility of intervention is diffused among more bystanders, thus reducing the personal accountability of each bystander (Darley and Latanè 1968; Garcia, Weaver, Moskowitz and Darley 2002). Simultaneously, the observation of others' inaction leads each bystander to inaccurately define the situation as one that does not require intervention (Latanè and Darley 1970). However, the extent to which the bystander effect is present to situations of emergency has been contested (Harari, Harari and White 1985; Fischer, Greitemeyer, Pollozek and Frey 2005; Fischer et al. 2011). Irrespective of this, this line of research reveals the importance of situational factors in facilitating prosocial behavior.

Focusing on rescue efforts, namely a specific expression of prosocial behavior, in real settings, similar processes are uncovered. Recent scholarship has proposed that, in order to understand instances of rescue efforts in high-risk environments (e.g. genocides, periods of mass killings), focus should not be placed on individual-level but rather on situational factors (Owens, Su and Snow 2013). It has been shown that, among other factors, those who engage in rescue efforts hold social ties with those in need of help (Gross 1994; Casiro 2006; Fox and Brehm 2018), or are simply acting in response to a direct request to help from those in need (Varese and Yaish 2000, 2005; Fagin-Jones and Mildarsky 2007; Fox and Brehm

2018). The existence of supportive social networks, such as church networks, further facilitates participation in rescue efforts (Gross 1994). In line with the literature that underlines the importance of factors external to the individual in motivating rescue efforts, Kalyvas (2003) contends that delineating actors into specific types does not always accurately represent behavior on the ground: individuals can adopt many opposing types of behavior and thus become rescuers, bystanders, or perpetrators of violence (Fujii 2009; Luft 2015; Fox and Brehm 2018). Focusing on cases where individuals adopted contradictory behavior, Luft (2015, 19) asserts that rescue efforts are "heavily mediated" by their context. This line of research therefore directly challenges earlier studies that explained rescue efforts in high-risk environments on the basis of personality traits, suggesting that rescuers hold distinct ethical values and psychological traits that guide their actions (Tec 1986; Oliner and Oliner 1988; Monroe 1991; Staub 1993).

However, individual motivations to assist in rescue efforts in comparatively low-risk settings have remained largely unexplored. McNevin and Missbach (2018) take the first step towards filling this gap by exploring the reasons that led Acehnese fishing communities to rescue and help 1,800 displaced Rohingya that were stranded in the Andaman Sea in May 2015, against the orders of Indonesian authorities. They demonstrate that Acehnese fishermen and villagers assisted displaced Rohingya due to moral codes and bonds of solidarity (ibid, 299). In other words, engagement in prosocial behavior is here explained on the basis of normative and identity considerations. Simultaneously, however, these considerations are intertwined with the fishermen's inability to "avoid" the rescues, as they could not do otherwise. Despite providing important insights with regards to rescue efforts in low-risk settings, this preliminary evidence should be treated with caution: analytical focus

has been placed only on cases of help and neither counterfactual nor any relevant variation on the dependent variable is considered. It is therefore analytically important to further investigate the reasons behind engaging in rescue efforts in low-risk settings.

Background: the European refugee crisis in Greece

In 2015, the number of displaced individuals in search of refuge increased considerably, with over one million asylum seekers, originating primarily from Syria, arriving in Europe (UNCHR 2016, 2017). The majority of these populations crossed the Aegean Sea from Turkey to Greece and further continued their journeys towards Northern European countries via the Western Balkan Route.[42] Although in the early months, when this phenomenon broke out, there were no significant barriers these populations' mobility, in the later months of 2015, several European countries reintroduced border controls and thus prohibited their free movement within the Schengen area. In March 2016, the European Union (EU) signed an Agreement with Turkey establishing that populations crossing from Turkey to EU countries would be returned to Turkey and apply for asylum there, effective from March 29, 2016. In the following months, the number of arrivals of asylum seekers to Europe decreased significantly.[43] Simultaneously, several thousands of asylum seekers got stranded in countries along the Western Balkan Route and were subsequently accommodated in newly created asylum centers and camps.

[42] See *Thesis Introduction* for a detailed description of migratory routes into Europe via the Mediterranean Sea.
[43] See *Figure 2* in *Thesis Introduction* for a detailed description of numbers of asylum seekers arriving to Europe for the period of interest.

Having acted as the main entry point for Europe, while also temporarily accommodating 57,000 asylum seekers (as of August 2016) (Sakellis, Spyropoulou and Ziomas 2016), Greece has occupied a central role in the European refugee crisis. However, the phenomenon has not been evenly distributed throughout the country; in fact, it has been geographically concentrated in specific areas. For instance, the arrivals of asylum seekers took place primarily on the Greek island of Lesbos, with 600,000 out of the one million asylum seekers using this as their gateway to Europe (UNCHR 2016, 2017). Similarly, following the implementation of the EU-Turkey Agreement, the asylum seekers who were stranded in Greece were accommodated either in refugee camps and other types of temporary accommodations on the aforementioned islands, or in the areas surrounding the country's two main cities, Athens and Thessaloniki. This demonstrates that the residents of Greece have not been uniformly exposed to the European refugee crisis.

Methodology

My study is set on the Greek island of Lesbos, an island located in the Northeastern Aegean Sea and home to 86,000 inhabitants (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011). As illustrated above, the island of Lesbos occupied a central role in the European refugee crisis: it acted as the main gateway to Europe for asylum seekers, and it became one of the main locations accommodating asylum seekers in Greece following the EU-Turkey Agreement. In other words, in this setting the phenomenon was expressed with an increased intensity compared to the rest of the country. By thus focusing on the island of Lesbos, I adopt an extreme case methodology. This approach facilitates the scope of the study, as it allows to more easily uncovering

mechanisms that would have remained unobserved in cases at the mean (Small 2009). As Mauss (1985, 10) argues, the examination of a case where the phenomenon of interest was expressed in an amplified manner "allows [us] better to perceive the facts than in those places where, although no less essential, they still remain small-scale and involuted."

Undoubtedly, not all areas of the island were exposed to the European refugee crisis to a similar degree of intensity. Again adopting the methodological logic of an extreme case, I focus on one of the island's villages most intensively exposed to the phenomenon under consideration. This village is composed of two distinct communities that are almost equally populated, and their respective economic bases span both the primary and tertiary sectors. However, these two communities differ with regards to their *distance* from the sea. The first, which I refer to as the *Sea Community*, is located along the coast of the island of Lesbos opposite the Turkish shores; while the second community, which I refer to as the *Mountain Community*, is located a few kilometers away on the slopes of a mountain and thus oversees the Turkish shores. Moreover, the *Sea* and *Mountain Communities* are linked by one road whose extension is the shortest way to reach the island's main city and port. This case study can therefore be conceptualized as the enactment of a natural experiment whose axis of variation is *distance* from the sea. In turn, this difference in proximity to the Aegean Sea prompted the following observable implications. On the one hand, host community members residing in the *Sea Community* came in proximal contact with asylum seekers either in the water or at the shore, both upon the latter's arrival and during their short presence there. When further continuing their journeys, asylum seekers headed towards the island's main city and port; inevitably, they took the road connecting the *Sea Community* to the

Mountain Community and the remainder of the island. Having been exposed to the arrivals of asylum seekers from afar, host community members residing at the *Mountain Community* came in physically proximal contact with asylum seekers mostly when the latter were on the move or taking a rest at the edge of this community. Therefore, this variation in *distance* from the sea resulted in host community members residing in the respective communities to come in contact with the *same* number of asylum seekers but in a *differential* manner.[44] To an extent, the island's proximity to Turkey explains why asylum seekers chose it as their gateway to Europe. Host community members were thus exposed to the phenomenon as a result of this characteristic and because of a personal choice; this allows me to conceptualize intergroup contact as being almost random. This strengthens the methodological validity of the employed research design by permitting to overcome self-selection biases that often threaten studies of intergroup contact.

The geographical position of each community can be traced back to distinct historical processes: the *Sea Community* was created by some Anatolian Greek refugees who, following the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1922/23, were given housing in that area. This was in close proximity to, but distinct from, the pre-existing settlement of the *Mountain Community*.[45] Notably, this geographical position is actually common on the island. Today, after a century of integration and cross-community migration, clear-cut distinctions with regards to the refugee background of host community members residing in each community have become more blurred. Refugee descendants reside in both communities; however, a

[44] To make further sense of this research design I should underline that, the majority of residents either of the communities rarely moves from their community of residence to the other community composing their village. With the exception of those whose place of residence does not coincide with this of working, host community members tend to move in between communities only under exceptional circumstances (e.g. weddings, funerals etc.).
[45] See the *third paper* of this thesis for a detailed description of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1922/3.

higher percentage still resides in the *Sea Community*. Prior to further describing the methodology I employed, I should stress that this research design emerged from a bottom-up approach: the schematization of the comparison between *Sea* and *Mountain Communities* emerged from observations during fieldwork. As already mentioned, the case selection was conducted solely on the basis of the extreme case methodology logic.

I undertook fieldwork from July 2016 until October 2016. During that period, asylum seekers were still arriving to the island, while a few thousand were residing on it. These populations were primarily accommodated in the island's official refugee settlements and secondarily in apartments and hotels. In other words, at the time of data collection the European refugee crisis was still unraveling on the island. With saturation being my objective, I conducted 37 in-depth interviews with host community members residing in the village. I also collected broader ethnographic insights, which allowed me to further contextualize these interviews and generate a holistic understanding of related processes. To analyze that data, I systematically coded the interviews and field notes. To develop the initial coding structure, I employed open coding techniques; I continuously updated this upon the emergence of new themes (Glaser and Strauss 1967). I derived patterns with regards to the behavioral motivations of host community members on the basis of this grounded analysis.

These data are mostly retrospective: respondents provided accounts of events that had primarily occurred in the year preceding data collection when the number of asylum seekers' arrivals was at its peak and therefore intergroup contact most prevalent. Although retrospective data are widely used for the study of social phenomena, they are not free of limitations. First, the memory is selective (see Simi,

Blee, DeMichele, and Windisch 2017). Naturally, this selectivity is further amplified by the fact that the situation examined is one of crisis and therefore defined by the occurrence of multiple events in a very short period of time. Second, narratives of past events are often shaped and reshaped by subsequent conditions (Fox and Brehm 2018). Data collection occurred at a time when asylum seekers were still arriving at the island, albeit at a lower rate compared to the months preceding the EU-Turkey Agreement. Moreover, these arrivals occurred in a more "organized" manner, with members of the coast guard often accompanying boats to the shores, and, in turn, transferring these populations to reception centers for registration purposes. By implication, during data collection, the phenomenon had not come to an end and, most importantly, a feeling of its potential resurgence was present. These are important dimensions of the data and were taken into consideration both during data collection and analysis.

Degrees of distance, intergroup contact and emergency

In the water: individuals in emergency

In closest proximity to the arrivals of asylum seekers, fishermen, who in their entirety reside at the *Sea Community*, came in contact with these populations in the Aegean Sea. More specifically, they would stumble upon boats that carried asylum seekers, or receive signals for help from boats in emergency while fishing. Importantly, these few degrees of distance separating them from asylum seekers permitted them to recognize on an individual level the challenges these populations encountered while crossing the Aegean Sea. In fact, due to this perspective, fishermen offered asylum seekers assistance almost reactively. Illustrating related

processes, *Apollo* recalls an instance when, while fishing, he "coincidently" saw a boat in the distance. Upon approaching, he realized that the boat was "at its limits." As he explained, not only were there many asylum seekers on board, but the boat was fast filling up with water; and "there were 18 babies[46] onboard! 18 babies! From three months to two years old!" Realizing the dangers these populations faced, *Apollo* drove his trawler as close as possible to the boat and cried, "baby,[47] baby; to save the babies first." After taking all 18 "babies" on his trawler, he asked another fisherman to help the remaining asylum seekers while he headed back to shore. While describing the events, *Apollo* revealed that he could not imagine how these parents felt whose only way to save their children was to give them to him, a stranger, not knowing where he would take them or if they would see them again. *Apollo*'s enhanced visibility of individual asylum seekers in danger permitted him to not only cognitively understand the conditions in which asylum seekers crossed the Aegean Sea, but also to emotionally relate to them and reflect on how he would have felt in their position. Undoubtedly, this type of contact also led fishermen to express negative emotions towards asylum seekers. For instance, some fishermen revealed their frustration with specific asylum seekers who, after being offered assistance, would not help rescue the remaining asylum seekers. Nevertheless, these negative emotions were also personalized and were not directed towards an abstracted Other. Therefore, coming into contact with individuals, fishermen were incentivized to offer assistance, irrespective of the emotions triggered during the course of this interpersonal interaction.

[46] In local idiom, the word 'baby' [*μωρό*] is commonly used as a means of endearment. Therefore, it is not only used to refer to children of small age.
[47] *Apollo* here used the English word for 'baby,' instead of the Greek one. It seems that he reproduced the exact words he had used to communicate with asylum seekers. In fact, also other respondents when narrating their experiences with asylum seekers used the English words they had learnt to facilitate communication with asylum seekers.

Undoubtedly, the emergency of the situation asylum seekers encountered is another dimension that induced fishermen to engage in rescue efforts when coming in contact with them. As *Ares* contended, it was impossible not to help asylum seekers when exposed to the fatal risks the latter were confronted with. In his words,

> You could not do otherwise. It was inevitable. Because you were seeing them drowning. It was inevitable. Inevitable. […] Even if they were murderers. Personally, I saved many people. It could have well been the case that some of them were even murderers. But how could I know? I did what humans should do.

Similarly, *Asclepius* underlined that "it was about not happening upon it; to go to work and not to stumble into it. Because if you are there, as a human, you cannot simply leave. You will stay and help, as long as it takes." This sense of obligation to rescue on the basis of shared human nature does not imply that this was an unconscious act; on the contrary, it was a conscious decision that emerged from realizing that their involvement could contribute to avoiding loss of life. Nevertheless, in an attempt to give meaning to their actions, some fishermen explained that their behavior should be interpreted through the lens of the "Law of the Sea." In other words, they indicated that helping in the water is a norm they have to ascribe due to their occupation.

Interestingly, fishermen rarely referred to instances of contact with asylum seekers in the water that were not characterized by some degree of urgency. This should not suggest that this characteristic was definitive of all their encounters with asylum seekers. Instead, this pattern of narrative selection seems to have been driven

by fishermen's great physical and, most importantly, emotional involvement in these cases of emergency. Hinting at this, some fishermen revealed that especially the first rescue efforts they undertook made them lose their sleep and cry. When considering gender roles in Greek society and prevailing social expectations of males as not openly expressing their emotions, this explanation is further reinforced. In order to reveal such intimate emotions, said emotions must have had a great impact on them, which would explain why their narratives were mainly about such evocative instances.[48]

On the shores: individuals between emergency and actuality

Remaining host community members residing in the *Sea Community* first came in contact with asylum seekers when the latter were approaching or had just arrived at shore. Although compared to fishermen their distance to asylum seekers was greater, these host community members could still identify asylum seekers on an individual level. Describing these first encounters, these host community members often referred to cases of safe arrivals: "They were waving at us" while approaching, *Demeter* described, elaborating that asylum seekers often seemed to anticipate their arrivals to European land with excitement. Being able to discern their emotional state, *Demeter* could relate to them on a personal level. Sharing their feelings, she would wave back to welcome them. She would also attempt to encourage them regarding the continuation of their journeys on land with her words and gestures.

[48] Actually, the most common case of safe arrivals fishermen referred to is this of the so-called "paper planes" [*σαίτα*]. These were speedboats, usually driven by a smuggler, which would cross the Aegean Sea from Turkey to Greece in very high speed; when close to the Greek shores, asylum seekers would jump or were thrown into the water; and then, the smuggler would 'fly' back to Turkey. Nevertheless, in these cases the narrations of fishermen were focused on the means through which these border crossings occurred and on smugglers, rather than on asylum seekers.

Seemingly, *Demeter*'s assistance was not needed. However, her stance hinted at her willingness to engage with asylum seekers in a prosocial manner.

Undoubtedly, not all host community members interpreted the excitement of asylum seekers upon arriving to European shores in a similar manner. For instance, describing a case of a safe arrival, *Hera* expressed her frustration with asylum seekers who were taking off their life vests and throwing them up in the air or into the sea as an act of celebration. As she explained, she could not understand how they could feel so happy, while she was "feeling sorry about an asylum seeking mother close by holding her soaked child in her arms." Her frustration was thus a result of a mismatch between her expectations regarding asylum seekers' appropriate behavior and their actual behavior she observed. Nevertheless, these emotions did not prevent her from sharing in asylum seekers' "celebrations:" *Hera* often shared a smoke with asylum seekers and took "selfies" with them. Similarly to *Demeter*, *Hera* indicated her willingness to act prosocially towards asylum seekers. It therefore seems that, although her enhanced visibility predisposed her to be critical of specific asylum seekers, her interpersonal contact with them led her to simultaneously overcome these predispositions and offer them help.

However, not all asylum seekers arrived safely. At times they came out of the water with hypothermia, or injured and therefore in need of immediate help. Similarly to fishermen, host community members of the *Sea Community* that came in contact with asylum seekers in such states underlined that offering their assistance was an automatic reaction determined by the situation. In the words of *Themis*, "there was no other choice. One would come out [of the sea] and was injured. A kid would be trembling… you had no other choice. You could not say, should I help or should I…" Helping asylum seekers was temporally dependent, which urged those

host community members to intervene immediately. In fact, *Oceanus* explicitly stated that the extremity of the situation together with his close proximity to it rendered individual predispositions irrelevant in guiding action. He therefore suggested that these characteristics of intergroup contact would induce anyone to engage in prosocial action on the basis of human reflexes. In his words:

> I do not think that there is anyone from here [i.e. the community] who did not help. Because we were on the frontline. Because when it's happening before your very eyes, it is not the same as watching it on TV. I think that even the most extreme racist would have helped.

The extremity of the situation was such that it made host community members often feel that it surpassed reality. Similarly to *Oceanus*, many referred to situations of war to describe how the European refugee crisis unraveled within their community. For instance, references to the *Sea Community* as located at the "frontline" were common. Making the parallel to war more explicit, *Aphrodite* contended that "we experienced a war, although we were in a time of peace." She explained that those residing in the *Sea Community* were confronted with life and death situations, while also highlighted that asylum seekers had visible signs of war, with many of them being handicapped or with scars.[49] Similarly, some other host community members stressed that they felt as if all this simply unraveled within the imaginative realm, a dimension that *Oceanus* also introduced. As *Poseidon* explained, "not even in movies can one find what we encountered. Actually, if you were to make a movie, I am sure you would not have included all

[49] Many respondents mentioned encounters with disabled asylum seekers.

this. Because you wouldn't be able to even imagine it." In a way, this extremity led host community members to act extraordinarily. Contributing in a way to this unreal dimension of the situation, asylum seekers spent limited time in the *Sea Community*: after arriving and receiving help, where necessary, they further continued their journeys towards the island's main city and port, so as to be transferred to mainland Greece. This continuous mobility of asylum seekers when in the *Sea Community* gave the host community members a sense that the phenomenon was temporary in nature. In combination, these two dimensions significantly contributed to the host community's acceptance of the interruptions to their everyday practices.

From the hills: groups in actuality

Host community members residing in the *Mountain Community* saw the arrivals of asylum seekers from afar. The geographical positioning of their community on the hills provided them with a vertical angle to overseeing the crossings through the Aegean Sea. Although the physical distance from the arrivals prevented respective host community members from discerning asylum seekers on an individual level, it permitted the identification of groups of people in the form of a compact mass. Illustrating this, *Athena* described that she could see "black dots on the sea" from her balcony. As implied, her exposure to these crossings was impersonal, contrasting the experiences of those residing in the *Sea Community*. In fact, some host community members revealed that these initial encounters with asylum seekers crossing the Aegean Sea seemed as the enactment of a fear continuously present within the Greek imagination regarding the belligerent stance of neighboring Turkey towards Greece (Heraclides 2011). For instance, referring to this, *Atlas* revealed with unease that

once when looking out of his kitchen window, he counted 11 boats "approaching from Turkey," while *Dionysus* made these associations more explicit by likening the image of the simultaneous arrival of a few boats to the Greek shores to an "invasion from Turkey." Undoubtedly, these parallels were not directly related to asylum seekers. However, their use in representing this initial, distant contact with asylum seekers hints at the defensive predispositions it triggered among those host community members.

However, some host community members of the *Mountain Community* revealed their urge to enhance visibility over the crossings and to this end making use of their binoculars[50] when spotting a boat in between the Turkish and Greek land. This active decision to come in more visible contact with asylum seekers permitted them to identify individuals, instead of just groups of people. In turn, this increased their awareness of the risks asylum seekers encountered in the water. Illustrating such contact with asylum seekers, *Artemis* explained that her husband would often scrutinize the sea with his binoculars, standing on their balcony that oversees the water. She recalled a morning when he detected something puzzling happening to a boat and called her to help him understand what was going on. *Artemis*, however, refused to look through the binoculars: "I did not want to see what was happening. It would only distress me," she explained with a trembling voice, which indicated that even just imagining what asylum seekers were going through triggered her compassion. Nevertheless, irrespective of whether host community members decided to be exposed to the arrivals of asylum seekers, the physical distance separating them remained unchanged. This is crucial as, despite

[50] One respondent revealed that he acquired his binoculars when the European refugee crisis broke out.

instances of such "personal" contact, the opportunities to assist these populations did not increase.

Nevertheless, those residing in the *Mountain Community* did not only encounter asylum seekers from a distance, as, after leaving the *Sea Community*, asylum seekers would pass by the borders of the *Mountain Community*. Residents therefore also came in closer contact with asylum seekers. Most often, asylum seekers stood in groups on the road passing through the entrance to this community, waiting for transportation or getting some rest prior to undertaking the rest of their journeys. Indeed, asylum seekers were significantly less mobile when in the *Mountain Community* compared to when in the *Sea Community*. Among other activities they hung their wet clothes wherever possible, lit up small fires to prepare meals, or even slept along the road. Several characteristics of this situation hindered the formation of a more personal connection between host community members and asylum seekers that would facilitate the offering of assistance. Specifically, as already indicated, host community members rarely came in contact with individual asylum seekers, but instead mostly encountered them when they were in groups. This type of contact prevented them from being exposed to the personal emergencies asylum seekers were confronted with. Actually, it should be stressed that these groups of asylum seekers were also large in number; this immobilized host community members, who realized that their offers of help could not make a conceivable difference to improving the overall situation. As *Hermes* explained,

> It was simply not manageable. [In previous years] you could offer them something. A croissant. A coffee. Something. But last year it was horrendous. You could not… give what and to whom? Everyday there were up to 3,000

people here! You could not… Give what? Give what and to whom? And, let's say that you offered two cups of coffee. The situation would not improve. The situation was out of control.

In combination, all these factors made it difficult for the host community to immediately discern the nature of assistance asylum seekers were in need of.

In addition, although the situation was "out of control," as *Hermes* put it, this did not make host community members feel that it surpassed reality. On the contrary, they felt that the challenges they encountered were very real. Explicitly making a comparison to the *Sea Community*, *Calypso* underlined that, "[people of] the *Sea Community* got tired. But asylum seekers were leaving. Here, they [asylum seekers] stayed for two to three days. They peed here [showing the road]." Importantly, neither *Calypso* nor remaining residents of the *Mountain Community* blamed asylum seekers for this; they acknowledged that asylum seekers had no alternative. However, they underlined the challenges this contact introduced to their everyday lives, which continued to somewhat not deviating significantly from its normal rhythm. It is therefore evident that the opportunities to act prosocially towards asylum seekers were significantly inhibited by the situational dynamics characterizing intergroup contact.

Variation in prosocial behavior and situational dynamics

The situational characteristics of intergroup contact in each community varied at times, leading respective host community members to dynamically engage in prosocial behavior: when specific conditions were present they offered help, while in their absence they refrained from doing so. Residing in the *Sea Community*,

Oedipus, for example, often came in contact with individual asylum seekers who were in immediate need of help and assisted them. Describing such an instance, he recalled an afternoon when, while sitting on the balcony reading his newspaper, he heard someone crying for help. Overcoming some initial reservations (Scene 1 for a detailed description that indirectly further supports this argument), he ran to the shore and called the coastguard for help. He engaged with asylum seekers in a prosocial manner, by intervening to save someone from drowning. However, at other instances, when intergroup contact was not triggered by such emergencies, his behavior was different: when encountering small groups of asylum seekers gathered along the coast after their arrivals, *Oedipus* instead noticed the challenges this phenomenon had created for the environment. He complained about the trash (e.g. life vests etc.) that was strewn along the shore and asked the small groups of asylum seekers to help him collect them. Therefore, his interaction with asylum seekers was not solely prosocial. Hinting further at this variability, *Oedipus* described that he experienced variability in emotions across his various encounters with asylum seekers; in his words, "I was swinging back and forth from absolute denial to breaking my back," with non-emergency cases triggering the former set of emotions and emergency ones triggering latter.

Similar variability in behavior is observable among residents of the *Mountain Community*. To illustrate these processes, I draw on the exemplary, within this framework, case of *Calypso*, who came in extensive contact with asylum seekers. Describing her encounters with asylum seekers, *Calypso* actually underlined her behavioral variation by contending that, "I was acting wackily; I shouted at them,

Go! Go! Go![51] And then, just moments later, I distributed clothes and helped them change. I gave them everything, anything you can imagine." Her almost simultaneous adoption of different kinds of behavior towards asylum seekers undoubtedly indicates that her predispositions towards these populations are not the primary force guiding her actions. Considering the characteristics of each instance of intergroup contact, it becomes evident that *Calypso* kept her distance from groups of asylum seekers, while offering her assistance to individuals. Referring to non-individualized encounters that prevented her from discerning potential personal emergencies, *Calypso* mostly underlined with frustration that the presence of asylum seekers at the edges of her community introduced challenges to her everyday life and those of the *Mountain Community*'s remaining residents. However, when coming in contact with individuals, *Calypso* was exposed to their personal emergencies. This led her to become immersed in the process of alleviating said emergencies, even if a personal cost was incurred. Illustrating such an encounter, she described:

> One night, I was at home. Outside, there was a mess! Lots of people! Maybe even thousands. Suddenly, I heard my neighbor calling me: 'Come quickly! QUICKLY! […] They had covered up a baby with a coat! The baby was 30 days old, at most! And was only wearing diapers. It had turned blue! […] So I ran home and found my daughter's old clothes that I had as a keepsake. That was it. This is when I started [helping].

[51] Similarly to *Apollo*, she did not use the Greek word for go [*φύγε/φύγετε*] but the English one.

Considering that babies trigger more easily empathic emotions, it should be clarified that *Calypso* adopted the same stance when coming in contact with asylum seekers of different demographics and in analogous situations. For instance, she recalled an encounter with a young man whose clothes were soaked and who was trembling. She reacted by offering him dry clothes and a place to change. "When he went back [on the road] everyone looked at him and started clapping! [He looked like a] Groom!"[52] she said with a smile of pride. When coming in contact with groups of asylum seekers, *Calypso* and other members of the *Mountain Community* could not observe cases of immediate need, which, on the contrary, were uncovered when coming in contact with individuals; this explains the variation in behavior.

Discussion

Before discussing the implications of these insights, it is imperative to reiterate their limitations and rule out one plausible alternative explanation. As indicated previously, the data employed are almost exclusively retrospective: respondents referred to experiences that had occurred in the year preceding data collection, when the phenomenon was most acutely expressed in the context. By implication, the analyzed narratives have been a result of respondents' selection, and in addition, could have been shaped by subsequent conditions. Therefore, the narratives may not fully and objectively illustrate on the ground behaviors. Also, the nature of the data made triangulation with observation data impossible. I paid special attention both during data collection and analysis to eliminate these biases, which are inherent to retrospective data, by aiming at disentangling the drivers of actions, on the one hand,

[52] In Greek the word 'groom' [*γαμπρός*] is often used to describe someone who is well dressed.

and the meaning respondents had ascribed to them when narrating them, on the other. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the respondents' narratives reveal patterns that expanded our understanding of the triggers of prosocial behavior towards outgroups in low-risk settings.

Aside from these limitations, I should also rule out an alternative explanation that has already appeared in anthropological studies in coinciding settings (cf. Hirschon 2016; Oikonomakis 2018); this will indirectly provide further evidence for my argument. This alternative explanation suggests that host community members offered their assistance to asylum seekers due to their common refugee heritage associated with the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1922/1923.[53] In fact, this explanation is in line with the earlier cited sociological literature, which proposes that prosocial behavior is adopted on the basis of a shared identity between ingroups and outgroups. However, when holding type of contact constant and comparing the behavior of individuals nested within the *Sea* and *Mountain Communities* respectively, it appears that personal refugee background does not explain why ingroup members engaged in prosocial behavior towards the outgroup. Both refugee and non-refugee descendants residing in the *Sea Community* offered their assistance to asylum seekers, while those who reside in the *Mountain Community* were not exposed to the same opportunities to offer help engaged significantly less in this kind of behavior. In fact, the study of Dinas and Fouka (2018) also provides indirect evidence against this alternative explanation: having conducted a large survey on refugee and non-refugee descendants, they find that their attitudes towards asylum seekers and, more importantly, their willingness to

[53] See the *third paper* for an extensive discussion on this background.

assist asylum seekers do not actually differ.[54] Their findings therefore suggest refugee descendants do not seem more prone than non-refugee descendants to assist asylum seekers and thus that prosocial behavior of ingroup members towards outgroups cannot be explained on the basis of this shared refugee heritage.

Instead, the situational dynamics that characterized intergroup contact led host community members to act in a prosocial manner towards asylum seekers, often rendering their own predispositions towards these populations irrelevant in the process. These dynamics are strongly intertwined, but can also be schematically disentangled to concrete dimensions. First, the ability to identify asylum seekers on an individual level allowed host community members to humanize these populations. Being able to discern asylum seekers' behaviors and emotions following their arrivals and initial in Europe allowed host community members to develop an interpersonal connection with them and offer assistance on this basis. On the contrary, the identification of arriving asylum seekers only as a group resulted in host community members having an abstracted image of these populations. In fact for some, witnessing boats approaching the shore was an enactment of sorts of a fear central to the Greek identity, namely the "imminent threat" of an invasion from neighboring Turkey. Although this fear is unrelated to asylum seekers, it indirectly led these host community members to become defensively predisposed. Second, the degree of emergency characterizing intergroup contact also played an important role in determining the behavior of host community members towards asylum seekers. When host community members came in contact with asylum seekers who were in

[54] The aim of Dinas and Fouka (2018) is to examine the effect of an experimental manipulation in reducing prejudice and fostering prosocial behavior towards outgroups (See the *third paper* for a discussion of their survey design and validity of overall findings). To decipher the relevance of the alternative explanation into scrutiny focus should be placed on their findings on respondents not exposed to the vignette.

immediate need of help, they spontaneously offered them their assistance. However, when the emergencies asylum seekers encountered were not life-threatening, host community members abstained from doing so: not being urged to act immediately, host community members first considered if their involvement could alleviate the overall challenges asylum seekers encountered. This immobilized them by making them perceive their assistance as unable to considerably alter the overall situation. In a way, the lack of visibility on an individual level disguised the conditions asylum seekers faced as non-immediate, leading host community members to instead focus on the challenges the phenomenon introduced to their own everyday lives. Therefore, in this low-risk environment, and in line with findings uncovered by the literature in high-risk environments, I demonstrate that rescue efforts and the offering of assistance to outgroups, more broadly, was considerably facilitated by situational factors, rather than individual predispositions.

Furthermore, as prosocial behavior was directed from ingroup members towards outgroup members these findings provide important insights for the study of intergroup relations more broadly. As already underlined, host community members came in contact with the exact same number of asylum seekers. In other words, the intensity of intergroup contact (i.e. number of outgroup members), which is the dimension that is most commonly examined when operationalizing it in the literature, was held constant. However, the lived experiences of intergroup contact diverged, indicating that intensity in itself cannot consistently approximate the way in which intergroup contact unravels, especially in the context of crises. Instead, other situational dynamics – such as the level of interpersonal interaction and the degree of emergency – shaped the *type* of intergroup contact and, in turn, facilitated prosocial behavior among host community members. In light of the emerging line of

research that explores the impact of exposure to asylum seekers on various attitudinal and behavioral dimensions in the context of the European refugee crisis, in particular, (cf. Hangartner *et al*. 2019; Dinas *et al*. 2019), this nuanced understanding of the situational dynamics that characterize intergroup contact is of central analytical importance: it indicates dimensions that need to be taken into consideration so as to more accurately capture the way in which intergroup contact is experienced.

Conclusion

Poseidon and *Hephaestus* both came in direct contact with the same asylum seekers, who were passing through their village as part of their journeys to Europe in search of refuge. Drawing on insights from ethnic relations literature on the impact of intergroup contact on intergroup relations, it would have been expected that both of them would behave similarly towards asylum seekers, due to their same intensity of outgroup exposure. However, their behavior diverged, with *Poseidon* – and remaining members of his community – offering considerably higher levels of assistance to asylum seekers compared to *Hephaestus* – and those residing in his community. Focusing on the micro-dynamics defining respective instances of intergroup contact, it became evident that the diverging situational dynamics of said contact can explain these differential levels of prosocial behavior. This finding has important implications for the literature as it shows that instead of intergroup contact *per se*, attention should also be placed on capturing the *type* of this intergroup contact. Considering dimensions that characterize intergroup contact, such as the levels of emergency and degree of identifiability of outgroups, seems that could

improve the way in which experiences are analytically captured. Potentially, the inconsistent findings of the literature regarding the impact of intergroup contact on intergroup relations could be reconciled if situational factors were also taken into account in the former construct. Undoubtedly, this proposition is suggestive and further evidence to confirm it is required. More broadly, the evidence presented in this article indicates the importance of delving deeper into the social processes that emerge when ingroups come in contact with outgroups; this will help develop a better understanding of intergroup relations, which can take many different forms and shapes (Denis 2015) in different analytical levels (Bygnes 2015). This article also demonstrated the importance of not placing individuals into stable categories that can, in turn, be used as predictors of behavior; individuals can engage in contradictory behaviors depending as a function of the situational dynamics of intergroup contact (see also Luft 2015; Kalyvas 2003).

Future research should therefore focus on investigating situational factors that emerge during intergroup contact and guide individual actions. This seems imperative in order to better capture intergroup contact across settings and investigate its impact on intergroup relations. To this end, ethnographic methodologies should be employed, as they facilitate the uncovering of relevant social processes and can thus extend our understanding of the intricacies of intergroup contact. Moreover, future research investigating intergroup relations should further examine cases of intergroup cooperation. Intergroup tensions have extensively been documented in the literature; it is therefore of analytical importance to comprehend the full behavioral spectrum in reference to intergroup relations. In fact, if one of the goals of ethnic relations literature is to provide insights for policy

making that aims to foster intergroup cooperation in multicultural settings, it is imperative to understand the reasons driving prosocial behavior towards outgroups.

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Scene 3

Source: www.lesvosnews.net[55]

Athens, Greece 1922. *"The condition of these people upon their arrival in Greece was pitiable beyond description. They had been herded upon every kind of craft that could float, crowded so densely on board that in many cases they had only room to stand on deck. They were exposed alternatively to the blistering sun and cold rain of variable September and October. In one case, which I myself beheld, seven thousand people were packed into a vessel that would have been crowded with a load of two thousand. In this and many other cases there was neither food to eat nor water to drink, and in numerous instances the ships were buffeted about the several days at sea before their wretched human cargo could be brought to land. Typhoid and smallpox swept through the ships. Lice infested everyone. Babies were born on board. Men and women went insane. Some leaped overboard to end their miseries in the sea. Those who survived were landed without shelter upon the open beach, loaded with filth, racked by fever, without blankets or even warm clothing, without food and without money. Besides these horrors the refugees endured every form of sorrow-the loss of husbands by wives, loss of wives by husbands, loss of children by death or straying, all manners of illnesses" (Morgenthau 1929, 48-50).*[56]

[55] This is the "Mother from the Asia Minor" [*Μικρασιάτισα μάνα*] statue; it is positioned in a formerly Anatolian Greek refugee neighborhood on the island of Lesbos. In 2017, an NGO symbolically hung to it life vests of contemporary asylum seekers.

[56] This is an extract of the diary of the First Chairman of the Refugee Settlement Commission, Henry Morgenthau.

Paper 3: A Land of Refugees? Frames of common identity and the European refugee crisis in Greece

Abstract

Does the sharing of a common identity improve intergroup relations? Can the underlining of commonalities between groups foster inclusion? Under what conditions does this beget backlash? Focusing on the case of Greece in the context of the 2015/16 European refugee crisis and informing an emerging literature on prejudice reduction, I explore ways in which ingroup members engage with perspective-taking interventions that highlight their similarities with outgroups. By drawing on the extensive parallels between the experiences of Anatolian Greek refugees and contemporary asylum seekers that prevailed in public discourse, I exploit a unique opportunity to investigate such an intervention in a natural setting. I build on evidence from 84 in-depth interviews with refugee and non-refugee descendants who were directly exposed to the European refugee crisis and one year following the parallel's initial articulation. I identify two broad patterns of engagement and address their emergence. The first, *frame consonance*, refers to cases where respondents endorsed the parallel and the second, and most predominant, *frame dissonance*, to cases where respondents rejected it, on either *positive* or *negative* grounds. The setting one resides in occupied a central role in determining the type of engagement with the frame. Having developed a typology of frame engagement, I suggest that perspective-taking interventions should acknowledge the distinctiveness of the ingroup; should not create boundaries within the ingroup while eliminating those separating the ingroup and outgroup; and should draw on widely understood concepts, as these characteristics would prevent backlashing.

Keywords: common identity; perspective-taking intervention; Anatolian Greek refugees; European refugee crisis

Introduction

Over the past decades, the study of intergroup prejudice in Western societies has gained significant scholarly attention and a number of factors that lead to its emergence have been identified (see Ceobanu and Escendell 2010; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014 for extensive reviews). More recently, however, the extent to which these factors are indisputably determining of intergroup prejudice has implicitly been placed under scrutiny: this is conducted by an emerging line of research that has been primarily informed by the field of social psychology and explores whether prejudice could be reduced when ingroup members "step into the shoes" of outgroups (Paluck and Green 2009), or, put differently, whether taking the perspective of an outgroup could inhibit the impact of individual and contextual attributes on prejudice towards outgroups. Evidence drawn from these studies highlights that prevailing levels of prejudice could be altered in light of such interventions (see Paluck and Green 2009 for a review). Nonetheless, since the majority of these studies have been conducted in laboratory settings (Paluck 2016), the extent to which their findings apply to natural settings remains unclear.

This bridge has been provided by studies examining the issue through the employment of experimental manipulations outside laboratory settings. However, their findings remain inconclusive. For instance, some studies suggest that immediately after the introduction of a perspective-taking intervention, ingroup prejudice is reduced (Dinas and Fouka 2018; Simonovits, Kèzdi and Kardos 2018); others indicate that this impact manifests as a behavioral rather than an attitudinal response (Lazarev and Sharma 2017; Adida, Lo and Platas 2018), while a third strand uncovers an increase in prejudice (Bracic 2018; Getmansky, Sinmazdemir and Zeitzoff 2018). Moreover, in some cases, the impact of perspective-taking

interventions endures in the short term (Simonovits et al. 2018; Broockman and Kalla 2016), while in others it fades out (Adida et al. 2018). Nevertheless, beyond the short term, the ways in which such interventions impact society remain considerably underexplored (for an exception see Paluck 2009; 2010). This is a critical gap, especially considering that the relationship between perspective-taking interventions, or policies more broadly, and society is not static, but instead iterative and interactive. By extension, understanding the way these unravel in time constitutes a cornerstone for the designation of relevant policy recommendations regarding the reduction of prejudice in multicultural societies.

By addressing this lacuna, I examine the ways in which ingroup members engage with perspective-taking interventions in the medium term. In doing so, I focus on the case study of Greece in the context of the European refugee crisis, where approximately one million asylum seekers crossed from Turkey to Greece as part of their journeys towards Northern Europe. Contrary to the prevailing line of research, which examines such issues through the exploitation of experimental manipulations, I utilize a unique opportunity to investigate a perspective-taking intervention in a natural setting: the perspective-taking intervention I investigate was exteriorized in the form of a frame[57] and gained heightened visibility through the public discourse. In particular, this frame underlined the sharing of a common identity between ingroup and outgroup members, by reminding the former of their own refugee background associated with the forced migration of 1.2 million Anatolian Greek refugees from Turkey to Greece in 1922-1923; direct and indirect parallels to the experiences of contemporary asylum seekers, crossing the Aegean

[57] Drawing on Goffman (1974, 21) I define frames as "schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large.

Sea in a similar direction almost a century later, were drawn. By delving into testimonies of ingroup members in relation to this parallel, I unearth how this intervention unraveled in society approximately one year following its initial articulation. Rather than measuring the intervention's impact on altering individual levels of prejudice as conducted by the existing literature, my aim is to uncover the processes leading to a specific type of frame engagement and its ascribed meanings. This analytical focus allows me to provide insights that can contribute to the better designation of such interventions.

I uncover two broad patterns in which the frame associated with the perspective-taking intervention resonated with the ingroup. The first pattern, *frame consonance*, describes cases in which respondents endorsed the parallel, making sense of their interaction with asylum seekers along the lines of common refugee heritage and the second pattern, *frame dissonance*, to cases in which respondents reacted to the parallel by highlighting its redundancy. Within the latter framework, I identify two sub-patterns: the first, *positive frame dissonance*, refers to cases where respondents highlighted this irrelevance by juxtaposing the presence of a superordinate identity, that of common humanity; the second, *negative frame dissonance*, refers to cases where respondents indicated the distinctiveness of Anatolian Greek refugees either in terms of their Greek heritage or deservingness of asylum, ultimately juxtaposing a subordinate identity. Individual as well as contextual level actors, mostly related to the identity's proximity to refugee background, are crucial in determining the way in which the frame resonates with ingroup members. Importantly, in the presence of a strong contextual refugee identity, frame engagement becomes a function of each individual's identity attributes (i.e. holding a refugee background), on the one hand, and of undertaken

actions towards asylum seekers (i.e. intensity of help offered), on the other. This is crucial as it uncovers the linkages between individual and contextual level processes with regards to frame engagement. Drawing on the typology of frame engagement I develop, I make three principal suggestions for the better designation of perspective-taking interventions that aim at reducing prejudice. I demonstrate that when highlighting the similarities between the ingroup and outgroups it is imperative to simultaneously acknowledge the distinctiveness of the ingroup; not to create boundaries within the ingroup; and to draw on concepts widely understood across society so as to constitute their misinterpretations less possible.

Background

Anatolian Greek refugees in Greece

To make sense of the studied perspective-taking intervention, it is imperative to provide the historical background on which this drew. In short, in 1919, following the end of the First World War, the Greek government, backed by the British, French and US governments, landed in the Ottoman city of Smyrna with the ostensible purpose of protecting the Greek population of Anatolia (Clogg 2002, 93) at a time when Turkish nationalism had been revived and the Turkish forces had been regrouped under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Amidst a political crisis in Greece associated with the unexpected death of King Alexander; the failure of Prime Minister Venizelos to renew his mandate in the elections; and the consequent withdrawal of support from the aforementioned foreign powers, the Greek military proceeded with its military campaign, advancing to the east. On August 26, 1922, the forces of Mustafa Kemal launched a major offensive near Dumlupinar, marking

the defeat of the Greek forces and the end of Greece's irredentist expansion. As a result, Smyrna was forcibly evacuated (ibid, 97).

These events led to a "mass exodus" (Hirschon 1998, 36) of some 750,000 Anatolian Greeks from Asia Minor (Pentzopoulos 1962, 96-100), who embarked on overcrowded wooden boats and fled to neighboring Greece in search of refuge.[58] At the 1923 Lausanne Convention on the Exchange of Populations, this forced migration was formally recognized, and the "compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Muslim religion established in Greek territory" was agreed upon, forcing a further half a million Greek Orthodox and Muslims to migrate.[59] Thus, 1.2 million[60] Anatolian Greek refugees moved into Greece. Consequently, an extreme humanitarian crisis broke out, as the impoverished Greek state of five million inhabitants lacked resources to address this emergency situation. In response, numerous international agencies, including the Near East Fund, the Red Cross, and the Save the Children Fund arrived in Greece to deal with the immediate needs of the incoming populations (Hirschon 2003a).

The sociopolitical consequences of these developments were tremendous in both countries (see Hirschon 2003b for a detailed analysis). In Greece, these populations lived for a prolonged time in a state of emergency. Gradually, they settled in both urban and rural settings, primarily in the region of Macedonia and the Northern Aegean islands. However, this often occurred in a highly segregated

[58] Similar waves of persecutions of a smaller scale had broken out in the aftermath of the Balkan wars; then, the majority of these populations crossed over to the island of Lesbos and Chios (Kontogiorgi 2006, 47).
[59] According to Article 2 of the Convention, Greek Orthodox residing in Constantinople and Muslims residing in Western Thrace were excluded from the exchange.
[60] These estimations are based on the 1928 Greek census. Speculative estimates accounting for high mortality rates among refugees as well as consequent emigration to other countries suggest that the number of refugees arriving to Greece was higher, with an upper estimate of 1.5 million.

manner: Anatolian Greek refugees settled either in new towns and villages[61] or refugee neighborhoods among pre-existing settlements (Mavrogordatos 1983; Hirschon 1998). In terms of both naming and architectural planning, these settlements were distinct; in most cases, houses were very small, approximately 25 square meters, single roomed and with low ceilings (Hirschon 1998), a distinctiveness that contributes to Anatolian Greek refugees' demarcation as alien to Greek society (Hirschon and Thakurdesai 1978; Hirschon and Gold 1982). On a more practical level, this coexistence triggered the hostility of Greeks towards Anatolian Greek refugees, which was primarily rooted in the competition over the distribution of newly acquired state territories and the economic competition that emerged between the two groups. In fact, in the first years following the exchange of populations, violence and friction were common (Kontogiorgi 2006; Mavrogordatos 1983). Mainland Greeks often expressed their prejudice towards Anatolian Greek refugees even linguistically, by referring to them with pejorative terms, such as, among others, "Turkish seed" [*τουρκόσπορος*] and "baptized in yogurt" [*γιαουρτοβαφτισμένος*]. In brief, Greeks perceived Anatolian Greeks as alien to their society, despite the common denominators of religion and language.[62]

Similarly, Anatolian Greeks distinguished themselves from metropolitan Greeks [*παλαιοελλαδίτες*] by underlying their cultural distinctiveness as a result of their cosmopolitan heritage. They perceived Greece as being "backward and parochial" compared to Asia Minor, and its people and their customs as "unsophisticated" (Hirschon 1998, 31); they often referred to them pejoratively as "shepherds," indicating that Greeks did not know how to behave (Hirschon-Fillipaki

[61] Approximately 2,000 new small towns and villages were created (Yerolympos 2003).
[62] Indicating the generalized fear and hatred towards refugees, one respondent revealed that in her early years when misbehaving her mother would frighten her by saying she would take her to the refugees.

1993). This approach was prevalent regardless of the social position an individual had occupied in Anatolia. Therefore, Anatolian Greeks also maintained a separate identity, which, in fact, was highly prevalent among second generation refugees (Hirschon 1998). Undoubtedly, indications of the identity's weakening across time are noted (Hirshon 1998, 259). In any case, this identity persisted even among individuals who had not experienced the exchange of populations themselves and who, in addition, were assimilated into Greek society, albeit at varying levels. Today, however, as Kalyvas (in Carstensen 2015) notes, the term "refugee" has "become a term of positive geographical and cultural identity, not of need and displacement."[63]

Perspective-taking interventions: theory and evidence

Social identity theory, which theorizes the emergence of intergroup prejudice as a result of categorization processes, provides the theoretical basis for the introduction of perspective-taking as a means of prejudice reduction (Tajfel 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tajfel 1982). By placing attention on the psychological motivations associated with group membership (Huddy 2001), social identity theory starts with the premise that group membership leads to the partition of the world into comprehensive units (Abrams and Hogg 1990). Irrespective of social context, individuals thus strive to maintain a positive self-image. They therefore conduct social comparisons that allow them to perceive ingroup members in a positive light and outgroup members in a negative one. In fact, when conducting an intergroup social comparison, ingroup members reveal a tendency to "differentiate between

[63] To the best of my knowledge, the way in which the connotations surrounding Anatolian Greek identity changed through time has not been explored in the literature and thus addressing this gap would be of analytical importance.

groups as much as possible, on as many dimensions as possible" (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 20). There is thus a tendency to continuously reaffirm ingroup distinctiveness in relation to other groups.

Drawing on these insights regarding the emergence of prejudice, two models have been developed that suggest ways to reduce intergroup prejudice. The first model, that being the common ingroup identity model, proposes that intergroup prejudice could be reduced through the employment of interventions that "transform members' cognitive representations of their memberships from two groups to one" (Gaertner *et al*. 1993). For this to successfully occur, a process of re-categorization is necessary (Gaertner and Dovidio 2001). Importantly, this re-categorization should not aim to eliminate social categories, but rather highlight the existence of common superordinate group memberships, if such exist, or introduce new dimensions that can be perceived as shared by the ingroup and outgroup (Gaertner *et al*. 1993). This would lead to the alteration of intergroup boundaries, and, in turn, to the reduction of intergroup prejudice (Gaertner *et al*. 1993; Gaertner and Dovidio 2001; Dovidio, Gaertner, and Saguy 2009). Importantly, subgroup identities should not be completely eliminated; their existence presupposes the extension of this positive attitudinal change to outgroup members beyond the ingroup's immediate environment (Gaertner *et al*. 1993). Furthermore, the common ingroup identity model relies on two propositions that in combination indicate the impossibility of perspective-taking interventions begetting a backlash: the first is related to the fact that intergroup bias is primarily a result of positive ingroup reflection rather than outgroup devaluation; the second is that group formation, although bringing ingroup members closer together, leaves the distance between them and other outgroups unchanged (Gaertner, Dovidio and Bachman 1996). Numerous studies conducted in

laboratory settings have provided support for this model and have thus uncovered that ingroup prejudice towards outgroups is reduced when superordinate identities are introduced (Gaertner *et al*. 1990; Gaertner and Dovidio 2001; Eklund, Andersoon-Straberg and Hansen 2009; Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson and Galinsky 2011; Galinsky and Moskowitz 2000).[64]

The second model, the mutual differentiation model also proposes the introduction of superordinate identities as a means of eliminating intergroup prejudice (Hewstone 1996; Hewstone & Brown 1986). Following the common ingroup identity model, this model also advocates for the introduction of a superordinate identity; but, instead it places greater emphasis on the characteristics of this identity suggesting that it should not threaten the integrity of subgroup identities. In this context, however, this proposition is not meant to ensure generalizability of altered attitudes towards outgroup members not present in the situation of contact, but constitutes a precondition for negating the emergence of a backlash in the form of increased levels of prejudice (Hornsey and Hogg 2000). This divergence in associated processes is crucial as it leads to different predictions regarding the prevailing levels of prejudice when the salience of subgroup boundaries is significantly reduced in pursuit of superordinate goals (ibid), with the mutual intergroup differentiation model proposing that prevailing levels would increase. Findings from a number of studies conducted in laboratory settings can be regarded as evidence in support of this model (Vorauer, Martens, and Sasaki 2009; Vorauer and Sasaki 2009; Skorinko and Sinclair 2013; Mooijman and Stern 2016): although not specifically uncovering related mechanisms, these studies note an

[64] It should be underlined that, these studies do not directly address the generalizability of altered attitudes to outgroup members.

increase in the levels of prejudice in light of the introduction of superordinate identities.

Against this background, several experimental tests that focus on the context of the Syrian refugee crisis[65] examine whether perspective-taking interventions can be used as a tool to counter prejudice outside laboratory settings. However, this burgeoning literature has yielded inconclusive results, thus providing mixed evidence in relation to the relevance of the above models. More specifically, vignette studies focusing on the Syrian refugee crisis that highlight the sharing of a common identity between ingroup and outgroup members and measure the impact immediately after exposure have underscored that Greek respondents express lower levels of prejudice and higher willingness to assist asylum seekers (Dinas and Fouka 2018); Turkish respondents reveal no change in the levels of prejudice, but an increased willingness to assist asylum seekers (Lazarev and Sharma 2017); and Serbian respondents, who did not witness someone being hurt in the course of the ethno-religious wars in former Yugoslavia, do not express any change in their willingness to assist asylum seekers, while those who did witness reveal a decreased willingness to offer assistance (Bracic 2018). Echoing back to these latter findings and in a Turkish context, Getmansky and colleagues (2018) have found that attempts to reduce prejudice towards Syrian refugees by highlighting that most of these populations are innocent women and children have instead led to an increase in prejudice towards these populations. An explanation of this counterintuitive finding could be provided by the fact that women and children are seen as unproductive populations and therefore pose an economic burden to the receiving society. Notably, this interpretation is in accordance to the findings of Lazarev and Sharma

[65] For an exception, I here define the phenomenon as such, as I also focus on related studies in non-European contexts.

(2017), who further underline that exposure to statements regarding the economic costs imposed by refugees to host communities removes the pro-refugee impact of perspective taking interventions drawing on shared identity.

Another point of convergence with regards to perspective-taking interventions as a means of reducing prejudice relates to its durability across time. For instance, by exposing a US populace to an online perspective-taking exercise regarding the conditions refugees face, Adida and colleagues (2018) find that respondents instantaneously express greater willingness to take action in support of refugees despite their levels of prejudice remaining unchanged. However, within a week this noted change has faded completely. On the contrary, Simonovits and colleagues (2018) uncover that in a Hungarian context the markedly reduced anti-Roma sentiment induced by an online perspective-taking game persists for at least a month (see also Broockman and Kalla 2016). In fact, the durability of perspective-taking induced changes on prejudice has also been noted in the medium term. More specifically, in Rwanda a media-distributed perspective-taking intervention is found to have altered perceptions of social norms, and, in turn, behaviors in relation to intergroup interaction; nevertheless, personal beliefs are found to have remained intact (Paluck 2009). However, a similar intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo resulted in dissimilar findings, namely a decrease in tolerance and chances of helping disliked community members (Paluck 2010). From the above, it can be inferred that the current scholarship has demonstrated the strength of perspective-taking in altering prevailing levels of prejudice; however, it simultaneously has hinted at the importance of understanding how these unravel beyond the short term and simultaneously delving further into the conditions that can lead to an exaggeration of prejudice instead of the intended reduction.

Before proceeding further, it is imperative to pay special attention to the study of Dinas and Fouka (2018) with which my study is in direct dialogue due to the proximity of the studied issue. More specifically, focusing on the case of Greece and in the context of the European refugee crisis, Dinas and Fouka (2018) use survey data in combination with a perspective-taking experimental manipulation and examine its impact on attitudes and behavior towards asylum seekers. They surveyed host community members residing in the region of Macedonia and on the island of Lesbos, namely settings with a high proportion of Anatolian Greek refugee descendants, after exposing half of the sample to a vignette making parallels between the two refugee experiences. Specifically, this vignette stated: "Greece has recently received a large wave of refugees from Syria and other Asian countries. Today's refugee crisis is reminiscent of the story of the Asia Minor refugees after the Asia Minor catastrophe." Dinas and Fouka find that, when reminded of this historical background that underlined the sharing of a common identity, refugee descendants exhibit more favorable attitudes towards asylum seekers and a higher willingness to assist these populations.[66] Moreover, they uncover a similar pattern for non-refugee descendants residing in areas with a high concentration of Anatolian Greek refugees, which they explain on the basis of socialization processes. Drawing on these findings, Dinas and Fouka (2018) propose the large scale introduction of policies "that highlight Europe's tormented past [as these] can have a significant impact on public opinion [i.e. decreasing prejudice], that operates not only on descendants of forced migrants but also on their neighbors."

[66] Since the parallel between the two refugee experiences had been incorporated in the public discourse prior to the initiation of their experiment, both the control and treatment groups have been exposed to the treatment. By implication, the estimated impact of exposure to attitudinal and behavioral responses is quite conservative.

However, this study is burdened with a number of limitations that call for close scrutiny the identified causal relationship and associated policy recommendations. First, attitudinal and behavioral responses are captured only minutes after the perspective-taking intervention. As inferred from the theoretical insights that substantiate perspective-taking, evidence from previous studies, but also from the interactive and iterative relationship of policy making and society more broadly, it is imperative to investigate the issue across time and therefore ruling out the possibility of begetting a backlash. More specifically, by testing the impact of only one frame, instead of bidirectional ones, the external validity of survey experiments is not very strong (Bloemraad, Solva and Voss 2016). Second, by employing an implicitly emotional prime, as is apparent in the nostalgia evoked by the word "reminiscent" and the historically loaded reference to the "Asia Minor catastrophe," associations of collective victimhood are triggered. In turn, this could have led to the introduction of social desirability pressures: despite asking if respondents' had a refugee background only at the end of the interview, meaning that until then this identity remained unknown to the interviewer, the use of emotionally charged words could have led respondents to provide answers consistent with the emotional state hinted by the prime, rather than one reflecting their preferences. Third, the capturing of behavioral responses by the individual's willingness to donate 100 euros from the survey raffle to an NGO helping asylum seekers is questionable: instead of capturing willingness to help populations in need, it might reflect trust in these institutions. This becomes especially problematic when accounting for the differential levels of first-hand encounters between host communities and NGOs, which are geographically clustered with exposure to the European refugee crisis. Relatedly, the extent to which donation of 100 euros, or part

of this amount, while accounting the probability of winning this money, can be considered an act of helping asylum seekers is questionable. Therefore, although providing a good baseline, this study's limitations make further investigation imperative in order to evaluate whether the proposed policy intervention would result in the suggested impact.

Methods

The frame within public discourse

The frame that emerged within the public discourse since the early days of the outbreak of the European refugee crisis in Greece highly resembles the intervention Dinas and Fouka (2018) apply. Drawing on the existence of the refugee background associated with Anatolian Greek refugees, it made direct and indirect parallels between the two refugee experiences.[67] For instance, a number of newspaper articles reminded local populations of this refugee background and made comparisons between the two refugee experiences (e.g. Kathimerini 2016; EfSyn 2016). Importantly, this parallel was hinted at even by the articles' titles: "I have also been a refugee and I know" [*Υπήρξα και εγώ πρόσφυγας και ξέρω*] (Kathimerini 2016); "Images from yesterday that we also experience today" [*Εικόνες του χθες που ζούμε σήμερα*] (EfSyn 2016). In addition, special editions of newspapers, magazines and historical specials on the 1922 refugee experience became widespread during that period (e.g. Ethnos 2016; Lifo 2016). Importantly, the latter at times directly referred to the relevance of this historical event to the present. For example, a documentary

[67] Drawing on anthropological insights Hirschon (2016) indicates that the behavior of host communities should be understood within the framework of this common refugee background.

broadcast by one of the public TV channels was entitled "I was a refugee too;" it focused on the experiences of Anatolian Greek refugees (ERT 2016). Several art and photography exhibitions inspired by the same issue were presented across Greece. Two such exhibitions were "Attica greets the 1922 refugees" and "Roads of Survival," which focused on the European refugee crisis; they were organized by the Hellenic Parliament Foundation. Local initiatives in the form of workshops, for instance, were also undertaken as a means of raising awareness about the issue (Lesvosnews 2016). In fact, even the then Prime Minister of Greece, Alexis Tsipras, in his speech delivered at the 14th Regional Meeting held on Lesbos in May 2018, made a similar analogy, going one step further by encouraging the populations of Lesbos to compassionately interact with asylum seekers. After reminding locals of their refugee background, he urged them not to tolerate hostility towards asylum seekers. Inevitably, the frame gained a great deal of visibility and legitimacy in the socio-cultural sphere, making individual exposure to it inevitable.

As the frame was articulated by numerous social channels, it is impossible to capture neither the exact discourses surrounding respective articulation nor the intensity by which each respondent was exposed to it; this stands in direct contrast to the perspective-taking intervention employed by the study of Dinas and Fouka (2018), which ensured uniformity on these dimensions. This characteristic of the frame is crucial and enhances the internal validity of my study and generalizability of findings: the stimuli respondents have received are not fictitiously strong as in priming studies and survey experiments, but instead posit an accurate reflection of how such frames diffuse in society (Barabas and Jerit 2010).

Data and Methodology

I focus on the Greek island of Lesbos, which has found itself at the epicenter of both refugee experiences. More specifically, estimates suggest that, following the exchange of populations in 1922, approximately 30,000 Anatolian Greek refugees were resettled on the island, amounting at the time to 22% of its population (Kolodny and Darques 2004). Today, it is suggested that a quarter of the island's population, which is approximately 86,000 inhabitants, is of refugee descent (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011); this makes Lesbos one of Greece's areas with the highest share of inhabitants with a refugee background. These demographics ensure variation with regards to the existence of refugee background among the populations, therefore adding an important analytical dimension to the study. In addition, in the context of the European refugee crisis, the island of Lesbos has been the main entry point to Europe for this flow: of the one million asylum seekers that crossed from Turkey to Greece in the years 2015 and 2016 as part of their journeys towards Northern European countries, 600,000 landed on the island of Lesbos (UNCHR 2016; 2017). By implication, populations of Lesbos hold real images of outgroup members. This is crucial for a couple of reasons. Theoretically, both models substantiating perspective-taking as a means of prejudice reduction have been specified for situations of intergroup contact (See Hornsey and Hogg 2000). Methodologically, the lack of variation with regards to intergroup contact rules out an important confounding factor, as this has consistently been uncovered as a crucial determinant of attitudes towards outgroups (Allport 1954; Blumer 1958).[68] For these reasons, this setting constitutes an especially relevant case for examining the issue.

[68] I should clarify that here I refer to the absence or presence of intergroup contact. Of course, there is variation in the intensity and type of intergroup contact each respondent had with asylum seekers.

I draw on data derived from ethnographic observations and from 84 in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted from July 2016 until October 2016. The sample is composed of 36 respondents of refugee descent, nine of which are second-generation refugees and 27 third-generation; and 48 non-refugee descendants.[69] Respondents resided in three communities, which differ with regards to the contextual prevalence of the refugee identity. The first community, which I refer to as the *Refugee Community*, was created by Anatolian Greek refugees following the exchange of populations. This contextual identity is still apparent both in the community's architectural planning and naming; as expected, the majority of its residents are refugee descendants. The second community, which I refer to as *Semi-Refugee Community*, existed prior to the exchange of populations. However, several Anatolian Greek refugees were resettled there, creating a refugee neighborhood [*συνοικισμός*] as part of the pre-existing town; this term is still used today to refer to this area. A notable proportion of its current residents is of refugee descent. The third community, which I refer to as *Non-Refugee Community*, also existed prior to the exchange of populations and no refugees were officially resettled there. Undoubtedly, as a result of intermarriage and intercommunity migration, some refugee descendants reside there today. The sample's contextual variability adds a further analytical dimension, as it allows the examination of the interplay between personal and contextual identities.

The timing of data collection, approximately one year after the outbreak of the European refugee crisis and the emergence of the frame, has ensured locals'

[69] First generation refugees are not included in the sample, as almost a century following the exchange of populations these do not constitute a significant minority. Also, I excluded from the sample three respondents that are first generation refugees, whose status though is not related to the 1923 exchange of populations, but rather with other events of forced migration (e.g. the 1956-57 expulsion from Egypt to Greece).

exposure to the said frame. This is supported by the fact that many respondents articulated this parallel during the in-depth interview without any relevant intervention. More specifically, half of the respondents residing in the *Refugee Community* and approximately one third of respondents residing in the *Semi-Refugee* and *Non-Refugee Communities* respectively engaged with the frame independently. In the cases where respondents did not naturally draw on the parallel of interest, I attempted to articulate the frame as neutrally as possible by stating the following: "many talk about the refugee past of the island..." I then paused, giving them to opportunity to engage with the parallelization. In the few cases where respondents did not spontaneously react, I continued by adding, "… that we were also refugees," thus clearly providing a direction for the interview. Therefore, this strategy allowed me to examine respondents' involvement with the frame wither without reproducing it at all or by doing so in a neutral manner, rendering the observation of both positive and negative engagement with the frame possible. Finally, I explicitly asked respondents whether they had a refugee background only at the end of the interview, alongside questions regarding other key demographics. Nevertheless, in most cases this identity characteristic had already been implicitly revealed during the interview. By implication, I avoided, as far as possible, the introduction of related social desirability pressures; namely, ascribe respondents an identity and hinting at them acting in accordance to it. To analyze that data, I employed open coding techniques to develop the initial coding structure, which I applied to subsequent interviews. Simultaneously, I allowed for the emergence of new themes, which were, in turn, incorporated into the coding structure (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Frame Resonance: patterns of engagement with frames of common identity

Frame Consonance

The first pattern of engagement, *frame consonance*, encompasses cases where respondents accepted the re-categorization the frame introduced, making sense of the outgroup as part of a broader ingroup, in line with the common ingroup identity model. Interestingly, this pattern was noted both among refugee and non-refugee descendants, a fact that in each of the two cases revealed the presence of diverging processes however. In the case of refugee descendants, this frame was legitimized by those who had direct experiences of life as a refugee, or, in other words, by those who belong to the cohort of Anatolian Greek refugees.[70] Undoubtedly, as the exchange of populations occurred almost a century ago, their direct experience is not associated with the process of uprooting, but rather with that of re-rooting, which is, nevertheless, integral to life as a refugee. The case of *Margarita*[71], who resides in the *Refugee Community* and adopted an open stance towards asylum seekers, illustrates these dynamics. As she quickly revealed during out first encounter, her mother arrived from Asia Minor as a refugee. As a result, from a young age she had been socialized through her mother's stories about life on the "other side,"[72] her journey to Greece and the associated violence encountered until reaching the new lands. Despite being a second-generation refugee, *Margarita* belongs to the refugee cohort herself. She lived her early years as a settling refugee with no access to resources, experiencing the lack of housing and its limited space when this was

[70] See Small (2004) for a similar discussion on the use of "cohorts" and "generations."
[71] To ensure anonymity, I use pseudonyms throughout this paper.
[72] This is how locals refer to Asia Minor.

acquired. Later, when she gave birth to her children, she lacked a family network to assist her when she was "fighting in the fields"[73] [*πάλευα στα χωράφια*], as her family has resettled across Greece due to the said forced migration. The general poverty she lived in due to her refugee background significantly contributed to her internalization of the associated identity.

Margarita's background has been crucial for leading to her acceptance of the re-categorization of intergroup boundaries introduced by the frame. This can be explained by her ease to draw these parallels herself. For instance, when describing the ways in which contemporary asylum seekers arrived on the island, she often highlighted the similarities to her mother's arrival almost a century earlier; "my mother arrived here in a similar way," she recounted clearly acknowledging the parallel between the two refugee experiences. More importantly, however, the images of asylum seekers arriving on the island acted as a reminder of the difficulties she had encountered throughout her life due to her refugee background: given on her own experiences of the process of re-rooting, she could easily imagine the kind of difficulties asylum seekers would encounter. Over and over again she repeated with a trembling voice, "I know what it means to be a refugee" [*ξέρω από προσφυγιά*]. Her first-hand experiences of life as a refugee associated with the difficulties beyond arrival, *Margarita*, similarly to other respondents with such experiences, could easily accept the superordinate identity the frame introduced. In fact, she often hinted that this identity triggered her compassion towards asylum seekers: "we were also refugees and we know how this feels," she explained. When, drawing on her words, I parallelized the two refugee experiences, *Margarita* nodded compassionately, indicating her agreement and thereby her legitimization of the

[73] Instead of using the verb for "working" [*δούλευα*], she uses that for fighting [*πάλευα*], a word choice that hints at the difficulties encountered during this process.

frame. This suggests that, the proximity between her subgroup identity and the superordinate one introduced by the frame generated fertile grounds for accepting the elimination of intergroup boundaries along such lines.

Undoubtedly, the reproduction of discourses supporting *frame consonance* is not always in perfect alignment, as respondents at times introduced some qualifications to it. More specifically, respondents despite revealing their overall legitimization of the frame indicated their urge to acknowledge the distinctiveness of the Anatolian Greek refugee experience compared to this of contemporary asylum seekers. For example, *Vicky*, another second-generation refugee also from the refugee cohort and residing in the *Refugee Community*, upon independently reproducing the frame, justified: "our mothers came here in a similar way, but they came in poverty." With this comment *Vicky* by no means attempted to delegitimize the frame, as she clearly indicated that this provided her the overall framework to give meaning to her actions. Instead, she indicated her urge to reassert intergroup boundaries *within* the framework of the superordinate identity. By drawing on this minor point of contention with the frame, which reveals the importance of acknowledging distinct dimensions of the ingroup, it is indicated that this could be a potential reason to lead respondents to an eventual rejection of the frame.

Non-refugee descendants also legitimized the frame. Naturally, this legitimization did not arise from a personal experience within this realm, but rather was a result of diverging processes. These can be illustrated in the paradigmatic, within this context, testimony of *Alexandros*, a resident of the *Refugee Community*. *Alexandros* parallelized the two refugee experiences supporting that the stance of the host community needs to be understood through the lens of this common identity. Notably, due to a number of personal constraints his personal involvement in

providing asylum seekers with help was not equal to his own expectations. In any case, despite the following quotation's wording, which suggests it being a response to a posed question, the extract below was part of his independent illustration of his observations in relation to the European refugee crisis as experienced in his community, to which he further added his own explanation. In his words,

> [O]ne of the reasons why they acted this way is that they had lived the refugeeness of 1922 through their parents. And they know what it means to be a refugee because they were once uprooted. Most people here are refugees, yet Greeks; they arrived here following the Catastrophe of Smyrna. And because they knew of their parents' hardships, they gave what they should have been given.

As demonstrated, he drew on the common identity of the ingroup and outgroup, despite not holding this identity personally. In other words, he endorsed the erasure of boundaries between two groups, none of which he explicitly belonged to. Notably, all respondents of non-refugee descent that articulated the frame did so independently; they all drew on it as part of a broader discussion on the issue and had not been guided in that direction.

Importantly, only non-refugee descendants residing in the *Refugee* and *Semi-Refugee Communities* endorsed the frame. This echoes the findings of Dinas and Fouka (2018), who uncover that non-refugee descendants residing in areas with a high share of Anatolian Greek refugees are impacted by exposure to the vignette in a manner similar to refugee descendants. Dinas and Fouka interpret their finding within the socialization paradigm, suggesting that non-refugee descendants who

reside in such communities have internalized the experiences of their peers, and therefore, when reminded of this refugee background, their stance mirrors this of refugee descendants. However, accounting for the impersonal manner in which non-refugee descendants articulated the frame, the socialization explanation appears to be inadequate. Firstly, as inferred by their employed pronouns, non-refugee descendants do not perceive themselves as part of the group the frame refers to. As outlined in the above extract, *Alexandros* endorses the frame in order to give meaning to the actions and perceptions of his peers (i.e. '[…] because they knew of their parents' hardships, they gave what they should have given), which simultaneously indicates that his position is independently informed. Similarly, *Evgenia,* a non-refugee descendant from the *Semi-Refugee Community*, further substantiates this argument: in endorsing the frame she explained that "people immediately became aware of the similarities [in experiences], as most of them came here in a similar way." She also indicates her perceived distance from the frame, and, subsequently, her non-internalization of the refugee background of others in her community. Secondly, the overall tone characterizing this articulation revealed significant emotional distance from it, a fact that diverged from the articulation of refugee descendants. For instance, *Stefani*a, a non-refugee descendant from the *Refugee Community,* reminded me "not to forget that most people here are refugees;" however, her tone revealed that this *frame consonance* was cognitively informed and in fact independent of normative pressures. Therefore, despite residing in a community with a strong refugee background, these non-refugee descendants indicate that their articulation of the frame is not a result of an internalization of the refugee identity, debunking this way a socialization explanation. Instead, as elaborated in greater detail later in this paper, this *frame consonance* relates to non-

refugee descendants willingness to demonstrate belonging to the community, a fact achieved by honoring its refugee background.

Frame Dissonance

The second pattern of engagement, *frame dissonance*, describes cases where respondents rejected the frame. This type of engagement was the most commonly articulated across the sample. In any case, within this framework, two sub-categories are identified. The first sub-category, *positive frame dissonance*, encompasses cases where respondents highlighted the irrelevance of the superordinate refugee identity by juxtaposing a broader superordinate identity common to all humans. This is noted among respondents residing in the *Refugee* and *Semi-Refugee Communities*. As in the case of *frame consonance,* both refugee and non-refugee descendants engaged with the frame in such a manner but for diverging reasons. On the one hand, refugee descendants, who, in this case, did not belong to the refugee cohort, highlighted that instead of sharing a common refugee identity with asylum seekers it was their common humanity that eliminated intergroup boundaries. Despite holding a refugee background, the lack of vivid experiences of the life as a (settling) refugee prohibited respondents from subjugating under the superordinate identity the frame introduced; in response, they drew on an innate sense of morality when making sense of intergroup interaction. This type of frame rejection is exemplified by the case of *Amalia*, who despite being a second-generation refugee from the *Refugee Community* lived a life characterized by comparatively high levels of integration into the host community, a fact explained by her maternal local status. Therefore, *Amalia's* lack of related personal experiences made it more challenging for her to relate to asylum seekers on the grounds of a common refugee identity. As she

explained, “even if my father wasn’t [a refugee], I wouldn’t make this analogy. Because humans are above all, our common humanity [*ανθρωπιά*].” In other words, her lower identification with her refugee background posed barriers to dissolving intergroup boundaries on this basis. By implication, this personal inability led her to perceive the frame as irrelevant and therefore reject it. In her viewpoint, the elimination of intergroup boundaries was constituted possible due to the existence of another superordinate identity common to all humans.

Undoubtedly, this frame rejection was not always as direct and at times refugee descendants alluded to the frame momentarily. *Clio* demonstrates this ambivalent type of frame engagement, uncovering caveats that could be misconceived as frame endorsement. Notably, *Clio* is a third-generation refugee residing in the *Refugee Community* and had been highly involved in the assistance of asylum seekers. In describing her first encounters with asylum seekers coming ashore, minutes after the start of our first discussion, she independently articulated the frame, mentioning that these images made her feel as if she were witnessing her grandmother’s arrival from Asia Minor. However, as time passed and our conversation acquired a more personal tone, I intentionally referred to her refugee background again, partially reproducing the frame under investigation; I thus suggested that one could make sense of her behavior towards asylum seekers through the lenses of her refugee background. In response, *Clio* immediately expressed her disagreement with what I had just said: she rolled her eyes in a way that indicated her rejection of my comment and spontaneously added, “No, no, I don’t think so; I really don’t believe this. No, I am stupid by birth [*εκ γεννετής βλαμμένη*]; I couldn’t have done otherwise.” Interestingly, she was firm in rejecting the frame she had earlier reproduced, attributing her behavior to her character rather

than her refugee background. In fact, this initial endorsement could better be understood as a reflection of grandparental nostalgia.[74] It is therefore crucial to disentangle the meanings respondents ascribe to the frame when engaging with it.

On the other hand, non-refugee descendants also rejected the frame by instead highlighting their shared humanity with asylum seekers. However, in this case, this rejection was primarily a response to the exclusive nature of the frame that implicitly indicated that only those with a refugee background could adopt a compassionate stance towards asylum seekers. In other words, this frame rejection reflects the feelings of alienation the parallel brought to those not holding a refugee background. Illustrating these emotional dynamics that emerged in relation to the frame, *Antonia*, who resides in the *Refugee Community* and was highly involved in the assistance of asylum seekers, firmly expressed her disagreement by stating in a disgruntled tone: "I have no relation with refugeeness. However, one doesn't need such a background in order to be human." Her engagement with the frame unveils that she perceived the frame as denying her the possibility of behaving compassionately toward asylum seekers, which she nevertheless had done. Her discrediting of the frame therefore reflects her willingness to be ascribed membership to the group given this possibility. In a similar vein, *Tasos* also a non-refugee descendant residing in the *Refugee Community* who actively assisted asylum seekers rejected the frame by indicating that the urgency of the situation could not

[74] At times refugee descendants alluded to stories of refuge and showed me objects that their relatives carried with them during their journeys, or photos of lost people and property in Asia Minor. However, this nostalgia represents a means of remembering family members who faced forced migration and subsequently acted as the main narrators of these experiences, rather than an inconceivable desire to return to the "lost homelands." Although reproducing stories of their ancestors, they underlined that these did not provide a basis upon which to relate with incoming populations. "We did not experience this ourselves" [*Δεν τα ζήσαμε εμείς*] was a phrase commonly reproduced by refugee descendants without first-hand experiences of life as a refugee, indicating that their perceptions of asylum seekers were independently informed.

have allowed space for refugee identity dynamics to come into place. In doing so, he brought in as evidence his own active involvement in the assistance of asylum seekers despite lacking a refugee background. More specifically, in response to my comment about the island's refugee background, *Tasos* immediately and firmly expressed his disagreement by stating:

> For example, I am not from here. I am from a village close by, but I have been living here for more than 20 years. It is indeed the case that 90% of the people here are refugees. But if you are here and you saw it happening, I don't think that you could be thinking that your great-grandfather was a refugee. Because the person [in front of you] is dying.

Therefore, *Tasos* suggested that prosocial behavior was a result of basic human reflexes to save asylum seekers trapped in between life and death situations. In other words, he too proposed the relevance of the superordinate identity of common humanity in giving meaning to his behavior and simultaneously highlighted the redundancy of the frame on these grounds. This type of frame engagement provides crucial insights for theoretically advancing perspective-taking interventions as a means of prejudice reduction, as it indicates the importance of superordinate identities being inclusive of the whole ingroup and correspondingly not introducing boundaries within the group.

The second sub-category of *frame dissonance*, *negative frame dissonance*, relates to cases where respondents engaged with the frame by underlining the distinctiveness of the Greek experience. Importantly, this type of frame engagement emerged both among refugee and non-refugee descendants, residing in the *Semi-*

Refugee and *Non-Refugee Communities*. In accordance with the mutual intergroup differentiation model and contrary to expectations of the intervention, perspective-taking here led to an eventual strengthening of a subordinate identity and reassertion of intergroup boundaries, or, put differently, to the emergence of a backlash. Reacting to the frame, ingroup members instead identified differences between ingroup and outgroup members, a fact that led to an increase in perceived intergroup social distance. More specifically, after steering the discussion in the direction of the frame, respondents discredited it by refusing to ascribe a refugee identity either to Anatolian Greeks, or to contemporary asylum seekers. In detail, the fallacy of the comparison was deducted because "Anatolian Greeks were Greeks coming back to Greece," and, by implication, cannot be considered refugees. Despite being received as alien upon arrival, ingroup members here rejected the frame by highlighting that Anatolian Greeks were ethnically Greeks and were therefore returning to their homeland. In contrast, another group of respondents highlighted that the violence Anatolian Greek refugees encountered in Asia Minor left them with no choice other than to leave, implying that this was not the case for contemporary asylum seekers. For instance, *Toula*, a third-generation refugee residing in the *Semi-Refugee Community*, when responding to my comment regarding the island's refugee background, expressed her discontent with the parallel: "Yes, there were people from Smyrna and other areas of Turkey. But they were persecuted, right? They did not have a good life. They did not leave on a whim. It was a persecution. I really do not understand this parallelization. That's a mere rant!" In this way, she highlighted the redundancy of the frame on the basis of denying contemporary asylum seekers the legitimacy ascribed to Anatolian Greek refugees in fleeing. Ultimately, both justifications regarding this type of *frame dissonance* underline the importance

posited by the ingroup for acknowledging its distinctiveness within the superordinate identity.

In fact, an extreme manifestation of this urge of acknowledging ingroup distinctiveness is revealed in the counter-frame that attempted to rebut the interpretative framework introduced by the frame under scrutiny. Before describing this further it should be stressed that, only non-refugee descendants residing in the *Semi-Refugee* and *Non-Refugee Communities* engaged with the frame in such a manner. In any case, by exploring the ill-defined processes surrounding the legal pathways to asylum, this counter-frame drew on the case of Anatolian Greek refugees as a means of extrapolating characteristics that merited the ascription of refugee status. In using the case of Anatolian Greek refugees as paradigmatic, the "necessary" conditions for one to be regarded as refugee were inferred. Therefore, drawing on the fact that Anatolian Greek refugees migrated from the Ottoman Empire to Greece and, by implication, crossed borders only once, this counter-frame posited that, "according to international conventions, one is legally entitled to claim asylum only in a country neighboring to the one fleeing from; if continuing further they are illegal migrants [*λαθρομετανάστες*]." By building on a characteristic peculiar to the case of Anatolian Greek refugees, which no contemporary asylum seeker of this flow shared, statements questioning their legitimacy in asylum claiming were made. As *Natassa*, a non-refugee descendant from the *Semi-Refugee Community* explained, "even Syrians who fled a war are refugees only in Turkey. When in Greece, they are illegal migrants as they crossed borders twice." In essence, this counter-frame provided the tools to publicly denounce the entering to Greek territory by asylum seekers originating from non-neighboring countries. It seems that this resonated with respondents because it built on the familiar and recognized

as legitimate case of Anatolian Greek refugees, which had become central within the public discourse, while simultaneously exploiting and drawing on the incomprehensibility of the legal aspects surrounding the provision of asylum. Undoubtedly, apart from uncovering another type of frame engagement, the existence of this counter-frame is crucial as it provides further evidence of the interactive relationship between frame articulation and individual cognition (See Elgenius and Rydgren 2018), and therefore demonstrates the importance of investigating the impact of perspective-taking beyond the short term.

Understanding types of frame resonance

The setting in which ingroup members reside occupies a central role in determining their engagement with the frame. In accordance with previous literature, I here uncover that frame resonance needs to be in line with the discursive field characterizing the cultural environment of each community (e.g. Ferree 2003; McCammon, Muse, Newman, and Terrell 2007). This is crucial as it ultimately indicates a selective mechanism related to contextual dynamics that impact perspective-taking. More specifically, the contextual presence of a refugee background facilitates the reception of the frame as formulated by the perspective-taking intervention, as it draws on discourses central to its cultural milieu. By implication frame resonance could take the form of *frame consonance* only in the *Refugee* and *Semi-Refugee Communities*, due to its alignment with characteristics definitive of the respective communities' broader cultural environment associated with a refugee heritage. Correspondingly, the contextual absence of a refugee background, as in the case of the *Non-Refugee Community*, introduces constraints to

the diffusion of such frame engagement. On the other end of the spectrum, when the cultural environment is highly intertwined with characteristics of refugee heritage, *negative frame dissonance* could not become a viable type of frame engagement, as this is at odds with the prevailing cultural environment. Therefore, resonance with the frame in such a manner remained stillborn in the *Refugee Community*, but diffused across the *Semi-Refugee* and *Non-Refugee Communities*. It can thus be suggested that the existence of a contextual identity closely related to the dimension that the perspective-taking intervention principally drew upon is crucial as it prevents the resonance with the frame in the form of *negative frame dissonance*.

Moreover, in the *Refugee Community* a pattern emerged with regard to the ingroup's engagement with the frame; this sheds further light on the importance of the setting in perspective-taking, and also expands understanding on the interactive relationship between individuals and their historical heritage in the Greek context. More specifically, the exact way the frame resonated with residents of the *Refugee Community* was found to be dependent on the strength of their personal refugee identity, on the one hand, and on the intensity of help provided to asylum seekers,[75] on the other. *Figure 1* illustrates the exact relationships of frame engagement emerging from the interaction of these two dimensions. Importantly, the mechanism driving these relationships is related to an urge to demonstrate belonging to the community. This process necessitated the honoring of the community's definitive historical heritage, namely its refugee background. To make sense of these processes, it is imperative to note that extensive anthropological evidence has demonstrated that honoring one's community is crucial in demonstrating belonging,

[75] I treat both dimensions as continuous variables, instead of dichotomous; this is crucial as it contributes to developing a better understanding of the noted variation (see also Small 2009).

while showing unity to outsiders is another key dimension of such local moral codes (See Herzefeld 1980).

Figure 1: Frame engagement in the *Refugee Community*

		Personal Refugee Identity	
		Strong	*Weak*
Intensity of Help	*High*	Frame Consonance	Frame Dissonance
	Low	Frame Dissonance	Frame Consonance

As inferred from *Figure 1*, respondents with a strong affinity to their refugee background and who actively assisted asylum seekers engaged with the frame in the form of *frame consonance* (upper-left box). As illustrated by the paradigmatic, within this framework, case of *Margarita*, and explained in detail in an earlier section, respondents with such characteristics could identify with the parallel as the encountering of asylum seekers in itself acted as a reminder of their own experiences. They therefore ascribed the frame with legitimacy on this basis. Importantly, these respondents demonstrate belonging to the community both through holding a strong refugee background as well as through their undertaken actions in relation to asylum seekers. They had therefore honored the community's refugee background with both relevant dimensions. In fact, this perfect alignment with the community's prototype of an ingroup member could explain why members

of this subgroup, *Vicky* for instance, did not put their social position into scrutiny when indicating the distinctiveness of Anatolian Greek refugees *vis-a-vis* contemporary asylum seekers. Moreover, as inferred by the lower-left box, respondents with a strong affinity to their refugee background who did not actively assist asylum seekers engaged with the frame in the form of *frame dissonance*. Drawing inferences from their own stance, they underlined the independence of holding a refugee background from providing assistance to asylum seekers, therefore indicating the frame's irrelevance in explaining social processes. These dynamics are illustrated by the testimony of *Amalia*, whose personal discordance with the frame's suggestions led her to engage with it in the form of *frame dissonance.* Notably the own refugee background of *Amalia,* and of other respondents falling in this category, demonstrated in itself their belonging to the community. In turn, this provided them with the legitimacy in engaging with the frame in such a manner without exposing their social position to scrutiny.

Nevertheless, the introduction of a comparative dimension by exploring the way those lacking a refugee background engaged with the frame is revealing for demonstrating the processes of interest. More specifically, respondents lacking a refugee background and having provided high levels of help to asylum seekers engaged with the frame in the form of *frame dissonance* (upper-right box). As discussed through the cases of *Antonia* and *Tasos*, this strand of respondents rejected the parallel due to perceiving it as exclusionary towards them. Importantly, they could engage with the frame in such a manner without subjecting their social position to scrutiny, as they had already demonstrated their belonging to the community through their actions; they had therefore honored the community's identity background by acting in accordance to the parallel, so its articulation was

not a precondition for this. By implication, this contrasts the way those non-refugee descendants who did not actively participate in the assistance of asylum seekers engaged with the frame; this group endorsed the parallel. Lacking both conditional dimensions that would have manifested belonging to the community, this group resorted to the endorsement of the frame, as they did not hold the social legitimacy to do otherwise without dishonoring their community. In this context, the testimony of *Alexandros* is paradigmatic. In addition to the above illustration of his engagement with the frame, when, at the end of the interview, I mentioned the puzzling endorsement of the frame by non-refugee descendants because this drew on a dimension they themselves did not hold, *Alexandros* responded, somewhat perplexedly, "how could I ever suggest the contrary?" and advised me to "ask those who have this background about it." He therefore openly admitted his lack of legitimacy in discrediting the frame, indicating that his *frame consonance* was predetermined by his identity and undertaken stance and did not result from a personal alignment with its message. Ultimately, his justification provides further evidence that his endorsement of the frame is not a result of socialization dynamics but rather a means of safeguarding his social legitimacy by honoring its community's identity. Ultimately, a crucial dimension determining engagement with the frame in the *Refugee Community* is related to the ingroup's need to demonstrate belonging with the community and conform to local moral codes that require them to honor its definitive characteristic.

Conclusion

Focusing on the European refugee crisis in Greece and drawing on the frame that emerged within the public discourse parallelizing the experiences of Anatolian Greek refugees to those of contemporary asylum seekers crossing the same Aegean straits a century later, I explored the ways in which perspective-taking interventions resonate with ingroup members in natural settings. The contribution of this study is twofold. Theoretically, it informs the burgeoning literature on perspective-taking as a means of prejudice reduction by underlining the *processes* by which respondents engage with such interventions. On this basis, suggestions, with regards to reasons facilitating this process, or leading to the emergence of a backlash, are made and can eventually contribute to a better designation of such interventions. Empirically, it provides consistent evidence against the commonly provided explanation that the refugee background of Greek host communities was a key motivating factor for the expression of a welcoming stance towards asylum seekers in the context of the European refugee crisis (cf. Hirschon 2016; Oikonomakis 2018). Theoretically informed by the common ingroup identity and mutual intergroup differentiation models and simultaneously accounting for the importance of intergroup contact in opinion formation, I focused only on ingroup members that came in contact with outgroup members, so as to rule out relevant confounding factors. I examined the issue in the medium term, approximately a year after the frame's initial articulation. This permitted capturing frame engagement, as this evolved following numerous iterations with societal forces. Within this framework, I uncovered two broad patterns in which the frame resonated with ingroup members. The first pattern, *frame consonance*, refers to cases where respondents endorsed the parallel; the second, and most prominent, pattern, *frame dissonance*, refers to cases where

respondents rejected it, either by juxtaposing the relevance of the broader identity category of common humanity (*positive frame dissonance*), or by denying the sharing of this common identity between ingroup and outgroup members (*negative frame dissonance*).

Individual as well as contextual level factors contributed to the emergence of this typology of frame engagement. On the individual level, holding a strong personal refugee background based on lived experiences as a refugee was found to facilitate resonance with the frame in the form of *frame consonance*. This finding implies that strong affinity to the introduced superordinate identity could lead ingroup members to more easily accept altered intergroup boundaries. In a similar vein and on the contextual level, the proximity of superordinate identity to the broader cultural environment is found to have shaped the ways in which the frame could resonate with its residents. More specifically, the absence of a contextual refugee identity prevented resonance with the frame in the form of *frame consonance*. In such communities, the frame either did not resonate with the ingroup, or resonated in the form of *frame dissonance*. Revealing similar processes, the presence of a strong contextual refugee identity is found to have prevented resonance with the frame in the form of *negative frame dissonance*. Undoubtedly, this does not suggest that all ingroup members in the *Refugee Community* engaged with the frame in the form of *frame consonance.* However, what is here indicated is that the frame's rejection did not occur along confrontational lines, as implied by discourses surrounding *negative frame dissonance*; it was only the relevance of the superordinate identity in giving meaning to intergroup relations that was challenged, not its existence. This finding indicates that when superordinate identities align with the broader cultural environment the emergence of a backlash is more difficult.

Drawing on this insight it can therefore be suggested that perspective-taking interventions should build on identities central, if not definitive, to corresponding contexts in order to prevent the introduction of a backlash.

In fact, when the introduced superordinate identity was in perfect alignment with the community's cultural environment an important pattern emerged with regards to frame engagement. In this case, the way in which ingroup members engaged with the frame was dependent on the strength of their personal refugee identity, on the one hand, and on the intensity of help provided to asylum seekers, on the other. Only by strongly representing either of these dimensions were ingroup members ascribed the legitimacy to reject the frame, without exposing their membership within the community to scrutiny. In the absence of both, frame endorsement constituted a means of honoring the community's definitive identity that they had otherwise failed to do so, by not representing either dimension. This indicates that *frame consonance* does not necessarily reflect an acceptance of the frame's message, which would be explained by socialization processes as Dinas and Fouka (2018) suggest. Instead, in certain cases this was a result of diverging mechanisms associated with the individual's relation to the community and urge to honor its definitive characteristic as a means of demonstrating membership to it. Undoubtedly, this mechanism is suggestive and its validity in other similar communities should be tested.

By drawing on the uncovered typology of frame engagement I make three further suggestions with regard to the designation of perspective-taking interventions. Firstly, as already indicated in the context of the mutual intergroup differentiation model, when underlying common features between ingroup and outgroup members, it is imperative to acknowledge the distinctiveness of the former.

As demonstrated subtly through cases of *frame consonance*, this urge for reasserting the ingroup's unique characteristics becomes apparent even when the frame is endorsed: ingroup members, although accepting the superordinate identity that highlights the common features between ingroup and outgroup members, simultaneously indicate the importance they assigned to the existence of intergroup boundaries. Through cases of *negative frame dissonance* it is demonstrated that this non-acknowledgement could even lead to a backlash; in other words, perceived similarity between ingroup and outgroup members is found to have increased, instead of the intended reduction. Secondly, as inferred by the meanings ascribed to the frame in the form of *positive frame dissonance*, it is crucial not to create boundaries *within* the ingroup while eliminating those separating the ingroup and outgroup. In the case studied, in an attempt to remove ingroup and outgroup boundaries, the perspective-taking intervention alienated a part of the ingroup. More specifically, only a part of the ingroup could relate to the superordinate identity of common refugee background, a fact perceived as exclusionary by ingroup members of non-refugee descent. In turn, this divisive nature of the frame led excluded ingroup members to highlight its redundancy. Making inferences from this case, when introducing superordinate identities in an attempt to reduce prejudice between ingroup and outgroup members, it is imperative not to introduce divisions within the ingroup: the superordinate identity should be shared among all ingroup members exposed to perspective-taking. Thirdly, as inferred by the meanings ascribed to the frame when this resonated with respondents in the form of *negative frame dissonance*, perspective-taking interventions should draw on concepts widely understood across society so as to prevent their misinterpretations and, in turn, the emergence of a backlash on such a basis. In the case studied, the frame drew on the

legally ill-defined, and not widely understood, concept of refugees. The lack of an established social understanding of this concept's meaning across members of society generated fertile grounds for the emergence of a counter-frame, which challenged the frame in its core and de-legitimized it by suggesting its irrelevance. It is therefore crucial that introduced superordinate identities are based on dimensions easily understood by ingroup members, thus limiting the possibility of misinterpretations and, in turn, of the emergence of counter-frames. In short, on the basis of these findings it is suggested that, perspective-taking interventions aiming at reducing intergroup prejudice need to acknowledge the distinctiveness of the ingroup; not to introduce boundaries within the ingroup; and draw on widely understood concepts whose meanings cannot be easily manipulated. It should be stressed that these conditions are suggestive and further research should examine their generalizability in other contexts.

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Conclusion

Greece, Summer 2016. *We now know what we would be required to do. But, it will not be easy if it would happen again. It will actually be difficult. It is the first time in my life that I am afraid of something I have experienced; that I am afraid of 'the known.' Usually, I blench the unknown. I never dread a situation that I have experienced, no matter how difficult this was, because I know what I will encounter. And somehow I believe that I will find my way. But, 'the unknown?' I blench it. This is the only case that the opposite is actually happening. Imagine what a long slog it was!*

The Argument in Brief

This thesis set out to explain an empirical puzzle: how Greeks, although consistently revealing high levels of xenophobic sentiments in cross-European surveys, behaved in a prosocial manner towards asylum seekers who were passing through Greece in 2015 and 2016. On a first level of analysis, addressing this empirical puzzle expanded understanding of intergroup relations in contemporary Greek society, as well as of the European refugee crisis as a phenomenon, a line of inquiry that has already attracted significant scholarly attention (e.g. Czymara and Schmidt-Catran 2017; Jäckle and König 2018; Bygnes 2019; Gessler, Tóth, Wachs 2019; Dinas, Matakos, Xefteris, Hangartner 2019; Hangartner, Dinas, Marbach, Matakos, Xefteris 2019). However, the contribution of this thesis has not been confined to only addressing this particular empirical puzzle, as it simultaneously engaged with and informed debates that lay at the core of ethnic relations literature. What is the relationship between prejudice and discrimination? Are the survey questions usually employed to represent attitudes good proxies for observed behavior? Why do ingroup members help outgroup strangers? Does the sharing of a common identity improve intergroup relations? Can interventions that highlight commonalities between groups foster inclusion? Under what conditions do they beget a backlash? Comprised of three independent, yet interrelated, papers, this thesis addressed these questions, which combined, allowed for the untangling of the overarching empirical puzzle.

The *first paper* set out to explore whether constructs of self-reported prejudice are good predictors of actual discrimination, by examining whether the discordance between the documented prejudice of Greeks and their observed behavior during the European refugee crisis has been a result of mismeasurement of

the former construct, or of the more general fact that it inherently is a poor predictor of relevant behavior. To this end, I initially explored the validity of survey questions often used to represent prejudice so as to assess whether these accurately capture xenophobic sentiments of Greeks. Although I uncovered three types of biases the considered construct of self-reported prejudice is burdened with, the magnitude rather than challenging its validity acts as a reminder of dimensions that need to be taken into consideration when formulating survey statements. The first bias resulted from respondents' misconceptions of words, or statements altogether. For instance, some respondents equated the word "terrorism" with the "feeling of terror" and thus seemingly evaluated a different statement. Undoubtedly, the issue of misconceiving words has been extensively discussed in survey research: for instance, Fowler (2012) cautions survey research students to avoid the use of poor wording, while underlines that it is imperative to ensure that the words used are consistent for all respondents to ensure that the employed measures are reliable and valid. In this vein, the identification of such a misconception of the seemingly straightforward word of "terrorism" acts as a reminder of the issues that need to be taken into consideration when designing questions to be good measures and highlights the importance of using words with straightforward meanings in survey questions (cf. Suessbrick, Schober and Conrad 2000; Schober, Conrad and Fricker 2004). The second bias I identified relates to the fact that some survey questions tapped into contextual conditions of particular geographical areas. In these instances, attitudes were not captured by respondents' evaluation of survey questions, bur rather by the subject they attributed blame to for these conditions. For example, the majority of respondents residing in close proximity to the refugee camp agreed that "refugees are a burden on public health," because of the continuous burst of the refugee

camps' sewage pipelines as they explained. Many of them blamed the responsible governmental authorities for not having created the necessary infrastructure and simultaneously underlined that asylum seekers are not to blame for this. Especially in reference to situations of crises, in which contextual conditions are by definition continuously altered, the prevalence of this bias should be expected. Drawing on evidence from this investigation, it seems that this bias can be quantitatively identified: respondents residing in the same community tend to provide very similar evaluations to survey questions burdened with this bias. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first study to identify this bias. This could potentially be explained by the novel methodological approach I employed in this paper: earlier studies investigating biases of survey measurements have primarily employed experimental manipulations, which thus prohibited them from capturing the meanings respondents ascribe to survey questions (cf. Janus 2010; Blinder, Ford and Ivarsflaten 2013). On the contrary, my ethnographic assessment facilitated this identification. The third bias is social desirability, which, in line with earlier studies, is found to have led respondents with higher educational qualifications to conceal their opinions and to reveal lower levels of prejudice towards asylum seekers than those they actually held (Janus 2010). As I explained, this concealment of their opinions can be interpreted as an attempt to negotiate membership to a social group for which the prerequisite is a specific type of social identity. In any case, in the case study at hand, education is confounded with exposure to the European refugee crisis: higher educated individuals happened to reside in communities less exposed to the phenomenon. Thus, this bias amplified the difference of anti-refugee attitudes across communities. In combination, the existence of these biases uncovered a tendency of the survey statements here employed to slightly overestimate anti-refugee attitudes

of the population surveyed as a function of exposure to the European refugee crisis. Undoubtedly, the magnitude of these biases is not large enough to explain the revealed inconsistency between attitudes and observed behavior, rather the identification of these biases have acted as a reminder of the dimensions that need to be taken into consideration when designing survey questions so as to create reliable and valid measures.

I next highlighted that in cases of mismatch between self-reported prejudice and observed behavior, it was emotional dynamics that guided individual actions. This suggests that, a reason behind the discrepancy between attitudes and behavior towards asylum seekers in Greece is that survey questions fail to capture emotions towards asylum seekers. This is an important omission of this attitudinal construct and its incorporation could make self-reported prejudice a better predictor of observed discrimination. Although further evidence to validate this finding is needed, this finding constitutes a first step to improve the construct of prejudice. Undoubtedly, this is of central importance to studies investigating the formative basis of attitudes towards outgroups in the context of the European refugee crisis (Hangartner *et al*. 2019; Gessler *et al*. 2019) and beyond (Quillian 1995; Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky 2006; Schneider 2008). In fact, this insight is in line with evidence from the field of social psychology, which, in stressing that attitudes are composed of both a cognitive and an affective dimension has highlighted that for the case of discriminatory behavior it is the affective dimension that drives action (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick 2007; Talaska, Fiske and Chaiken 2008; Zhou, Dovidio and Wang 2013). More broadly, this section of the thesis, in line with Pager and Quillian (2005), problematized a widely held assumption within the field of sociology, implying that self-reported prejudice is a good predictor of actual discrimination.

Having identified the missing link between self-reported prejudice and observed behavior, I next adopted a micro-sociological approach and set out to understand the reasons facilitating prosocial action in particular. Therefore, the *second paper* argued that the *type* of intergroup contact was an important factor underlying the provision of assistance to asylum seekers; the physical distance separating host community members and asylum seekers was crucial in determining the actions of ingroup members towards outgroups. Specifically, the ability to identity asylum seekers on an individual level ensured that host community members humanized these populations and developed an interpersonal connection with them. Contrastingly, being able to identify asylum seekers only as part of a group led host community members to hold an abstracted image of these populations. Moreover, the degree of emergency characterizing intergroup contact also played a crucial role in incentivizing prosocial action. When host community members came in contact with asylum seekers that encountered life-threatening situations they were urged to spontaneously offer them assistance. On the contrary, when the emergencies were not life-threatening, host community members had the time to realize that their involvement would not improve the overall situation, which prohibited them from instantaneously assisting asylum seekers. In short, prosocial behavior towards asylum seekers largely depended on the situational dynamics characterizing intergroup contact.

This finding is central to explaining the overarching empirical puzzle of this thesis and thus suggests that Greeks offered help to asylum seekers passing through the country due to the way in which they came in contact with them. This finding not only significantly contributes to addressing this puzzle, but also makes three principal contributions to the broader literature of ethnic relations. First, it indicates

that the situational characteristics under which intergroup contact takes place should be taken into consideration, as they can significantly alter the ways this is experienced. Current sociological literature investigating the impact of intergroup contact on intergroup relations only quantifies contact (cf. McLaren 2003; Hjerm 2007; Schneider 2008; Enos 2014) and, as demonstrated here, the consideration of its qualitative characteristics is an important extension that could significantly improve its representation. Second, it shows that individual actions are also guided by situational factors and thus the same individual can engage in different kinds of behavior interchangeably. Ultimately this challenges the conception of individual action as being solely guided by individual predispositions and indicates that placing individuals into stable categories that can, in turn, be used as predictors of behavior can overshadow important behavioral mechanisms (Kalyvas 2003; Luft 2015). Third, this *paper* investigated instances of cooperative interethnic interactions. Ethnic relations scholarship has mostly focused on examining instances of intergroup tensions (cf. Jäckle and König 2018; Czymara and Schmidt-Catran 2018). Therefore, this scholarly shift is of analytical value as it extends the literature to consider behavior that lies at the opposite end of the behavioral spectrum than the one usually examined. The uncovered insights are crucial for policy-making, as they directly highlight ways to foster intergroup cooperation in multicultural settings. To provide further evidence for my argument, the *second paper* also engaged with an alternative explanation, which suggests that the offering of assistance to asylum seekers was a result of host community members' refugee heritage (cf. Hirschon 2016; Oikonomakis 2018). However, I demonstrated that this alternative explanation cannot explain why Greeks offered their assistance to asylum seekers. More specifically, when holding the *type* of intergroup contact constant and comparing

individuals with refugee heritage to those without one, it appears that personal refugee background cannot explain why host community members helped asylum seekers: both refugee and non-refugee descendants behaved similarly towards asylum seekers (see also Dinas and Fouka 2018 for further evidence).

Nevertheless, this identity-based explanation was extensively articulated within the public discourse and direct as well as indirect parallels between the two refugee experiences were drawn, ultimately underlying the sharing of a common identity between ingroup and outgroup members. Aiming at developing a well-rounded understanding regarding this frame's impact on Greek society, the *third paper* examined how this resonated with host community members directly exposed to the European refugee crisis. This permitted me to delve deeper into this alternative explanation, and understand how its diffusion in the public domain impacted society. In fact, I conceptualized the frame as a perspective-taking intervention in a natural setting and engaged with an emerging line of research that investigates ways to reduce prejudice with experimental manipulations in the context of the European refugee crisis and beyond (e.g. Paluck 2009; 2010; Dinas and Fouka 2018; Adida, Lo, and Platas 2018; Getmansky, Sinmazdemir and Zietzoff 2018). I thus directly built on the study of Dinas and Fouka (2018), which initiated the same perspective-taking intervention in Greece in the context of the European refugee crisis and examined its effect on a very short term basis. I instead scrutinized the way in which host community members engaged with the frame in the medium term and developed a relevant typology. The first pattern of engagement, *frame consonance*, encompasses cases where respondents accepted the re-categorization the frame introduced and thus considered the outgroup as part of a broader ingroup. The second pattern of frame engagement, *frame dissonance*, encompasses cases

where respondents rejected the frame. This rejection occurred on two bases: some respondents highlighted the irrelevance of the superordinate refugee identity by juxtaposing the relevance of a broader superordinate identity common to all humans (*positive frame dissonance*), and some others engaged with the frame by underlining the distinctiveness of the Greek experience (*negative frame dissonance*) on the basis of denying a refugee identity either to Anatolian Greek refugees or to contemporary asylum seekers. Also, a counter-frame emerged.

Based on the typology of frame engagement, I made three principal suggestions regarding the designation of perspective-taking interventions which are thus of relevance to the broader literature. Firstly, perspective-taking interventions that underline a common feature between ingroup and outgroup members should also stress the distinctiveness of the former in order to prevent the introduction of a backlash. Secondly, perspective-taking interventions should make sure not to create boundaries within the ingroup while attempting to eliminate those separating the ingroup and outgroup as this would introduce divisions within the ingroup. Thirdly, perspective-taking interventions should draw on concepts widely understood across society in order to decrease the chances of misinterpretations and thus the emergence of a backlash on this basis.

Alternative Explanation

To support my overarching argument further, it is important to rule out an alternative explanation that could plausibly explain why Greeks helped asylum seekers despite their documented xenophobic sentiments. This is that the behavior of Greeks

towards asylum seekers was a result of the fact that these populations were just passing through Greece onto other parts of Europe and because of this host community members did not perceive them as threatening neither economically nor culturally. Theoretically, this alternative explanation relates to group threat theory (Blumer 1958; Quillian 1995), which suggests that prejudice arises due to intergroup competition over scarce resources (See Thesis Introduction). Whether this competition is real or merely perceived is contested (See Ceobanu and Escandell 2010 for a discussion), but it has extensively been demonstrated that, irrespective of its nature, prejudice can extend to both the economic and cultural realms (Citrin, Greek, Muste and Wong 1997; Fetzer 2000; Scheepers, Gijberts and Coenders 2002). To provide further robust evidence in support of the main argument of this thesis, I here engage with this alternative explanation and highlight that the behavior of Greeks was not driven by an absence of economic or cultural threat.

Economically, asylum seekers did not pose a threat of direct job competition to host communities: the short time spent in the respective host community before continuing their journey did not allow for this. However, direct job competition is not the only way in which (perceived) economic threat manifests itself. Indeed, the outbreak of the European refugee crisis in Greece introduced other kinds of economic threats to local populations, particularly to those residing on the islands exposed to the asylum seekers' arrival: for example, the hotel industry on those islands was economically negatively affected (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis 2018). Those employed in the sector faced personal economic losses, which lends credence to the interpretation that the outbreak of the European refugee crisis had an indirect negative effect on their economic situation. In fact, in his ethnography, Papataxiarchis (2016) highlights that those villagers employed in the big hotels of

Molyvos[76] were "frustrated and worried." Accounting for this evidence and drawing on the predictions of group threat theory, it would be expected that these populations instead became more prejudiced towards asylum seekers and thus abstained from providing help, a pattern I failed to identify in my ethnographic research.

In fact, on the basis of the same theoretical logic, fishermen should not have engaged in rescue efforts as this would cause personal economic losses stemming from the loss of daily catch and, thus, daily income. However, as extensively documented in the *second paper*, fishermen not only assisted asylum seekers when stumbling upon boats while fishing, but also engaged in actions to prohibit the occurrence of human tragedies in the water that happened further away from their fishing spots. Naturally, engaging in this form of prosocial behavior required fuel and thus incurred additional economic costs. In short, fishermen strongly assisted asylum seekers, despite the personal economic losses that the engagement in such actions entailed. This suggests that their behavior cannot be attributed to the absence of (perceived) economic threat.

With the outbreak of the European refugee crisis on the Greek islands, employment opportunities emerged in other sections of the economy. Some host community members, for instance, became employed temporarily in the humanitarian sector as drivers, guards or cleaners in refugee camps and reception centers. Relatedly, Papataxiarchis (2016) also highlights that some villagers attempted to make a shift to humanitarian tourism. Although my ethnographic data does not allow for an analysis on related economic costs and benefits, those host community members who somehow became economically involved in the

[76] This is one of the main touristic towns of the Greek island of Lesbos.

humanitarian industry did so while searching for opportunities to withstand economic losses.

Similarly, helping asylum seekers was not conditional on the absence of (perceived) cultural threat. This is exemplified by testimonies of fishermen, demonstrating the determining role of the *type* of intergroup contact in instigating prosocial behavior. As one explained fisherman explained when referring to the rescue efforts he undertook in the water: "there is no exception. You just give your hadn to people. Even if the person is a murderer, a criminal. This is how humans act," while another one revealed to have probably helped "jihadists" but as he explain, one cannot differentiate people in the water. It therefore seems that host community members assisted those in need indiscriminately, without considering whether these people might pose a cultural threat. As evidenced extensively in the *second paper*, the way in which host community members came in contact with asylum seekers and the degree of emergency the latter faced during the intergroup encounter induced them to engage in prosocial behavior and to overcome potential sentiments of (perceived) cultural threat. Taking into account these considerations, it can therefore be concluded that host community members did not engage in prosocial behavior towards asylum seekers due to an absence of (perceived) economic or cultural threat characterizing intergroup interactions.

Directions for Future Research

This thesis has contributed to the ethnic relations literature, and has also implied ways that intergroup cooperation can be fostered in multicultural settings. Simultaneously, however, these contributions have also indicated directions for

future research, which could be explained by the fact that this thesis has ultimately been a theory-generating exercise. Drawing on the findings of the *first paper*, it seems imperative that future research should empirically test whether incorporating survey questions that capture the affective dimension of prejudice to the construct of prejudice significantly improves survey results. Relatedly, future research should investigate further the relationship of self-reported prejudice and different forms of discriminatory behavior. Moreover, future research should build on the analytical shift the *second paper* initiated and investigate further instances of cooperative intergroup interactions. Such findings could be used in designing policies that would directly improve intergroup relations in multicultural settings. The suggestions of the *third paper* regarding ways to improve the robustness of perspective-taking interventions need to also be empirically tested.

More broadly, future research should validate the principal argument of this thesis – that being the importance of the *type* of intergroup contact in guiding prosocial actions towards asylum seekers – in reference to other contexts. This is imperative for the establishment of the argument's generalizability beyond the case study at hand. Asylum seekers have been arriving on a few European islands, which permits conducting a similar examination in other analogous and isolated contexts to explore whether the same processes can be identified. In this vein, this argument should first be tested with reference to another Greek island: this would ensure no significant variation in outgroup demographics, as asylum seekers arriving to Greek islands mostly are of the same origin. Moreover, it would also be important to test this argument in reference to a context with different outgroup demographics. The Italian island of Lampedusa would constitute a good case study for this purpose. It has acted as a gateway to Europe for people crossing the Mediterranean Sea from

Libya to Italy and, therefore, the demographics of outgroups these local populations come in contact with are different from those Greek host communities encountered. Specifically, the majority of people arriving there is black, while based on their countries of origin are mostly defined as economic migrants. In addition, it would also be analytically interesting to explore whether the overarching argument of this thesis holds in conditions of outgroup immobility. Thus, further research could examine whether similar characteristics that define the *type* of intergroup contact are also crucial in guiding behavior when asylum seekers are more permanently established in a society. This is particularly relevant empirically, as asylum seekers, comprising the flow under scrutiny, today reside in various forms of accommodation – among others, refugee camps, asylum seekers' shelters, and houses – across Europe and, thus, the way in which they come into contact with European host community members exhibits analogous variation. This analysis would be of particular value for designing integration policies of asylum seekers.

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Greece, Summer 2016. *It was the first time that I went with Sotiris and Antigone to fish for squid. For me, and maybe Antigone too, this was more like a leisure trip, rather than a mundane and necessary activity. I had never fished for squid before and I was also intrigued to go close to the sea border. Apparently, squid are more easily caught at dusk. So we met at the harbor by the rickety trawler at around 5 p.m. to allow enough time to go to Sotiris' 'squid spot' and prepare for the catch. Antigone had also brought drinks; a juice for Sotiris and hot chocolate for me! I sat in the front of the trawler and on a few throws Sotiris had piled up to create a comfy*

seat for his 'guest,' while he and Antigone sat at the back. It took us I think around 15 minutes to arrive at the spot. When Sotiris switched off the engine, we could only hear the calmness of the sea, in between the Greek and Turkish land. With great concentration, he started preparing the fishing line, completely ignoring Antigone and I breaking the silence and chatting. Suddenly, he stopped and raised his head. He looked at Antigone hinting at her to stop talking. For a few moments, he just scrutinized the sea with his eyes in the direction of the cape. "Is it one?" he asked and straight away answered his own question: "No, it is not," and continued what he was doing earlier. Then, Antigone looked at me and said, "fishing will never be the same."

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Appendix A

A note on methodology

Each of the three papers comprising this thesis has a methodological section that describes in-detail the respective methodological approach and data analyzed. However, it is imperative to also provide an overview of the fieldwork as a whole, as the three papers comprising this thesis are based on data I collected as part of one research project. In this methodological note I therefore describe the communities studied in each paper, discuss the methodological choices and illustrate the characteristics of the overall sample, as well as provide insights into how the fieldwork was carried out.

Fieldwork Sites. I conducted fieldwork in four sites in Greece. However, I do not draw on all sites in each paper, for a number of reasons, which I here discuss in detail. Table 1 gives information on which locations are used in each paper.

Table 1: Sites studied in each paper

Location	Paper	Pseudonyms (Paper)
Location 1a	Paper 2	Mountain Community (2)
Location 1b	Paper 2, 3	Sea Community (2); Refugee Community (3)
Location 2	Paper 1, 3	Refugee Camp Community (1); Non-Refugee Community (3)
Location 3	Paper 1, 3	Tourism Community (1); Semi-Refugee Community (3)
Location 4	Paper 1	Urban Community (1)

In the *first paper*, I draw on evidence from Locations 2, 3 and 4. The reason of focusing on these communities is data availability: I did not include a closed-ended section in the in-depth interviews I conducted in Location 1 (a & b). The importance of including such a section in my interview guide became apparent while

conducting fieldwork in Location 1, and was thus subsequently included into my interviews in the other locations. In the *second paper*, I only draw on evidence from Location 1 (a & b). This focus is for analytical purposes. As described in detail in the *second paper's* methodological section, this research design permits me to compare behavioral variation across respondents who came in contact with the exact same number of asylum seekers but in a qualitatively different way (See pp. 98 – 102 for details). By implication, the inclusion of other locations would not have been in line with the employed research design. In the *third paper*, I draw on evidence from Locations 1b, 2, and 3. The analytical variation of interest in this paper is Anatolian refugee background (See pp. 145 – 147 for details), and the choice of focusing on the aforementioned locations is a result of several considerations. First, I excluded Location 4 because this is located in Athens and thus not in a region where Anatolian Greek refugees were resettled. Second, the remaining locations studied had to vary with respect to this characteristic of interest. The first location, Location 1b, holds a strong such contextual identity; the second location, Location 3, partially holds this contextual identity; and the third location, Location 2, is bereaved of this contextual identity, despite located within a wider region where such an identity prevails. Notably, Location 1a, similarly to Location 2, also does not exhibit this contextual identity. For issues of consistency, however, I only included one location holding each of the characteristics of interest. In this case, I placed analytical focus on Location 2, instead of Location 1a, because in the former case the characteristic of interest is more distinct compared to Location 1a: Location 1a is located next to Location 1b, which holds this strong contextual identity, while in fact together they compose one administrative village. Therefore, social dynamics relating to the Anatolian Greek refugee background could be more convoluted in relation to

Location 1a compared to Location 2. However, evidence from Location 1a does not contradict the findings of the *third paper* – on the contrary, is in line with them.

I should reiterate that this research project has been an exercise of theory building, rather than theory testing, exercise; the themes analyzed in the three papers emerged during data collection and data analysis. Therefore, the sites were not chosen in order to facilitate the examination of the aforementioned themes; rather, they were chosen on the basis of a number of, related, criteria. The primary most important criterion for the sites studied relates to their exposure to the phenomenon under consideration. Namely, all sites studied were chosen on the basis of them being exposed to the European refugee crisis. However, in order to add a dimension of comparative analytical importance, the sites studied were chosen according to the different nature and intensity of this exposure. Specifically, Location 1 (a & b) as well as Location 3 were chosen primarily because these acted as arrival points for asylum seekers, while Location 2 and 4 because they were in close proximity to points of asylum seeker accommodation facilities. Nevertheless, compared to Location 3, Location 1 (a & b) was more intensely exposed to the European refugee crisis; relative to the size of its local population, Location 1 (a & b) received a higher number of asylum seekers, which explains why both Locations 1 (a & b) and 3 were studied. Moreover, Location 2 was located in the vicinity of a formal settlement of asylum seekers, while Location 4 next to an informal one, adding another interesting analytical dimension to the study. Nevertheless, the communities were not chosen solely on the basis of their exposure to the European refugee crisis. As prior to going to the field I had hypothesized that holding Anatolian Greek refugee background was a crucial factor in explaining prosocial behavior, an explanation which my data disproved (See *second paper*), I intentionally chose sites that also varied in relation

to this characteristic (See above for details). As explained, the four sites were chosen strategically so as to be able to observe variation within a number of dimensions so as to uncover related mechanisms on the topic of interest.

Table 1 also shows the names used to refer to each community across the different papers. As indicated, in order to ensure anonymity of respondents, I have employed pseudonyms[77] to refer to the communities. However, the use of *different* pseudonyms to refer to the same community across the three papers served another purpose: with the name given to each community I ultimately underlined the community characteristic that held central importance in each analysis.

Fieldwork duration. My fieldwork in these four sites lasted approximately six months altogether: it started in July 2016 and ended in December 2016. Table 2 shows the exact dates I spent in each of these locations. Studying a situation of crisis is inherently challenging due to the ever-changing circumstances on the ground. Therefore, to ensure comparability of data, I made sure that data collection took place over the shortest possible time. If data collection had spanned over a more extended period the circumstances might have changed greatly and therefore comparing between, as well as within, communities might have not been analytically plausible. For instance, in early September 2016 discussions around schooling of asylum seeker minors who stranded on the islands were introduced within the public

[77] An issue that I have been considering considerably over the past years is this of anonymity in ethnographic research. In this research project, I have followed the mainstream approach and have identified the broader location where my study is placed, while I have not provided any further information about the exact locations studied and the individuals that participated in this study. Increasingly, some scholars criticize this approach and underline the importance of providing more information about the research; in *Interrogating Ethnography,* Lubet (2018) has formalized the arguments of this stance. He also underlines the starkly different approach of academics and journalists on the matter. As Lubet stresses, academic standards on the manner support covering respondents' details, while journalistic standards prioritize this very identification. The arguments in favor and against the prevailing mainstream academic approach to anonymity are numerous, but will not be discussing them here in detail. With this footnote, I wanted to stress that I acknowledge extant debates on the issue but I do not hold a strong position on either side of the debate.

discourse. In a way, the existence of such discussions contributed to signifying a move of the phenomenon from temporality to permanency (See Thesis Introduction). I am using this example to illustrate how dynamic the European refugee crisis in Greece has been and indirectly underscore the importance of collecting data over a short period of time in order to ensure comparability.

Table 2: Dates and Number of Interviews

Location	Fieldwork Dates	Number of Interviews
Location 1a	1/07/2016 until 30/07/2016 & 26/09/2016 until 07/10/2016	10
Location 1b		27
Location 2	1/08/2016 until 29/08/2016	30
Location 3	1/09/2016 until 25/09/2016	30
Location 4	24/10/2016 until 5/11/2016 & 15/11/2016 until 15/12/2016	30
		Total: 127

Note that I spent significantly more time residing in Location 1 compared to the remaining two island Locations (2 & 3), as while conducting the interviews in Location 3 I resided in Location 1. This permitted me to create a deeper understanding of social relations among residents of Location 1, as I socialized significantly more with those host community members residing there.

Researcher's Identity. Additionally, to an extent, the researcher's own identities shapes both the nature of gaining access to the communities studied as well as the nature of data collected. Therefore, before describing in detail these two dimensions, it is important to discuss my own identity and posit myself along the "insider" "outsider" continuum. I am born and raised in Greece and my native language is Greek. At first glance, my language skills and knowledge of social norms of Greece allowed me to be perceived as an "insider." Simultaneously, the fact that I am not from the island of Lesbos, but from the capital city of Athens, gave

me an identity of an "outsider"[78] when conducting research in the communities located on the island. Actually, a reminder of this "outsider" identity came towards the end of my fieldwork and from a host community member that I had become closer with while in the field and with whom I was in contact even after I ended the fieldwork. While participating in a religious ritual of the community, a relative of hers residing in a nearby village asked her who I was and if I was a member of their family. Responding to her relative, she explained that I was a *foreigner* (*ξένη*).[79] Although this initially came as a surprise, it simultaneously made me better understand the puzzling reality of host community members who had migrated to each of the localities studied and lived there for decades stating that they "are not from there" (but instead from nearby villages), and instead were *local-foreigners* (*ντόπιος-ξένος*). On the contrary, when conducting research in Athens, I felt that most of the times I was seen as an "insider," as I could discuss with ease the issues of the city and demonstrate a firsthand understanding of them. Being a female has also shaped the data in a numerous subtle ways. Possibly being a female made it easier for local women to invite me in their homes as these are the spaces where females spend more time in. Likely, a male interviewer would have found it more challenging than I did to socialize with women in their homes. Nevertheless, a male interviewer would have been more easily invited by other men for a drink in the local stores than I was. Undoubtedly, the gender identity of the researcher inherently impacts her/his ease to get access to particular members of the population and shapes the ease of respondents to share particular narratives.

[78] See O'Reilly (2009) a discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of "insider" and "outsider" ethnographies

[79] A minor comment here is that mostly older cohorts have a local accent, while they often use words that I did not know their meaning. Undoubtedly, my inability to speak dialect and also understand these words was seen as cues of my "outsider" identity.

Contact. The strategies I employed to get into contact with host community members residing in each location varied and were a function of each location's characteristics. I was introduced to a couple of residents in Location 1 (a & b) through my personal networks prior to going to the field. These two initial points were imperative in "granting me access" to the community and introducing me to their networks. However, to ensure that I did not only meet people from a specific network, I made efforts to also meet locals in different ways: I routinely spent time in local cafes and restaurants, or hung out by the harbor in the evenings. In fact, it was especially easy to meet host community members residing in this particular community. I consider two characteristics as crucial in having facilitated this process. First, due to the community's small population size it was natural to encounter host community members almost daily and thus getting to know them was rather easy. Second, in July – namely the month I was first at this site – the time availability of local populations was relatively high: the touristic season only starts in the end of that month, while olive harvesting starts in October.[80] The pace of daily life of host community members was therefore slower: they would spend a lot of time outdoors socializing with each other, which made it easy to meet as many locals as possible. Had I gone to the field in the winter, it would have been much more challenging to meet host community members, as they would be spending more time indoors or at work. Here I should clarify that in rural communities in Greece, it is socially expected to greet people on the street; or have a short chat when in the same local café (*kafeneion*) for one's morning coffee, or afternoon

[80] The island of Lesbos is a big producer of olive oil. Therefore, it is commonplace that locals are involved in olive harvesting.

drink.[81] Adhering to these social norms, significantly facilitated significantly my first encounters in all locations, but especially in Location 1 (a & b).

Although a resident from Location 1 (a & b) referred me to someone residing in Location 2, this did not facilitate the further creation of a network. To my surprise, however, meeting people in Location 2 was not very challenging. Location 2 is a rather closed community with no tourism.[82] These characteristics made it easy for its host community members to identify me as a "non-local" when encountering me. Interestingly, *they* often undertook the first step to meet me; I was often asked who I was when walking around the community, or spending time in local stores. Therefore, in many instances host community members first contacted me, rather than the other way around. Undoubtedly, spending time in the community, going as a client to local stores (restaurants, cafes, hairdressers), or to church, I further expanded my network in the location.

On the contrary, to host community members residing in Location 3, which has a developed tourism industry, I was not an "identifiable stranger." To get access to this location, I first relied on my networks: a few residents[83] of Location 1 (a & b) and a couple of members from my own personal network referred me to host community members residing there. Moreover, I strategically conducted this fieldwork in September, that being the end of the touristic season. Host community members were therefore still working in the tourist facilities of the community (e.g. shops, restaurants, hotels), but simultaneously had increased time availability. This made it possible to meet them in relevant tourist facilities and introduce myself.

[81] The Greek island of Lesbos is one of the main produces of ouzo (i.e. anise-flavored aperitif). Consuming a glass of ouzo in one's local café (*kafeneion*) is a part of daily life.
[82] The lack of tourism in this location explains my decision to spend the month of August there. August is the peak touristic month in Greece and therefore it would be almost impossible to conduct fieldwork in communities that cater to this industry.
[83] Note that these were nodes of different networks.

The establishment of first contacts with people residing in urban centers as in Location 4 is more difficult than with people residing in rural locations: in general, daily urban life is less personalized and networks are rather fragmented on a neighborhood level. Additionally, neither the structure nor the norm to talk to strangers exists in such contexts. All this made it comparatively more challenging to "be granted access to members of this community." To overcome this challenge, I therefore relied more consistently on personal networks when starting this fieldwork. These members of my personal network are not part of the same network, and also their ages and social backgrounds vary greatly. This led me to meet locals that were significantly different from each other. To expand my network in the neighborhood I asked my first respondents to introduce me to other members of their community. In fact, as building blocks in the center of Athens – similarly to other Southern European cities – are vertically segregated (See Maloutas and Karadimitriou 2001), I intentionally asked them to introduce me to people residing in their same building instead of to their friends residing in the neighborhood. With this strategy I intended to avoid homophily in my sample. I therefore met several people residing in the same building, but on different floors, and thus belonging to a different social class. Lastly, I spent a considerable amount of time in one of the neighborhood's cafes, which, in the morning, is a meeting spot mainly for the neighborhood's retired locals. Here, it was "socially acceptable" to chat and eventually get to know people sitting on nearby tables. Unfortunately, I could not adopt such a strategy in other cafes in the neighborhood and therefore could not similarly meet locals belonging to different age cohorts as neither such a norm existed there nor were they characterized as places where only locals would spend time.

Reasoning behind data collection. Having adopted these strategies to meet people, I conducted 127 in-depth interviews with host community members, all nested in these four locations (See Table 2). Principally, the number of interviews in each community was determined by the reaching of saturation. Simultaneously, however, I wanted to make sure that I conducted enough interviews in each community so as to be able to make comparisons between communities. Nevertheless, I conducted more interviews with residents of Location 1 (a & b). As I already hinted in the s*econd paper*, when going to the field I had not considered differentiating the two communities. However, in the process of my fieldwork I realized that this differentiation was not only analytically interesting but also analytically informative. To this end, I went back to the community and conducted more interviews so as to be able to differentiate between residents of Location 1a on the one hand and of Location 1b on the other hand.

Sampling. The population of interest is defined as all residents across these four communities. By implication, the population I am interested in is not narrow, and, importantly, the characteristic of analytical interest (i.e. residency in these communities) is not difficult to decipher. In combination, these two dimensions indirectly explain my ease to arrange and conduct interviews. Nevertheless, before further describing my sample I should underline the restrictions I imposed on the population of interest. First, I introduced age constraints and therefore only interviewed adults (i.e. older than 18 years). Second, I excluded non-Greek members of host communities and therefore only interviewed Greek members. The consideration of non-Greek members of each host community would have been analytically interesting because scholarship has not yet sufficiently addressed the question of what explains attitudes of migrants towards asylum seekers. It would

also have allowed generating me to gain a deeper understanding of the way host communities as a whole (i.e. by including also migrant populations) experienced the European refugee crisis. However, this would have expanded significantly the scope of the project. Having introduced these two restrictions on the population of interest, I then sampled *for range*: my intention was to create a sample where important demographic sub-categories such as age and occupation were all represented, while I simultaneously tried to have a relatively balanced sample in terms of sex. In Table 3, I provide some information on the characteristics of respondents composing my sample.[84]

Table 3: Demographic characteristics

Total	127
Sex	
Female	56
Male	71
Age Group	
18-24	4
25-34	9
35-44	26
45-54	20
55-64	36
65 and above	32
Work Status	
Employed	85
Unemployed	3
Not in labor force	39

As illustrated, few of my respondents are aged from 18 to 34 years old. This underrepresentation of younger cohorts in the sample reflects considerably the population studied. Educational as well as employment opportunities are limited in rural Greece, which drives younger cohorts to urban centers. Therefore, the average

[84] To ensure anonymity of respondents, I do not provide information linking key demographic characteristics to specific locations.

age in the communities studied is therefore higher compared to that of wider Greece. Also, to my surprise, only three respondents defined themselves as unemployed – in spite of the high level of unemployment prevailing in Greece in 2016. A potential explanation for this discrepancy could be that people working in seasonal jobs, such as tourism, tend to receive unemployment benefits for the remaining of the year, while others who work in farming – and, in the case of the Greek island of Lesbos, olive harvesting – could similarly be defined as unemployed despite seasonally harvesting their land. By no means have I suggested that my sample is "representative" of the whole population, but this does not pose any threat to my research design as my analytical focus has been on uncovering relevant mechanisms rather than establishing social regularities.

Non-Respondents. Following the suggestions of Bleich and Pekkanen (2013), I noted the number of people I asked to interview but who refused to participate in my study. This permitted me to calculate the response rate (See pp. 54 – 55), something often overlooked in studies that use qualitative methodologies. I cannot give information on the demographics of these non-respondents, as they did not consent to participate in my study. Nevertheless, the lines of explanation[85] non-respondents provided me when refusing to participate in my study could be seen as revealing of this group. On the basis of their explanations, some non-respondents did not participate in the study due to the lack of free time; others because they felt that they "did not know enough" on the issue under investigation; while a third group of people simply revealed that they did not want to. The first reason for abstaining from participating in the study suggests that people with less time availability tend to be

[85] I did not ask non-respondents to explain the reasons behind their decision not to participate in my study. However, as their refusal came in response to my request while in interpersonal contact, it was natural that they provided a brief explanation of their decision.

under-represented in my sample, while the second one implies that another dimension for non-response is a feeling of personal inadequacy to discuss the issue under investigation. The latter explanation is idiosyncratic in nature and it does not permit to draw wider inferences on the reasons behind these non-responses.

Interviews: what, where and how. The way a research project is presented to respondents (and non-respondents) shapes the nature of data. Therefore, another important dimension to here underline is the information I provided host community members about this research project. On a first instance, I explained to host community members that I was conducting this research to obtain a doctoral degree. Additionally, I introduced respondents to the topic of my research in as much detail as possible. As I adopted an inductive approach where the themes analyzed emerged from the analysis of collected data, it was not possible to give information about the specific dimensions that I would draw on. Instead, I informed respondents that I am interested in investigating the impact and perceptions of the European refugee crisis on host community members. In other words, I provided them with a broad illustration of my research study. In any case, when host community members agreed to participate in my study, I let them decide the date and space where the interview would take place. Most commonly, the interviews took place either in private spaces (i.e. home or place of work of the interviewee and cafes/restaurants) or in public spaces.[86] I will not delve into discussing the way in which the space the interview takes place impacts the data collected, but I want to stress that by allowing participants to decide themselves where the interview would take place I made sure that they felt comfortable in conducting the interview. Generally, male respondents preferred to arrange the interviews in the place of work and/or restaurants and cafes,

[86] This was more common on the islands, where host community members spend a lot of time in public spaces (e.g. sitting on benches by the coast; on local squares etc.).

while female respondents tended to more commonly propose conducting the interviews at their homes or in public spaces. Accounting for gender norms in Greece, this pattern is understandable, if not expected, and in fact it also made me feel at ease when conducting these interviews.[87] Before starting the interview I sought informed consent from participants and explained that it was up to their discretion to stop the interview at any point if they felt uncomfortable.

Having explained the methodological choices I undertook in this research project; discussed the characteristics of my sample; and described the way I carried this research, in the following section I describe into more detail the nature of the in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviews and ethnographic insights

As discussed in the main body of this thesis, the principal source of data comes from in-depth, qualitative interviews. In this section, I describe in more detail the themes these in-depth interviews drew on. Particularly, as the data I have analyzed build only on parts of these interviews, it is also important to provide an overview of them more broadly. Additionally, I also here scrutinize the closed-ended section that some of these interviews incorporated and explain related analytical choices. Lastly, I briefly discuss how the ethnographic insights I collected in the course of my fieldwork permitted me to contextualize and generate a more personal understanding of the interview data, which was of particular importance when analyzing the data.

Semi-Structured Section. All interviews incorporate a semi-structured section, which is based on an interview guide I developed prior to going into the

[87] Hanson and Richards (2019) extensively discuss the importance of not only taking into consideration that respondents are feeling safe in the interview situation, but also the interviewee.

field. This drew on themes that I had identified as being of analytical importance through a bibliographical analysis. It also drew on preliminary insights from the case study at hand, which came from news articles and personal observations; I happened to be in Greece in the summer 2015 and was therefore exposed to the European refugee crisis, though in different localities from the ones I studied in this thesis. Broadly, the interview guide covered five sections relating to the European refugee crisis in Greece. In the first section, I mainly asked respondents to describe the events of the European refugee crisis as they unfolded in their locality in the early days of the phenomenon's outbreak. Through this section, respondents situated themselves in relation to the phenomenon under investigation and also highlighted their initial reactions to it. Such descriptions were revealing of the way in which host community members defined and understood the European refugee crisis. In the second section, I delved in more detail into each respondent's *personal* experiences with asylum seekers and their kind of involvement with these populations. In this regard, I paid particular attention to respondents' emotions in these encounters. This section complemented the first one, as respondents indicated how they related to the broader phenomenon they had illustrated earlier. In the third section, I focused on respondents' opinions about the incoming populations. I thus discussed issues surrounding how incoming populations should best be defined, and also drew on a more focused discussion on how these populations were perceived to behave when in the respective communities but also in the country more broadly. This permitted me to explore further perceptions host community members have of asylum seekers, irrespective of the nature of interpersonal interactions between host community members and asylum seekers. Within this section, I also shifted the conversation towards the Anatolian refugee background; in a way, the existence of this refugee

background among the Greek population also provided another dimension to the legitimacy, or lack thereof, host community members ascribed to asylum seekers. In the fourth section, I aimed at capturing the changes respondents identified in their communities as a consequence of the European refugee crisis on both a personal and community-level. I focused on their perception of NGOs and their role in the European refugee crisis, as such actors were present in the communities studied and, importantly, constituted one of the identified changes in the localities. In the fifth section, I shifted the discussion towards the management of the phenomenon by both local and national actors. Here, I asked respondents to discuss their views on the policy responses employed and potential policy interventions that could have been adopted instead. I do not intend to make transcripts of these interviews publicly accessible (i.e. upload them on a website), as I have not explicitly requested permission to do so from respondents.

Thus, the general framework for my in-depth interviews started with a description of the phenomenon and respondents' personal experiences of it, before turning to perceptions of the agents constituting this phenomenon, the impact of the phenomenon on host communities, and, lastly, on the management of the phenomenon. Within each of these sections, I also paid attention to the particular realities that were relevant to each community, while adhering to the sections described above. However, it should be stressed that the order of these sections varied at times, especially when respondents had shifted the discussion towards a different dimension from the one imposed by interview guide. In such instances, it made more sense to allow for a natural flow of the conversation rather than fragmenting it for the purpose of sticking to the order the interview guide dictated.

This does not pose an issue to data comparability, as the interview data was used to uncover explanatory mechanisms.

Closed-ended section. The interviews in Locations 2, 3, and 4 also incorporated a closed-ended section (See *first paper* for a detailed description, pp. 52 – 55). As explained in an earlier section, the importance of incorporating such a section to my interview guide emerged while I was in the field, which explains why I failed to collect such data in reference to Location 1 (a & b). Specifically, I found myself unable to classify respondents as either "pro" or "anti" asylum seekers: what host community members had experienced seemed to be beyond such dichotomies. Therefore, I decided to also ask respondents to evaluate the following statements on an 11-item Likert scale ranging from "totally disagree" to "totally agree" in order to relate their viewpoints to the standardized way of measuring the attitudes of interest. These statements stated that (i) refugees[88] increase criminality in your area[89]; (ii) refugees increase the risk of terrorism in Greece[90]; (iii) refugees have a negative impact on the economy of your area[91]; (iv) refugees increase the level of unemployment in your area[92]; (v) refugees constitute a threat to Greek customs and traditions[93]; (vi) refugees are a burden on public health[94]; and (vii) refugees will not be able to be integrated because they are Muslim.[95]

These statements are mainly based on the Dianeosis[96] Social Survey (DSS).[97] Nevertheless, I introduced some changes to the statements formulated in this survey

[88] See Footnote 30, p. 53 for a discussion on the term employed to refer to these populations.
[89] In Greek: *οι πρόσφυγες αυξάνουν την εγκληματικότητα στην περιοχή*
[90] In Greek: *οι πρόσφυγες αυξάνουν τον κίνδυνο τρομοκρατίας στην Ελλάδα*
[91] In Greek: *οι πρόσφυγες έχουν αρνητική επίπτωση στην οικονομία της περιοχής*
[92] In Greek: *οι πρόσφυγες αυξάνουν την ανεργία στην περιοχή*
[93] In Greek: *οι πρόσφυγες αποτελούν απειλή για τα ήθη και έθιμα της Ελλάδας*
[94] In Greek: *οι πρόσφυγες επιβαρύνουν την δημόσια υγεία*
[95] In Greek: *οι πρόσφυγες δεν θα μπορέσουν να ενσωματωθούν γιατί είναι Μουσουλμάνοι*
[96] See Footnote 28 p. 52 for a description on *Dianeosis* research institute.

in an attempt to render them more relevant to my case study. The first point of divergence relates to the tense used. In the DSS, statements are formulated in the future tense, while I formulated them (with the exception of vii) in the present tense. As I delivered these statements to people residing in communities that had already been exposed to asylum seekers and thus to the European refugee crisis, the use of the future tense was not as appropriate in this case. The second point of divergence with the DSS relates to the formulation of specific statements. In the DSS, perceived economic threat is captured by the following two statements: "refugees will contribute to our economy" [*οι πρόσφυγες θα συνεισφέρουν στην οικονομία μας*] and "refugees will take away the jobs of Greeks" [*οι πρόσφυγες θα πάρουν τις δουλειές των Ελλήνων*]. However, I slightly altered these statements. In relation to the first of these statements, I focused on the opposite end of the spectrum and therefore formulated the statement in order to capture opinions with regards to the negative impact on the economy. Accounting for the debates prevailing within the public discourse around the European refugee crisis which debated the negative impact of this phenomenon on Greece's tourism industry, I considered that focusing on refugees contribution to the economy would not reveal much variation in responses. I also slightly altered the formulation of this second statement. As my research focuses on the period during which refugees were just passing through or temporarily staying in Greece, I considered that referring to job competition was not particularly relevant. This is why I instead formulated the statement so as to capture a closely related dimension (that of unemployment) without, however, explicitly

[97] *Dianeosis* does not provide information on the way the questionnaire was developed and whether the statements were pre-validated before running this survey. However, the opinion polling company that run this survey, *Public Issue*, is one of the leading such companies in Greece, which indirectly suggests that this should have been developed in accordance to survey research standards.

referring to direct job competition. Additionally, DSS captures perceived cultural threat with the statement "refugees will enrich our culture" [*Οι πρόσφυγες θα εμπλουτίσουν τον πολιτισμό μας*], while I focused on the other end of the spectrum and formulated the statement in reverse terms (i.e. refugees constitute a threat for Greek customs and traditions). Again, I considered that such a formulation could better capture perceived cultural threat. Moreover, the DSS statement relating to the perceived impact of refugees on public health also incorporated perceived impact of refugees on education; it stated, "refugees will burden public health and education" [*οι πρόσφυγες θα επιβαρύνουν τη δημόσια υγεία και παιδεία*]. Although both health and education are public services provided to residents of Greece, in my related statement I only focused on public health. I considered that examining both dimensions –health and education – evalutations could be driven by respondents' opinions in relation to only one of them, and, most importantly, this would have been impossible to capture. In fact, Fowler (2012) demonstrates the importance in avoiding multiple questions when designing surveys. I therefore only focused on perceptions in relation to public health. Issues surrounding public education are more related to the long-term presence of outgroups in society, and as already underlined, I am interested in examining the social dynamics that emerged under conditions of outgroup mobility.

Generally, I decided to follow the approach the DSS adopted for the following reason. Over the last few decades, survey data on social issues in Greece have been particularly scant; the country has participated neither in European nor international large-scale survey initiatives. For example, Greece participated in the European Social Survey only in 2002 and 2010. By implication, the DSS constitutes one of the few recent surveys that captures public opinion on issues around

migration and the European refugee crisis. Having adopted an inductive approach, I was unaware of the direction in which the data would drive me. Therefore, when designing this section of the interview guide, my consideration was to allow for the possibility of combining the data from this closed-ended section with those of the DSS in a mixed-methods paper.

Nevertheless, this approach is not without limitations, as the statements of the DSS, and by extension those I formulated, are not designed perfectly. Their most important limitation is that the statements are mainly either positively or negatively framed; their formulation is thus not neutral with the two ends of the spectrum representing the negative and positive framings respectively. In the European Social Survey (ESS), for example, relevant statements draw simultaneously on the two ends of the spectrum: perceived economic threat is captured by the question, "would you say it is generally bad or good for [country's] economy that people come to live here from other countries?" with one end of the spectrum represented in the phrase "bad for the economy" and the other one in "good for the economy;" while perceived cultural threat is captured by the question, "would you say that [country's] cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries," with one end of the spectrum representing the notion that "cultural life is undermined" and the other that "cultural life is enriched." By implication, although the questions of the DSS and the ones I delivered draw on dimensions very similar to those of the ESS, I should acknowledge that they are not as well designed as those of the ESS. I should therefore underline that if I were to conduct this research again, I would incorporate to the questions of well-established surveys. This would have permitted me to draw more robust conclusions on how to improve further the validity of survey measures used as predictors of prejudice, as in such a

case these would have been designed in full accordance with the premises of survey research methodology. If I were to conduct this analysis again, I would ask respondents to fill in such questionnaires alone and independently from the interview.

Ethnographic insights. Lastly, I want to underline that although the main source of data I analyzed has been these interviews, during my fieldwork I also collected ethnographic observational data that permitted me to contextualize said data: spending time in the communities studied allowed me to understand the way daily life unfolded, become more aware of the social dynamics in these localities, and therefore reflect on the way these could have changed as a result of the European refugee crisis. Simultaneously, when I was in the field, intergroup contact was still occurring, though at a significantly lower rate and in a more organized manner compared to the year preceding my fieldwork (see Thesis Introduction). I was thus able to also observe the presence of asylum seekers in the communities, which allowed me to visualize the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, my ethnographic insights have helped me to make more sense of the interviews as a whole.

Methodological self-reflections

Conducting this research project has been a learning exercise on many levels. In this last section of this methodological appendix, I want to reflect on the methodological choices I undertook. In this context, I want to underline the lessons I learnt from this research exercise and discuss further things that I would have done differently. Although these issues are not directly related to the findings of this thesis per se, this

discussion reflects on my position as a researcher in the process of ethnographic research more broadly.

The first issue relates to the emotional impact qualitative interviews and ethnography have on the researcher, an issue extensively discussed in the literature and researchers engaging in such a type of research are aware of prior to going to the field. Prior to going into the field, I had downplayed the emotional associated with this kind of research. The fact that I was studying a population I was closely attached to (being Greek myself) in close proximity to (being Greek myself) and that I had worked with asylum seekers in the past which made me familiar with the challenges they face until the recognition of asylum (and beyond)[98] potentially contributed to this emotional effect. However, I consider that the emotional challenges associated with this research to be particularly related to the act of research itself. Whereas the strangeness of the arrival of a researcher to the field constitutes for the populations that constitute the research subject is an issue extensively discussed and by ethnographers, little attention is paid to a similar strangeness from the researchers' perspective. Specifically, when in the field, irrespective of the degree of immersion into the community, one finds herself in an unusual situation: she has to proactively meet and spend time with "strangers[99]" – who in some instances are not people she would not usually be acquaintances with– while one's actions should not reveal preferences towards particular people and places. Especially when conducting research in small-sized communities, one's actions are continuously observed, which

[98] I did not interview asylum seekers or refugees as part for this research project. However, I lived in communities that were exposed to the European refugee crisis and therefore also came into with these populations and the situations they were going through.

[99] Somewhat related to this claim, in their recent publication, Hansen and Richards (2019) indicate that when in the field one could accept invitations from locals that they would not have otherwise done and at times tend to silence specific kinds of interactions. Although my comment here is not directly linked to such situations with this reference I want to indicate the directions this obscure situation can take.

makes the research process more challenging: for instance, I realized that I had to visit all the cafes and restaurants of the communities, rather than going as a client to my preferred ones, so as not to indicate that I support one business over another, which could be interpreted as preferences for respective owners. Undoubtedly, adherence to such a norm is easy and of minor importance to one's daily life. However, this example illustrates that the strangeness of being in the field as a researcher with regards matters in many subtle ways.

Another dimension of this strangeness relates to the process of interviewing. Contrary to my initial reservations on the ease in which respondents would share information with me, I was surprised to realize that host community members were often particularly open to share personal information that was unrelated to the research. However, this, at times, was difficult to handle: some respondents shared difficulties they themselves or members of their families were encountering. These cases were very delicate to handle, as I had to simultaneously be more personal in my interaction with them, but also keep the distance imposed by the interview situation. Leaving the field was as strange and emotionally challenging as entering it: after having lived a "different life" for a few months, I was required to "go back" and make sense of that whole experience. This process is inherent to this type of research, and therefore does not constitute a methodological choice. Rather I wanted to underline an important lesson I learnt through the practice of data collection about the process of such data collection. Although these dynamics are inherent to the research process, being more aware of them *ex ante* – and therefore expecting that such dynamics might emerge – is crucial for better dealing with them on an emotional level.

As I described above, studying a situation of crisis, which is inherently a phenomenon that continuously changes, required me to collect the data over a short period of time. This was a rather demanding process as I was required to be fully immersed into daily life of each community, arrange and conduct interviews efficiently, and at the same time reflect on the data I was collecting in order to understand how I should proceed with the fieldwork, which, at times, became overwhelming all toghether. This came at the expense of not being able to conduct focus groups. This would have expanded significantly my understanding on the way respondents position themselves on the issue under investigation when interacting with their peers. Therefore, if I were to conduct this fieldwork again, I would have make sure to conduct some focus groups to also collect such data.

Moreover, the data I am using are mostly retrospective: in the course of the in-depth interviews, respondents referred to events that had mostly occurred approximately a year preceding my fieldwork. As I discussed in detail in the *second paper*, the use of such data is not free of limitations but constitutes the only available way to study the phenomenon under investigation. Undoubtedly, the absence of first-hand observations in ethnography[100] places under scrutiny the reliability of "recalled" data as evidence (Lubet 2018). Having highlighted that the behavioral measures I discuss are based on retrospective in-depth interviews – and therefore acknowledging that this limitation is inherent to my data – I made such claims only in reference to cases where relevant data had been triangulated to a considerable extent (See Location 1 (a & b)). Although the methodological decision I undertook was to examine more communities, in order to have variation on dimensions of key

[100] To clarify, I do not suggest that my research is ethnographic; rather, my data are extracted from qualitative, in-depth interviews and this is why it is of relevance to draw on insights from ethnographic projects.

analytical importance, which permitted me to examine the issues addressed in the *first* and *third papers* of this thesis, this came at the expense of delving deeper into the behavioral interactions of host community members in Locations 2, 3 and 4. I do not intend to suggest that I would have altered this approach, as this facilitated the scope of this research project. However, with this discussion I want to underline the limits of my retrospective data that emerged from in-depth interviews.

The last issue I would like to reflect on in this section relates more directly to the in-depth interviews and particularly on the duration of the interviews. As illustrated in Table 4 (Appendix B), although all interviews were based on the same interview guide, their duration varied. The majority of the interviews lasted from one to two hours. However, some were longer in duration while others significantly shorter. In longer interviews, respondents either shared more information about their personal background, which permitted me to more easily understand their social worlds, or shared more information about their experiences and opinions of the European refugee crisis. In interviews that ended up being shorter in duration, respondents either did not share in detail their experiences and opinions, or simply had not experienced the phenomenon in enough intensity to draw on details and engage in a longer conversation. Although the data that could be extracted from these interviews were limited, this does not suggest that it was not informative for the project as a whole; at times, even the absence of data contributes to explaining mechanisms. In the early days of my fieldwork, I was cautious about the interviews that were not "long enough;" however, I later realized that these were in fact important data points, as some individuals were more involved – either in terms of interests or physical involvement – in the European refugee crisis.

Before going to the field, I was cautious that it would be particularly challenging to meet and interview people. The most important lesson I learnt during this fieldwork was that these fears did not correspond with reality: most commonly, people were very generous with their time and willing to share their experiences.

Appendix B

Table 4: Interview Descriptions

Interviewee Name	Date of Interview	Approximate duration of interview	Location of interviewee
Hermes (2)	08/07/16	40 minutes	1a
Athena (2)	13/07/16	1 hours	1a
3	13/07/16	40 minutes	1a
Atlas (2)	17/07/16	1 1/2 hours	1a
5	17/07/16	1 hours	1a
Hephaestus (2)	27/07/16	1 1/2 hours	1a
7	30/07/16	1 1/2 hours	1a
Dionysus (2)	26/09/16	1 hours	1a
Artemis (2)	26/09/16	1 1/3 hours	1a
Calypso (2)	27/09/16	1 hours	1a
Oceanus (2)	01/07/16	1 1/2 hours	1b
12	02/07/16	1 hours	1b
13	03/07/16	1 hours	1b
14	05/07/16	1 hours	1b
15	05/07/16	1 hours	1b
Alexandros (3)	07/07/16	1 hours	1b
Poseidon (2); Tasos (3)	09/07/16	1 hours	1b
Stefania (3)	10/07/16	30 minutes	1b
19	10/07/16	30 minutes	1b
Ares (2)	11/07/16	1 hours	1b
Hera (2)	11/07/16	2 hours [1]	1b
Oedipus (2)	11/07/16	2 hours [1]	1b
23	12/07/16	1 hours	1b
Demeter (2); Margarita (3)	12/07/16	2 hours	1b
Vicky (3)	15/07/16	1 1/2 hours	1b
26	20/07/20	40 minutes	1b
Aphrodite (2); Antonia (3)	20/07/16	5 hours	1b
28	21/07/16	1 hours	1b
29	22/07/16	1 hours	1b
30	23/07/16	1 hours	1b
Clio (3)	23/07/16	1 1/2 hours	1b
Asclepius (2)	23/07/16	1 1/2 hours	1b
Apollo (2)	24/07/16	2 hours	1b
34	30/09/16	1 1/2 hours	1b
Themis (2)	01/10/16	2 hours	1b
36	02/10/16	2 hours	1b
Amalia (3)	03/10/16	1 1/2 hours	1b
38	08/08/16	1 hours	2
Maria (1)	09/08/16	30 minutes	2
40	09/08/16	1 1/2 hours	2

41	10/08/16	40 minutes	2
42	10/08/16	1 hours	2
43	12/08/16	1 hours	2
44	13/08/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	2
45	13/08/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	2
46	14/08/16	3 hours	2
47	16/08/16	2 hours	2
48	17/08/16	1 hours	2
49	20/08/16	1 hours	2
Ioanna (1)	20/08/16	1 hours	2
51	20/08/16	1 hours	2
52	22/08/16	1 1/2 hours	2
53	22/08/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	2
Vangelis (1)	22/08/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	2
55	23/08/16	1 hours	2
56	23/08/16	1 hours	2
57	24/08/16	1 1/3 hours	2
58	24/08/16	1 hours	2
59	25/08/16	1 hours	2
60	25/08/16	1 1/2 hours	2
61	26/08/16	40 minutes	2
Yiannis (1)	26/08/16	1 hours	2
63	27/08/16	2 hours	2
64	27/08/16	1 hours	2
65	28/08/16	45 minutes	2
66	28/08/16	1 1/2 hours	2
67	29/08/16	1 1/2 hours	2
68	01/09/16	2 hours	3
Evgenia (3)	01/09/16	1 hours	3
70	01/09/16	1 1/3 hours	3
71	02/09/16	40 minutes	3
72	02/09/16	1 hours	3
73	02/09/16	1 hours	3
74	03/09/16	40 minutes	3
75	03/09/16	20 minutes	3
76	05/09/16	1 1/3 hours	3
77	07/09/16	1 1/3 hours [1]	3
78	07/09/16	1 1/3 hours [1]	3
79	10/09/16	3 hours	3
80	10/09/16	1 1/2 hours	3
81	11/09/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	3
82	11/09/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	3
83	12/09/16	30 minutes	3
84	12/09/16	20 minutes	3
Natassa (3)	13/09/16	1 hours	3
86	13/09/16	30 minutes	3
87	14/09/16	40 minutes	3

Petros (1)	14/09/16	40 minutes	3
89	15/09/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	3
Toula (3)	15/09/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	3
91	16/09/16	2 hours	3
Nikos (1)	17/09/16	1 1/3 hours	3
Melina (1)	22/09/16	2 hours	3
94	22/09/16	2 1/2 hours	3
95	23/09/16	1 1/3 hours	3
96	23/09/16	1 hours	3
97	24/09/16	2 hours	3
98	24/10/16	2 hours	4
99	25/10/16	1 1/3 hours	4
100	25/10/16	1 1/4 hours	4
101	26/10/16	1 hours	4
102	27/10/16	1 1/2 hours	4
103	27/10/16	1 hours	4
104	31/10/16	1 hours	4
Maria (1)	31/10/16	1 1/3 hours	4
106	01/11/16	1 1/3 hours	4
107	02/11/16	1 hours	4
Voula (1)	03/11/16	4 hours	4
Eirene (1)	05/11/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	4
110	05/11/16	1 1/2 hours[1]	4
111	15/11/16	1 hours	4
Manolis (1)	16/11/16	2 hours	4
113	21/11/16	40 minutes	4
114	22/11/16	2 hours	4
115	23/11/16	1 hours	4
116	24/11/16	1 1/2 hours	4
117	28/11/16	1 hours	4
118	29/11/16	30 minutes	4
119	30/11/16	1 hours	4
Christina (1)	06/12/16	1 1/2 hours	4
Pavlos (1)	08/12/16	2 hours [1]	4
122	08/12/16	2 hours [1]	4
123	09/12/16	1 hours	4
124	10/12/16	1 1/2 hours	4
125	12/12/16	1 1/2 hours	4
Giorgos (1)	13/12/16	2 hours	4
127	15/12/16	1 1/2 hours	4

1: Each pair of interviews with this sign that the interviews with this sign were conducted as this was the decision of the interviews