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Host Communities and the Refugee Crisis A Case Study of Kos Island, Greece

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ABSTRACT

During an extraordinary political current event, how does a host community's reputation change, and how does the media attempt to influence public opinion towards, or away from, such a destination? What is the host community's perception of and response to these representations? This topical study explores the effects of the media on a refugee host community, through the conceptualisation of *the host* and the discourse of hospitality. Significant to this study is the framing of tourism as a cultural exchange and expression, how hosts and guests view the realm of "place" and boundaries, and the volatility of the tourism industry with regards to communication mediums, socioeconomic and current events. This study acknowledges the gravity of the current refugee crisis, and the refugee and migrant experiences on Kos Island from May 2015 to present, while exploring and attempting to understand a host community's reality while balancing political and ethical considerations in terms of hospitality towards guests, whether "invited" or "uninvited", and the related media representations. By applying concepts of hospitality, i.e. accommodating strangers, and the social constructs of hospitality, imagined communities and how these are shaped by the media, I seek to acquire a broader understanding of development communication in terms of the human rights that both communities are entitled to, as opposed to the reality afforded to them. Using media content analysis and qualitative methods, this exploratory study focuses on the case of Kos Island, Greece - one of the main entry points for refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq - due to the island's proximity to Turkey. By presenting a media content analysis, I frame how the host community was portrayed in the media to shape public opinion, by pinpointing the frequency and prism under which Kos Island was mentioned in the UK press during the height of the refugee crisis in 2015. I also conduct semi-structured interviews with local and international tourism industry gatekeepers, to uncover effects of the crisis on Kos Island's tourism industry. This qualitative data is reinforced with a personal ethnographic account from the summer of 2015. I anticipate that the topics surfacing from this discussion allow readers to gain a broader perspective into development communication, through the power relations between hosts and guests/tourists (including refugees and migrants), the importance of public spaces and how they are used by host community and guests (tourists and refugees), and the ethics of hospitality.

KEYWORDS

refugee, migrant, guest, hospitality, tourism, host community, media, representation, Greece, development, communication

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To my Family

ACRONYMS

CNN	Cable News Network
ComDev	Communication for Development, Malmö University
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
EU	European Union
FVW	Fremdenverkehrswirtschaft
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation
SDO	Suspension and Debarment Officer
SEO	Search Engine Optimisation
SETE	Greek Tourism Confederation
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nation Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
US	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	6
Personal Background.....	6
Tourism, Host Communities and Development	6
Greece as a Destination: Tourism and Shelter	7
Purpose of the Study.....	8
CONTEXT	11
Migration or Flight?	11
Greece as an Entry Point and a Destination.....	12
LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: TOURISM, MEDIA AND DEVELOPMENT	14
Contextualising Tourism.....	14
Understanding Host and Hospitality	14
Stranger Versus Guest.....	15
Accommodating the ‘Other’	17
Power, Perception and Responsibility	17
Media Representation and Human Compassion	18
Tourist Imagination, Popular Gaze and Power.....	21
METHODOLOGY	22
Sun, Sea and Dinghies An Ethnographic Account of the Summer of 2015 in Kos .	22
Media Content Analysis	29
Qualitative Interviews.....	33
DATA ANALYSIS	36
Hosts and Refugees – A Modern Day Reality.....	40
Human Compassion and the Gaze – Shaping Guest Opinions	42
CONSIDERATIONS	45
LESSONS LEARNT	45
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	46
APPENDIX A – MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING PROCEDURE	57
APPENDIX B – LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	59
APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW REQUEST LETTER	60

INTRODUCTION

Personal Background

As a tourism professional, I am interested in the possible effects that the current refugee crisis has on the host community with whom I work on Kos Island, Greece. I am primarily concerned with representations of Kos Island in the media, not only as a favoured tourist location but also as a host community, given the challenges it is facing in light of the crisis. As a prime tourism destination, Kos Island was placed into the spotlight in May 2015, through a series of Daily Mail articles that referred to the island as “a disgusting hellhole.” This article was the beginning of many in 2015, which had a significant and detrimental effect on both the host community and Kos Island’s primary industry, tourism.

I have been working in the field of tourism in Greece for the past three years, but even prior to this, it has been an area of immense interest for me. Working in the field of communications and marketing for a hotel requires focus on a destination’s positive aspects, to make it attractive to prospective guests. At times however, events unfold within a community that put this to the challenge, and strategies need to be reformulated and adapted. How do current and potential guests view a host community that finds itself in distress? How does the host community perceive media reports that highlight this predicament? In 2015, I witnessed both the distress and anxiety of a Greek community placed in the media spotlight regarding a refugee crisis of international proportion, which they were called to act upon but wholly unprepared for.

Tourism, Host Communities and Development

Tourism has a significant influence on the global economy and host communities, respectively (Sharpely, 2015). Closely linked to development, it is a key force in socio economic development, having generated in 2014, worldwide USD 1.5 trillion in export earnings (UNWTO, 2010). Equally for Greece, tourism is a key component to the country’s economy – although highly seasonal, with the majority of hotels and businesses providing services only during the summer months.

There are a number of debates regarding tourism and its effects on a host community; however most studies focus on the tourist rather than the host (Kim, 2002). According to Stephen Page - one of the most vocal opponents of tourism development - while tourism provides numerous economic benefits, at the same time it leaves the environment of the host community suffering (Page, 2007:434).

But who is the tourist? Is a tourist simply a stranger that seeks to be accommodated by a host? And what is the relationship, if any, that may form between stranger and host? Is it limited to a mutually beneficial financial relationship? Is it a relationship that implies dependence, and subsequently, power? How does the guest imagine the host community, and how is this imagination formulated?

This study seeks to explore the effect that a “stranger” has on a community, either positive or negative, with the aim of contextualising tourism and host communities, and hospitality and media representation.

Greece as a Destination: Tourism and Shelter

Greece is primarily a service driven economy (McKinsey & Company, 2012) (European Union, 2016), with tourism being the major contributor to the country's GDP (Greek Tourism Confederation (SETE, 2014) (OECD, 2008) and a major source of employment (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2015). One of the top tourist destinations worldwide, Greece is blessed with nine months of sunshine and beaches in a unique terrain - an open museum with ancient monuments scattered across the landscape.

2015 was a year of many unprecedented political and economic events for Greece: two parliamentary elections, one referendum, and capital controls imposed on the country's banking system in the midst of the Greek tourism season. In addition, the country has been the focus of a major financial bailout, due to an on-going economic crisis, with an unemployment rate of 26.5 per cent (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2015) and in the face of its eighth consecutive year of recession (Kathimerini, 2016).

Near what has become a tumultuous region in recent years, Greece is also one of the “safer” destinations. Turkey is afflicted by terror attacks, and tension with Russia leaves its tourist industry struggling (Christof, 2016), while the 2015 terror attacks in Tunisia and Egypt (Rushby, 2014) also halted tourism. While in 2015, a record number of tourists - 13,946,041 direct arrivals¹ - visited Greece through the country's main airports (Greek Tourism Confederation (SETE).

Today, Europe is in the throes of a humanitarian crisis that is challenging its values to the core. The on-going civil war in Syria and continued political and human rights crises in the Middle East have forced thousands of citizens to flee their homes in hope of a better future. Melissa Fleming, representing UNHCR on immigration

¹ Direct arrivals: charter flights from airports abroad to Greek airports

issues, reported that in October 2015, on the Greek islands of Lesbos, Samos, Chios and Kos, a total of 27,500 refugees were waiting to cross the Greek border with the intention to migrate to a Northern European country (Newspost, 2015). Based on a recent United Nations report, over 500,000 people passed through Greece in 2015, (ibid) and in March 2016, 100,000 refugees were expected to cross via the Aegean Sea or the Thrace–Turkey borders, according to the European Commissioner for Immigration, Dimitris Avramopoulos (Ta Nea, 2016). The agreement put in effect in March 2016 between the EU and Turkey saw the flows almost limited to nil. In light of the latest developments in Turkey in August 2016, including a failed military coup and Erdogan’s administration attempting to force visas of Turkish citizens, the flows of refugees are thus starting to increase again, primarily on the islands of Kos and Lesbos (iefimerida, 2016), with current numbers of refugees in Greece overall at 57,286 (Newsbomb, 2016).

The influx of refugees has rocked Greece, dividing people and challenging political leadership and media representations. In the summer of 2015, the refugee crisis hit its peak with thousands of displaced people from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq (amongst other war torn countries) taking refuge on the shores of the Greek islands. Formerly only accustomed to hosting sunbathing tourists, the islands’ beaches were suddenly filled with dinghy boats and lifejackets, evidence of the perilous journey of thousands of displaced people seeking a better life in Europe.

The Greek government’s handling of the situation, and reactions from many citizens, led to intense media scrutiny – both national and international. Public reaction has wavered between concern for refugees, to concern for the national economy and development, to concern for the country’s tourism industry and declining bookings. In this study, I look at the actual versus perceived effects of the refugee crisis on Greece, and Kos Island in particular.

Purpose of the Study

2015 was a challenging year in Greece, with a number of unparalleled events (including but not limited to the refugee crisis as mentioned above) that affected day-to-day business dealings of professionals’ across the country, including myself. I recall being on Kos Island in early May 2015, when the first major refugee flows began, and discussions during morning meetings evolved around “how do we deal with this?” This was not only because of the responsibility towards hotel guests, the promise of a relaxing holiday and Greece’s reputation as a tourist destination, but also towards staff, who comprise the host community under discussion in this study, and the overall physical and psychosocial effects of hosting thousands of people in

need, in a small and resource-limited location.

In May 2015, the hotels in the centre of Kos felt the effect hardest, and there were concerns around the forthcoming 2016 season. Tourism is a volatile industry easily affected by socioeconomic factors and current affairs (Bell, 2009:4), and the subsequent negative press had a profound influence on the Kos host community, who feared a negative effect on the island's booking rates.

Despite a number of studies that discuss representations of refugees in the media as well as their impact on host communities, there is to my knowledge no prior study linking the current refugee crisis to a host community's capacity to respond and resulting reputation. In an effort to better understand the inter-relation between visitor and host communities, the research questions of this study are:

- During an extraordinary political current event, how does a host community's traditionally-hospitable and positive reputation change in the media? How does the media attempt to influence public opinion towards, or away from, a destination?
- What is a host community's perception of these representations, and how does it respond?
- Can a host community be regarded as truly hospitable when the practice of tourism is commercialized, essentially mimicking the essence of ethical hospitality? Does this change the ethical position of the host/visitor relationship in an emergency situation, such as the 2015-2016 refugee crisis in Europe?

This study is explored within the frame of Communication for Development (ComDev), in order to gain a deeper understanding of host communities in connection to tourism development. It attempts to pinpoint the challenges faced and decisions made, while recognising that "tourism development choices must balance between national and local needs, public and private sector, host communities, civil society, tourists, and mass media" (World Bank Development Communication Division-SDO, 2006:7). More importantly, the study must also understand that "political choices, in particular, must reconcile immediate returns and longer-term benefits, which requires a clear and well-defined vision," within the realms of a "community of friends" (Derrida 1997b:22). Within this, communication plays a significant role in supporting tourism development and managing its multiple dimensions, and effectively linking the product offering of a destination to a

satisfactory visitor experience, ensuring further development for the host community (World Bank Development Communication Division - SDO, 2006:2-7).

To examine these issues and address the research questions, I utilised a mixed methods approach that includes media content analysis and qualitative techniques, interviews with local and international tourism industry gatekeepers, and a personal ethnographic account from the summer of 2015. This approach is further detailed in the Methodology section.

CONTEXT

Migration or Flight?

Migrant, *refugee* and *asylum seeker* have gained keyword status in the European and international press over the past year. All three are words that imply forced displacement and are often used as synonyms, even though they have significant differences in connotation. In addition, media often misuses the terms: it has been argued that use of the term *asylum seeker*, instead of the correct term *refugee*, is to “reclassify them as something else”... with the less-personalised terms *migrant* and *asylum seeker* serving as “instruments of control, restriction and disengagement” (Kushner 2003:265; Ruz 2015; Taylor 2015).

A refugee is a person forced to leave his/her country of origin because he/she is in risk of danger, “fleeing armed conflict or persecution” (Edwards 2015; Banulescu 2015). More specifically, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a *refugee* as 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/her nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail herself/himself of the protection of that country” (UNHCR 2001-2016).

Migrants, on the other hand, are “any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country” (UNESCO, 2009), while an asylum seeker is a “person who has left their country of origin and formally applied for asylum in another country but whose application has not yet been concluded” (Refugee Council 2016; UNHCR 2001-2016).

Refugees flee their homelands out of fear of persecution on the basis of religion, politics and/or gender (UNHCR 2001-2016), and as such, the rights of refugees are protected under international law through the “1951 Refugee Convention² and 1967 Protocol, as well as other legal texts such as the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention”³ (UNHCR 2001-2016; Edwards 2015). These laws are at the core of modern refugee protection, granting refugees the same basic human rights as all European citizens upon their arrival to Europe.

² <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>

³ <http://www.unhcr.org/45dc1a682.html>

Greece as an Entry Point and a Destination

Greece is familiar with the concept of immigration, as a flow of Greek economic migrants have moved to countries such as Germany, the United Kingdom (UK), Australia and the US over the years (Smith 2015; Kottasova 2015) in search of employment and improved living standards. This familiarity with a transnational concept of economic migration may explain the sense of compassion observed from host communities towards refugees during the current influx.

The on-going wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as conflicts in many African nations, have caused a surge of refugees seeking safety in European countries. The influx is “the largest seen since 1945,” during a time of significant recession, unemployment and political instability across the European continent. This has subsequently led to disputes within EU member countries regarding the open border policy and duty to protect the rights of all people (Financial Times 2015).

Given the geographical proximity to three continents (Africa, Minor Asia - Middle East and Europe) and its vast sea borders, Greece has been at the intersection of travel and culture since antiquity. Today, Greece is again the main entry point for refugees fleeing conflict. Other routes include the northern sea border of Africa through Italy, as well as less so through Spain (Badwin 2002:211), with the main destinations for both refugees and migrants over the last century being Europe, the United States (US), Australia, and Canada to a lesser extent (Edwards, 2015). The below timeline depicts the main refugee movements over the course of history (Figure 1).

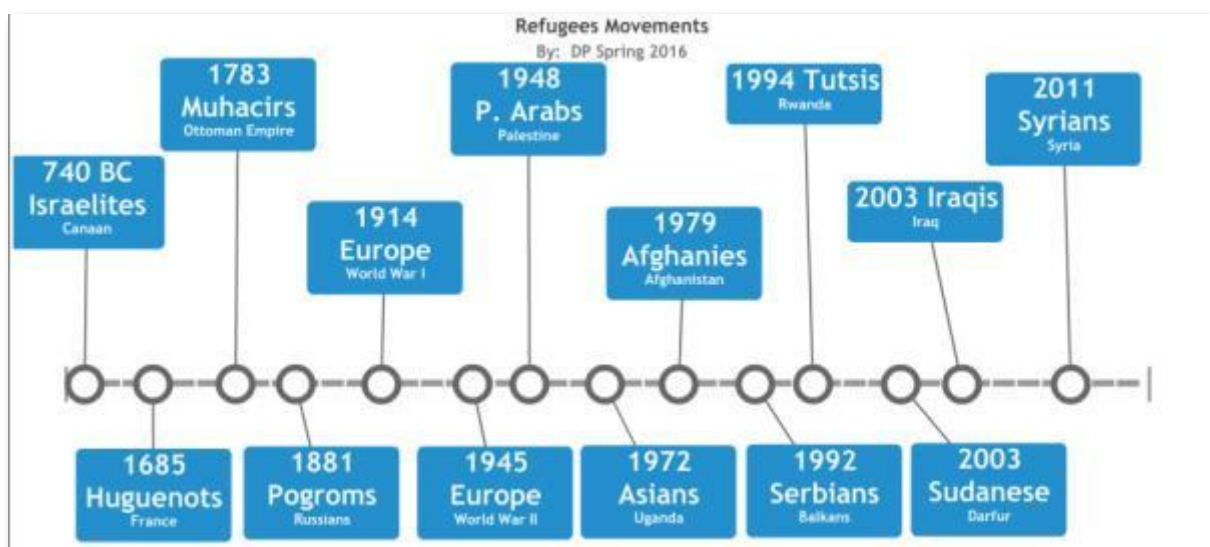


Figure 1: Main Refugee Movements through History Source: *The Guardian* (Chalabi, 2013).

Turkey, the primary entry point to Europe, is just a few kilometres away from Greece, as can be seen in Image 1, below (The Muslim Blog, 2015). The closest point between Kos Island, Greece, and Bodrum, Turkey, is the area of Lambi in Kos's city centre - with just four kilometres of sea separating the two areas.



Image 1: Distance between Turkey and Kos (The Muslim Blog, 2015).

In Greece, the main entry points for refugees have been the Dodecanese Island Cluster, including Kos, Leros, Samos, Chios and Lesbos. The islands of Rhodes and Kastellorizo have had some, although fewer, arrivals. Out of these, Kos Island was featured heavily in the press over the last twelve months due to the refugee influx, as the country's fourth largest tourist destination.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: TOURISM, MEDIA AND DEVELOPMENT

Contextualising Tourism

Tourism is centred on the fundamental principles of exchange between peoples, and is both an expression and experience of culture (Appadurai, 2002). Tourism is a highly social phenomenon. It has to do with the “activity of travelling to a place for pleasure,” a cultural interaction and relationship between the guest and host community. Tourism also relates geographic imaginations, expectations, experiences and interactions with familiar or unfamiliar cultures (Larsen, 2007). As such, tourism is deeply entwined with the notions of hospitality, and its core being the association host and guest (Bell, 2009:19). A simplistic understanding of the concept of hospitality is the provision of shelter, food and drink - the “Holy Trinity” as stated by Bell (ibid, 20).

Understanding Host and Hospitality

In order to fully understand the notion of a “host,” one must understand the discourse of hospitality. What are the relationship dynamics that form between the host and its guests? What exogenous factors influence this relationship?

Greece has a mythological tradition in hospitality: Zeus was the patron of hospitality (from the ancient word “xenia”) and guests, the avenger of wrongs done to strangers. The later compound word “Philo” = friend and “xenia” = stranger is defined as “an act of hospitableness and welcome ⇒ the ancient tradition of hospitality, or ‘philoxenia’” (Collins Dictionary). Hospitality is defined as an act of giving to friends or strangers (ibid). In postmodern terms, it is the business of entertaining and catering for strangers (ibid) within a space that will accommodate, i.e. provide lodging or board (Gibson, 2003:371).

Metaphorically speaking, one could use the concept of hospitality to understand the relationships between a host community and its guests, invited or uninvited, while making an analogy between the “hotel” and the “nation” (Gibson, 2003:375). For Derrida the “hotel” implies the financial or political dimension of hospitality, whereas “asylum,” “evokes a space outside of or beyond the law, thereby implying an ethical basis of hospitality” (Gibson, 2003:374). Derrida takes it further, implying a “difference between hospitality of invitation and hospitality of visitation” (2000a:14).

Cook, Yale and Marqua define a host community “as towns or cities that welcome visitors and provide them with the desired services” (2006), while Smith defines host communities as people who live in the vicinity of a tourist attraction and are either directly or indirectly involved with, and/or affected by tourism activities (2001:829).

For this economic system to operate, there are “invited” guests, who travel agents and hotels sell packages to, to visit destinations in pursuit of a “break” from the challenges of life predominantly in the Global North, in return for financial gain that has a spill over effect into destination host communities (Gibson, 2003:367). There is an element of power innate to the “invited” guest, towards the host community, and an evident element of interaction required between tourist and host community (Enemu, 2012). These “invited” guests – tourists who visit destinations for a holiday – are also susceptible to the influence of the media (Okaka, 2014) through a number of socio economic, psychological and political factors (Rajesh, 2013). For the tourist, this “displacement” is by choice - to visit “restscapes” (Bell, 2009:28) in a way that is socially acceptable and non-offensive. Refugees, on the other hand, are displaced by reasons of force.

From the standpoint of refugees, UNHCR defines a host community “as the country of asylum and the local, regional and national governmental, social and economic structures within which refugees live. Urban refugees live within host communities “with or without legal status and recognition by the host community” (UNHCR, 2001-2016). They go on to comprise the “community” of the displaced, who are dependent upon a host community of strangers (Gibson, 2003:371).

Currently, Kos Island is hosting two groups of guests, one that it “invites” annually to the island to holiday in exchange for financial gain, and the other - “uninvited” who have fled their homes and are seeking protection with nothing to offer in exchange. This mass influx of refugees on Greek shores has raised the issue of accommodation and food, as well as the question of interaction between the host community and refugees. How is this relationship to be defined?

Stranger Versus Guest

According to Rosello, hospitality in its “classic sense is grounded in the selfless act of giving” (2001:9), which could be considered the case for refugees who arrive to a host community seeking shelter. Rosello argues that a distinction needs to be made between the “discourse of rights and the discourse of generosity” (ibid). According to Derrida, this metaphor no longer holds, but Rosello still stresses the need for political

ethics when reflecting upon an “encounter with strangers” (Derrida, 2001:2). But who is the stranger, and what does he/she represent?

The stranger reflects “proximity or distance within the national home” (Gibson, 2003:368), and this relationship is the base from which national identities are formed. According to Cohen, identity is constructed through “interaction with outsiders, strangers, foreigners and aliens – the ‘other’” (Cohen 1994:1). Unfortunately, the origin of a guest or their group can in many ways dictate the relationships formed with a host community, in terms of “giving and taking, unconditional hospitality and hospitality as economy” (Gibson, 2003:367). The discourse of respect between the guest-stranger and host communities has not been considered or measured (McKenna, 2014:555). For Benveniste, this “binary between host/guest and self/other cannot be maintained because both concepts share the same etymological meaning” (cited in Gibson, 2003:368). Gibson also notes that not all strangers are strange in the same way, Diken uses an inclusive definition for refugees and immigrants in the concept of strangers, and Ahmed makes a differentiation when she states that the difference lies within the reason one is displaced (Diken 1998:123; Ahmed 2000:5).

The limits of hospitality are created through the use of fear: for Ahmed the use of words in media such as “flood” and “swamp” create a forced connotation and refer to a “loss of control” regarding the proximity of the stranger – the refugee. This targeted use of language in the media in turn causes a host community to be hospitable only if does not feel threatened by the proximity of the stranger - established in part by defining limits and constraints to the hospitality provided. In the case of Greece, these constraints have played out in a problematic way, in which a person’s experiences and reasons for fleeing are judged and ranked against others. Those who are genuinely “entitled” to hospitality (in this case Syrians) may remain (Horner, 2016), while those who are not deemed entitled (Afghans, Eritreans) because they are seen as economic migrants fleeing poverty rather than conflict (ibid) are thus “segregated or expelled from any notion of hospitality” (Ahmed 2001:364). Ahmed goes on to argue that this new form of xenophobia has all the characteristics of colonial racism, but is not “colour coded” (Gibson 2003:369). These displaced strangers are victim to a new category of racism termed by Sivanandan as “xenoracism [...] where poverty is the new Black” (2001:2), including people of European descent who are displaced and appealing for a better future in Europe (Gibson 2001:369), the Roma, and others.

Accommodating the 'Other'

The term accommodation in etymological terms is a means to “make fit” (Gibson 2001:271) and has a number of connotations, including lodging, settlement, fulfilment of a need and willingness to help. Gibson goes on to point that the tourist is “a paying guest at a hotel, whereas the refugees – the guests of a nation, rely on the kindness of strangers for their accommodation needs” (2001:271). This notion of refugees as “the guests of a nation” brings to mind the analogy of Feher and Heller, in terms of the nation being viewed as home, and vice versa. If a country can be viewed as a house, to whom does it belong? (Feher and Heller; cited in Gibson, 2001:375), and what are our responsibilities as hosts, to visitors in our “home”?

Hospitality is one with culture itself. It is “the manner in which we relate to ourselves and to others as our own or as foreigners; ethics is so thoroughly coextensive with the experience of hospitality” (Derrida, 2001:16-17). For Derrida, the distinction goes further still, and refers to political and ethical hospitality. Political hospitality implies an economic dimension to the accommodation of strangers with laws and codes, while ethical hospitality is the “unconditional giving or generosity towards a stranger” (1999b:101). He stresses the need to address the “hidden contradiction between hospitality and invitation “(Derrida 2002a:362), stating that “a difference between a hospitality of invitation and a hospitality of visitation“ is required (Derrida 2000a:14).

Power, Perception and Responsibility

The element of power must also be examined. A host has power over “the giving” towards a refugee. As stated above, a refugee relies on the kindness of strangers. Derrida cites the founding principles of the European Union (EU) regarding human dignity, justice and “combating social exclusion” (European Union Law, 2007) in order to stress the need to redefine and rethink the future of democracy (1992b:76). Communities must “remain open both to itself and to others” for democracy to be applied, “as true democracy has respect for [the] irreducible singularity or alterity, but there is no democracy without the “community of friends” (Derrida 1997b:22).

What are the circumstances that can lead a host community to “close its doors”? For Sivandan, the roots lie within xenoracism caused by issues of ownership, and the question of what an uninvited stranger can contribute to a host community in return for what they receive. When nothing is given to the host community in exchange, guests are unfortunately deemed “parasites” (Gibson 2001:379), within a system of “unproductive hospitality” (Derrida 2002b:100). Hayes describes a long trajectory of constructing the refugee as “burdensome, needy, socially costly, and consequently

undesirable” since the 1905 Aliens Act (2002:30). This logic, which constructs “the ‘outsider’ as costly” (Hayes 2002:30), is used to control entry to a nation, questions the identity of the host as provider and receiver of strangers, and furthers agendas of xenoracism and fear.

Due to the differentiation and judgment of a stranger’s displacement, there is also a fundamental difference in the needs of each group. For Hepple (cited in Bell, 2009:20), hospitality has four main characteristics:

1. Exercised by the host upon a guest who is away from home;
2. Involves an exchange, an interaction between host and guest;
3. Includes the provision of tangible and intangible factors; and
4. Regards the host’s responsibility for the wellbeing of the guest in terms of psychology and security.

But who is to judge the extent of interaction and exchange between host and refugee, and the extent to which the host is responsible for guest wellbeing and security? For Urry, the way hospitality is conceptualised must be redefined, due to the complexities of the relationship between host and stranger/guest (Urry, 2002). The host should be viewed as a “service provider,” whereas the stranger/guest should be viewed as a “customer” (Aramberri, 2001:758). However, this concept contradicts Derrida’s point for the need of hospitality being unconditional.

Media Representation and Human Compassion

Considered morally correct, global sympathy is within the realms of cosmopolitan democracy and the international condemnation of “crimes against humanity” (Höijer, 2004:513). The definition of compassion, at an individual level, is “a painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of another person’s undeserved misfortune” (Nussbaum, 2001). For Nussbaum, the victim is innocent and undeserving of pain derived from horrid acts of callousness. Compassion at the level of the public sphere, on the other hand, originates in “an abstract, theoretical and rational idea of humanity” “for remote strangers from different continents, cultures and societies,” and is situated between politics, humanitarianism, media and the audience (Höijer, 2004:514).

The images that describe the ordeal of the distant other also shape and become a part of “the ordinary citizen’s perceptions of conflicts and crisis around the world”

(Höijer, 2004:514). Despite the motives behind the media representation of human suffering, it is obvious that through such reporting, societies are granted insight into the suffering of a distant other. According to Höijer, due to its visual impact and distribution, the media are key in formulating perceptions, and images are key to providing “truthful depictions of reality” (2004:515).

Images of people suffering have constructed public perception of the Global South, and it is difficult to pinpoint if such reporting is meant to promote the humanitarian crisis unfolding or to increase audiences for commercial gain. In the second half of the 20th century, journalism shifted focus to emphasise images of dramatic content and human suffering. “Bad news is good news” in terms of readership and sales (Williams, 2014). “If it bleeds, it leads” – an old adage criticising mainstream media – is as relevant today as ever, particularly in the discourse around Aylan Kurdi’s death in 2015 (Allegretti, 2015).

Despite our extended exposure to such images, Höijer states there are few studies that actually measure the impact of distant suffering on audiences (2004:513). The media’s selection of images can have a two-way effect to “invite the audience to experience moral compassion at a distance,” to “mobilise compassion” or a “turning away and not allowing for any sort of sympathy or compassion.” This may either be attributed to gender issues or compassion fatigue (ibid, 529), and people tend to refrain from images that are “tainted” by depictions of human misery. “Compassion fatigue” is an important element that arises when discussing media and the depiction of human suffering, which occurs when someone has become so accustomed to negative current events that they no longer pay attention to the issues (Höijer, 2004:525). “The postmodern media surrounds us...with fragments, narratives and representations that as tourists we incorporate or reject” (Campbell, 2005:199).

The importance of images upon shaping audience compassion is an intricate part of Höijers’ study, and in it she specifies four types of compassion: (1) *tender-hearted compassion* that centres on the victim, as well as the pity and understanding that is felt from the audience; (2) *blame-filled compassion*, that focuses on the plight of the victim but is combined with anger directed at the perpetrator of suffering who is usually in a position of power; (3) *shame-filled compassion*, based on a comparison with the victim’s suffering to audiences’ wellbeing; and (4) *powerlessness-filled compassion*, where the audience feels compassion but at the same time realises the limits to lessening a victim’s suffering (2004:524).

The dichotomy between the Global North and the Global South in the context of the

“distant other” is also appropriate when discussing the media’s treatment of visitors, host community and refugees. How does a society, in this case the host community of Kos Island, Greece, contemplate or understand violence and human suffering? Are there levels to suffering? Are victims/survivors viewed equally in terms of media coverage, and subsequently, in terms of aid? Morally, it is unethical to discriminate. Understandings of violence and suffering vary according to a society’s historical, cultural and social structure. Because of this, “the discourse of global compassion designates some victims as ‘better’ victims than others” (Höijer, 2004:517).

As demonstrated in this study, Syrian refugees are indeed granted asylum in Greece, whereas Eritreans and Afghans are not (Homer, 2016) – yet all three groups are fleeing conflict in search of safety. Höijer cites Chomsky and Herman in an attempt to understand why “people abused in what are regarded as enemy states are portrayed ‘as worthy victims, whereas those treated with equal or greater severity by its own government or clients will be unworthy.’ Worthy and unworthy, in this case, relates to the extent and character of political and mass media attention and indignation” (Höijer 2004:517). The cycle begins with initial sentiments of care, followed by xenophobic reactions and racism, which can lead to violent outbreaks or extreme ideas, such as that of Fortress Europe and far right movements (Arnold 2012:5; Moving People Changing Places 2011; Amnesty International 2014:20-23). According to Pickering and Devereux, refugees are labelled in the press within the categories of illegitimacy, criminality, social and economic threat (Haynes, 2006; Gabrielatos, 2008). Negative media representations portraying refugees as helpless and desperate victims, or as imposters seeking benefits for the European taxpayers, lead to unfavourable public opinion and contribute to xenoracism and the negative categorisations of worthy and unworthy.

The media places a spotlight on the vulnerable other, “acting as an agent of cosmopolitan imagination” (Chouliaraki, 2013:5) and taking us beyond our own community, to where we can possibly take action and effect change. The images of refugees in the articles studied herein depict vulnerability, granting them “conditional agency” (ibid, 13) - that of a community unable to change their existence and waiting for external forces to bring upon change. The use of maps in 32 out of the overall 60 articles that form part of this study - “dots on map news” according to Chouliaraki - places the situation in an obscure and decontextualised framework (2013:5) and automatically puts distance between the reader and the suffering they are reading about. One can therefore draw the conclusion that, to an extent, there is a commoditization of media images, and audiences are “becoming a passive spectator of distant death and pain without any moral commitment” (Höijer, 2004:527).

Although it may be unfair to say that this holds true for the majority, it is a reality that is shaped and formed depending upon the societal context of the audience (host community) and the victims/survivors (refugees). Commoditization of human suffering, “helping us imagine what we cannot experience,” puts issues of distant suffering before us and also encourages a process of inner dialogue (Chouliaraki 2013:3-4; Dogra 2012). But, as Chouliaraki acutely states, “What kinds of communities, imagined communities, do the media invite us to belong to?” (Chouliaraki 2013:4; Kennedy 2009).

Tourist Imagination, Popular Gaze and Power

The utilisation of images is not only significant when portraying human suffering; but also within contemporary culture, and is heavily associated with tourism (Jackson, 2005). However, the gaze, through whatever image it is shaped, is “a conscious operation of ideological power” exercised upon a host community (Jackson, 2005:189), permitting a sense of authority upon the tourist and allowing them “to totalise and appropriate” (Sarup, 1996). Tourism is also considered as the “desire to possess what is looked at” (Jackson, 2005:193), which relates to Foucault and the concepts of power and surveillance. In tourism studies, the medic and the patient are switched with the host and the guest - the guest visits and gazes at the host from a heightened position of power, while the host is socially powerless. The tourist represents the norm, whereas the host becomes the ‘other’ (Jackson, 2005:190).

A material and metaphoric dimension to tourism in the physical presence of a location is “crucially the imagination, where to imagine is to make present, to ones’ mind's eye what is absent “(Donald, cited in Jackson, 2005:183). “Tourism is the desire to look and to possess what is looked at. It is a desire...to look in, in order to feed the power associated with socio-culturally understood superior knowledge of place and space, and the ideological permission of the visited” (Jackson, 2005:193). Jackson makes an analogy between tourist and film spectator who seeks a “familiar image someone like them or with whom they wish to identify” with “the power and ease (resting) with the tourist who gazes and the discomfort with those that are gazed at” (2005:193). Thus, three levels of power are formed, as well as three layers of surveillance or gaze: (1) the tourists in the ultimate power position, (2) the host, socially powerless in relation to the tourist; and (3) the uninvited refugee, socially powerless with regards to both tourists and host.

METHODOLOGY

Using both media content analysis and qualitative techniques, this study attempts to explore the effects of the media on a refugee host community, through the conceptualisation of *the host* and the discourse of hospitality, focussing on the case of Kos Island, Greece. I begin with an ethnographic account of my personal narratives as a professional in the tourism industry, from the summer of 2015, to reinforce my qualitative and quantitative data. Using media content analysis, I then frame how the media portrays the host community in an attempt to shape public opinion, by pinpointing the frequency and prism under which Kos Island was mentioned in the UK press during the height of the crisis in 2015. Finally, I review a series of interviews with local and international tourism industry gatekeepers, to uncover the effects of the refugee crisis on Kos Island's tourism industry.

Sun, Sea and Dinghies | An Ethnographic Account of the Summer of 2015 in Kos

The first level of analysis is an ethnographic account where I attempt to record my personal experiences as accurately and objectively as possible. In this account, I draw from personal discussions with Greek residents on Kos Island, with the aim to enhance the study because “ethnography encourages writers to locate themselves in their narratives and, therefore, lessens the distanced writing” (Mitchell, 2001:6). These personal observations are based on three separate visits to Kos Island in May, August and October 2015, and are meant to raise further awareness on the reality of the refugee influx into Greece in 2015 – a perspective that has not been recorded in the media, to my knowledge. As an insider, I attempt to voice a standpoint on the topic studied and reflect on how unfolding events affected Kos Island. Utilising participant observation, I describe the space, behaviours and attitudes of the host community and how it is affected by exogenous elements, which carry a meaning for participants in this particular setting (Whitehead, 2005:13).

Kos Island is Greece's fourth largest tourist destination (Greek Tourism Confederation, SETE, 2014) and the third largest island of the Dodecanese Isle cluster. Its terrain is a large, long, narrow and fertile plain measuring 290.27 square kilometres, not including a mountainous region in the northwest. The capital, Kos, is located on the northeast point of the island. Always a sun and sea destination, Kos's primary visitors arrive from the UK, Germany and France. Kos is an international destination connected with Europe via an international airport and port, with over 1,500,000 arrivals per year. Further along the harbour is the only organised marina in the Dodecanese Isle, although it cannot compete with the marina in neighbouring

Bodrum, Turkey. A total of 755 of the Island's businesses are connected to the tourism and hospitality sector, with services and agriculture following. The development and construction of hotels and rentals increased significantly over the past ten years, and to date, offers approximately 100,000 beds. Kos Island has a wide variety of accommodation options, a large number of rooms, and is densely constructed in terms of accommodation, including large hotel resorts, studios and apartments that range in category and price.

Despite these successes, 2015 was a challenging year for Greece overall, and subsequently for Kos. It was one of immense political turmoil, as stated earlier. Apart from the cash deficiency, Greek individuals and businesses were also faced with significant tax increases.

While political events unfolded, the tourism industry on Kos Island prepared for a prosperous season in June 2015. However, they were not prepared for the arrival of dinghy boats from neighbouring Turkey that carried desperate refugees fleeing war torn Syria. The flows began slowly in February and March 2015, but became a regular occurrence quickly, with refugees entering Greece numerous times per day by April – May 2015. The small community of Kos was called upon to support hundreds of refugees, while at the same attempt to maintain normalcy as a tourist host destination – a complicated reality. Meanwhile, the Greek government was engulfed in negotiations with the Troika; a silent bystander to the events unfolding on its Aegean Sea border. The Greek population was consumed by political events around the referendum and the possibility of imposed capital controls, and considered (and hoped) that the refugee influx would be a temporary problem that the government would handle following the election. Images 2-4 on the following pages depict Kos city centre and a section of beachfront, before and after the refugee influx in mid-2015.



Image 2: Kos before the refugee influx – Source: www.triporganizer.gr



Image 3: Kos after the refugee influx – Source: www.newsit.gr



Image 4: A section of Kos Island's beachfront after the refugee influx – Source: www.pireusview.gr

The initial flows of refugees were handled with sympathy, and hotels supplied linens, blankets and daily meals for the refugees. There was concern and some scepticism, but locals dealt with the situation calmly. This all changed at the end of May 2015, when Mail Online branded Kos Island as a “disgusting hell hole”... where tourists “won’t be coming back if it’s a refugee camp next year” (MailOnline , 2015). This article, seen below in Image 5 and authored by Hannah Roberts, distressed Kos Island’s local community and Greece’s tourist industry nationwide, sending the tourist industry of Kos into panic.

How many more can Kos take? Holidaymaker misery as thousands of boat people from Syria and Afghanistan set up migrant camp to turn popular Greek island into 'disgusting' hellhole



Migrants who have arrived from Afghanistan and Syria have turned the popular Greek island of Kos into a refugee camp, say angry British holidaymakers. Families claim their summer holiday has been ruined by the refugees at the popular seaside resort. The straggy migrants head straight from the boats and march through the town with backpacks on to join their friends and register for travel permits at the police station. There is rubbish strewn everywhere, with some people sleeping on benches (inset) and in cardboard boxes. The migrants have even taken over a derelict hotel with makeshift beds and no running water - and they are washing with a hose on the street.

462 comments 3 videos 4.6k shares

Image 5: Mail Online headline, 27 May 2015

Hotel properties situated in Kos city centre, the primary entry point for the dinghies, were most affected by the media coverage, with their main concern to avoid any cancellations due to negative media coverage. In response to the article above, Kos Island hotels used social media channels and websites to issue reassurances that nothing would interfere with their summer break, while other communications and tourism professionals, including myself, used a “business as usual” approach to the matter. The proximity of the hotel I work for was not in the city centre, thus the guests did not have to witness the situation unfolding in the city centre on a daily basis.

As the season progressed, matters did not improve. By August 2015, the centre of the island still did not resemble the idyllic town that tourists and locals were familiar with. Along Nerantzia Castle, the main port and Eleftherias Square, hundreds of tents were set up to accommodate refugees and their families. Some had money to pay for hotel accommodation nearby, while others made the deserted Captain Elias Hotel (Malm, 2015), their makeshift shelter. With a total capacity of 120 people, at

the peak of the crisis, the Captain Elias Hotel housed almost 800 people in substandard conditions lacking water and electricity. What was once an idyllic town swamped by tourists enjoying the sights, was now an urban dwelling for refugees. Some people were forced to bathe and wash their clothes in the port waters, hanging them on the palm trees to dry in the sun. All around the castle walls, you could see tents and people camping out. With no organised accommodation, the city streets of Kos were now their “home,” and when accommodation was eventually offered, the majority of refugees refused to move in fear they would be “detained” and therefore unable to reach Greece’s northern border, the main entry point into Europe. The trust between Kos Island locals, the Greek government and refugees was seriously absent. Kos locals discussed the deficiency of the government and their stress in dealing with the crisis, others discussed the fear for “the day after” – i.e. what would happen when refugees no longer had money to buy food:

“Will they enter our homes to steal, would they threaten our lives? Or would they send away the tourists, who bring money to our island?” (Kos local)

Another sight that was common was that of tourists enjoying their holiday as usual, while scenes of human suffering were unfolding right next to them. “Dismissal of human misery is very common” according to the tourism professional (Int. 2), while a member of the Kos Hotel Owners Association (Int. 4) – both whom I interviewed for this study – stated that, “when people travel they want to unwind and relax and not think or see unpleasant things. It is highly upsetting to see images of people sleeping on the streets and hanging their clothes on the fences of the port. No matter how sensitive and understanding you may be, it is not the image you want to see on your holiday.” According to the interviewees, some travellers were sympathetic, others not so much.

Hotels further from the city centre remained unscathed due to their location, and with a large number of the island’s resorts operating under an all-inclusive system, many tourists did not need to leave their hotel grounds, and therefore did not witness the crisis in Kos city centre.

Meanwhile, the financial situation was becoming more challenging by the day for hotels in the centre of Kos, with cancellations rolling in for September and October 2015 bookings. The Greek government was absent in aiding local communities to deal with the unprecedented influx of refugees, tourism cancellations, border controls, and in all other respects. In light of the situation, reporters and news outlets from Europe arrived in Kos, and further negative articles appeared in the

international press – all this, coupled with the inability of the authorities on both sides of the Aegean Sea to deal with the issues – caused great losses for the tourism sectors on both coasts. Most hotels in Kos Island's city centre were forced to close from mid-September due to cancellations, which had a spill over effect to the overall economy, including losses in corporate tax income and increases to Greece's already-soaring unemployment rates. All this, coupled with the damage to Kos Island as a tourist host community, should have convinced the Greek government to deal with the situation in a more organised and effective manner.

By October 2015, it was evident that there were systematic delays on behalf of the government to tackle the issue. Hopes that the second general election would convince the government to deal with the issue had vanished. Local authorities were unable to deal with the situation effectively without the support of the national government, and the (new) main concern became the forthcoming tourist season of 2016. Would the levels of hotel bookings be affected further, by the ill handlings of all stakeholders and continued negative press?

Following the Greek government's agreement with EU counterparts in October 2015, to open reception centres for 30,000 refugees by the end of 2015, (Sekularac, 2015) Kos Island was selected as a process point for incoming refugees. Other locations chosen were Lesbos, Chios, Samos and Leros. Despite this progress, European counterparts had to force the Greek government to get things moving, by threatening to expel Greece from the Schengen open border zone (Schengen Visa Info, 2016) In addition, the selected location on Kos was not a property owned by the municipality of Kos. The Lanztari land plot in Linopoti is co-owned by the Greek Church and two private individuals (Keep Talking Greece, 2016), who refused to have their plot occupied by the Greek Ministry of Defence. They and a number of locals protested the creation of the Hot Spot on Kos Island, citing fear of "disease and rape" (ibid) and inciting further xenoracism. These protests provided for even more negative press, as well as labelling the locals as "borderline racists" (ibid).

Further complicating matters, Kos is a densely constructed island and the creation of the Hot Spot within a residential and tourist area was leading to possible problems for local businesses. Smaller islands just off the coastline of Kos without an active tourist market (Pserimos and Kalymnos), had requested to be processing centres for refugees but were refused. Local authorities sent official proposals to Greece's Ministry of Immigration (Int. 1) because, "They felt that they would benefit from the staff needed for the processing centres and the NGOs that would come to assist them, as was the case in Lesbos. These smaller islands therefore would also benefit

from any form of infrastructure that would be created on the island.”

This option would have supported Kos’s tourism industry, however, this was not the solution chosen by the Ministry. Instead, flows of refugees continued to arrive in Kos and other islands, and the situation soon became out of control. Greece’s profile was again tarnished in the international press, and there were further concerns regarding bookings for the upcoming 2016 tourism season.

On 31 March 2016, the General Secretary of the Ministry of Tourism George Tziallas announced that pre-booking rates were deficient on four Greek islands (Kos, Lesbos, Samos and Chios). Out of the four, Kos has the most significant tourist market and was also hit the hardest (Fourlia, 2016) (CNN Greece, 2016). Lesbos, Chios and Samos, according the German travel site FVW, are not significant tourist markets overall (FVW, 2016).

Overall, pre-booking rates on Kos Island have declined by 20-25 per cent since 2015. German tourist numbers have increased for Greece as a whole, but the numbers are pessimistic for Kos. Hotels have been affected across the border, as well as several tour operators. The only unscathed tour operator is Thomas Cook, with Kos Island still within the top four destinations on its roster and no cancellations.

An online survey conducted by SETE Intelligence and published on 20 April 2016, entitled Migration/Refugee Crisis Affects Perceived Image of Greece as a Destination⁴ stated that although “prospective visitors from the UK, Germany and the US continue to perceive Greece as a safe destination” the percentage of respondents stating that their perception of Greece has been affected by the refugee crisis has increased in relation to the same research carried out in January (Sete Intelligence, 2016).

Media Content Analysis

A brief historical overview is used to contextualise displacement and the effects it has on societies across history. Media, according to Weber, is a means to “measuring cultural temperature” (Hansen, 1998:92), and this is precisely what I am seeking to measure – the effects of media representation on a tourism host society.

Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, I attempt to maintain “optimum objectivity” (Hansen, 1998:34), however, as Hansen states “even the most scientific methods of social research cannot produce totally objective results”

⁴ <http://news.gtp.gr/2016/04/20/migrationrefugee-crisis-image-greece/>

(ibid:18). Shoemaker and Reese identify the need for a qualitative approach to “identify what it [the media] says about society and the culture producing it” (ibid:31). Newbold et al. add to this by stating that quantitative analysis “has not been able to capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful” (ibid:84), advocating attention to qualitative approaches while applying grounded theory, which allows for a systematic yet flexible approach to data collection and analysis (Mitchell, 2001:3).

Drawing from the above, I use a mixed methods approach in order to gain a broader perspective on the effects of particular media articles, not only in terms of readership and impressions (quantitative elements), but also to establish the cultural interpretations of these texts (qualitative elements). Additionally, global factors and current events in Greek politics were taken into account in order to contextualise and understand the predicament of the local community of Kos Island (Hansen, 1998:258).

A study of the international media was my starting point for the study, in order to understand its attempt to shape opinion and brand a host community in a negative light. I was curious to examine how often and under what prism Kos Island was presented in the media during the summer of 2015, to determine if a series of media articles are in fact enough to damage the reputation of a host community. Thus, I conducted a media content analysis with the objective to: (1) identify the frequency of the keyword “Kos” in the media; and (2) determine key themes included in these articles, and whether or not they intended to influence the perceptions of prospective tourists of Kos as a tourist destination.

I used a deductive approach, ensuring that “all decisions on variables, measurement, and coding rules [were] made before the observation [began]” (Neuendorf, 2002:11). The content analysis focussed on two online, English-language international news media outlets in the UK, as the UK is the second-source country for outbound tourists on Kos Island. While Germany is the number one source of tourists on the island, I decided not to focus and code German media articles due to language barriers and the limited spectrum of this study. The two online media outlets, BBC.co.uk and Mail Online, were selected because the international statistical portal statista.com lists them as the most popular news websites in the UK with a large readership base (Statista, 2016).

The selection of two media outlets on either side of the political/cultural spectrum in

the UK was made in order to facilitate a comparison of interesting and relevant findings – BBC.co.uk is considered upmarket left wing, while Mail Online is considered midmarket conservative. The media content analysis was conducted for news items published over two periods: [Period 1] 27 May – 16 June 2015, and [Period 2] 14 August – 2 September 2015. As the beginning of the tourist season, Period 1 coincides with the first influx of refugees. Period 2 is the peak of the tourist season in Greece, and overlaps with a heightening of refugee arrivals.

All relevant news articles were selected through a search within media outlets' sites based on pre-selected keywords relevant to the research question, and collected digitally. In total, 60 articles were coded from both outlets. More specifically, details of the selection procedure are seen in Table 1 and recorded in Appendix A.

	BBC.co.uk	Mail Online
Period 1: 27 May – 16 June 2015	1	10
Period 2: 14 August – 2 September 2015	14	34

Table 1: UK media articles analysed for the study, during Periods 1 and 2.

The coding procedure draws from the guidelines of Hansen, Cottle et al (1998) to provide a set of guidelines to analyse and quantify media in a systematic and organised manner, while at the same time enriching the results with qualitative elements and a broader perspective. However, the limitations of quantitative media analysis as cited in Newbold et al. “have not been able to capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful” (2002:48), and qualitative approaches have thus been utilised in an effort to approach the research in a more holistic manner.

A qualitative approach to text analysis “has a major bearing on audience interpretation and likely effects” (McNamara, 2011:5). According to McNamara, factors that contribute to audience perceptions include: (1) how credible the media outlet is perceived (is it a scientific journal or a tabloid newspaper), (2) the contexts within which the articles are read, and (3) the demographic characteristics of the audience (age, sex, race, ethnicity, education levels and socioeconomic) (2011:5). He goes on to stress the importance of qualitative analysis because it allows for a deeper understanding of the meanings, but suggests a scientific approach to validate. The main aim of the media outlet selection for this study is to ensure comparability of the data and balance the outlets in terms of: **Format** (electronic) and **Category** (one mid-market and one quality outlet, in order to compare features in

terms of themes).

Coding was conducted for all articles within the period, and themes included in the articles were derived from a content analysis study by UNHCR regarding press coverage of the “Migrant Crisis” in Europe,⁵ (UNHCR, 2001-2016) deemed appropriate because the study’s limited scope did not allow research to be extended and permit inter-coder reliability testing. As stated by Neuendorf, the goal of content analysis “is to identify and record relatively objective (or at least inter-subjective) characteristics of messages, reliability is paramount, [because] without the establishment of reliability, content analysis measures are useless” (Lombard, 2010:141) and are considered a standard measure of research quality (ibid:248; Lacy 2015:796). The numerical coding of themes was included for practical reasons, in order to analyse the frequency of themes in the articles under study, as seen in Table 2.

T1	Migration Figures / Levels	T11	Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat
T2	Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	T12	Threat to Tourism Industry
T3	Receiving / Rejecting	T13	Journey
T4	Political Response / Policy	T14	Threat to National Security
T5	Mafia / Traffic	T15	Human Rights
T6	Mortality	T16	Humanitarian (Key Theme)
T7	Figures in general	T17	Health Risk for Country Of Destination
T8	Humanitarian (Elements)	T18	Migrant / Refugees / Asylum Seekers Success
T9	Threat to Welfare / Benefits / Resources	T19	Post arrival Integration
T10	Racism		

Table 2: Themes used for media content analysis coding in the study.

In order to accurately analyse article keywords, an online qualitative analysis tool was utilised. The free version of QDA Miner⁶ was used, where the saved articles were uploaded per media outlet and keywords entered, in order to count the frequency in the sample. Apart from the quantitative data collected there are also underlying elements, for which Potter and Levine-Donnerstein (1997) suggest the coder can make subjective interpretations that “...while subjectively derived, are shared across coders, and the meaning therefore is also likely to reach out to readers of the research” (Potter 1999:266; Lombard 2010).

⁵ <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>

⁶ <http://provalisresearch.com/products/qualitative-data-analysis-software/>

Polysemic media texts have limitations, because they rely heavily on the coder's perceptions and interpretation of the texts, which could be deemed as biased when examining the relationship between the text and its likely audience (McNamara 2011:5; Dogra 2012:26). Therefore, following the assessment of validity, the final level of coding describes the qualitative attitude of the articles towards Kos Island as a tourist destination, coding them as positive, negative or neutral. This final coding is based on my subjective interpretation as researcher, audience and "host."

Qualitative Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with significant gatekeepers in the Greek tourism industry served as the second level of analysis, in order to gain deeper insight into the social setting of the host community, further contextualise the Greek tourism industry and understand the challenges it faces in light of the refugee crisis, while always linking back to the host community under study. Interviews were held from March – May 2016; letters requesting the interviews were sent via email, and consent was primarily verbal; interviews were held either in person, or via telephone and Internet software applications⁷ (see Appendix B for interview questions), and transcribed and analysed based on emerging themes (Heyl, 2001:13).

Selection of interviewees was made based on involvement in the tourism industry, in such a manner as to access as many levels of the industry as possible. At a legislative level, I sought to interview individuals with insights to Greece's foreign policy, tourism and entrepreneurship. Insights provided from the area of tourism academia, ideally beyond Greece, also added valuable perspective. For the media perspective, I interviewed a member of the media on the crisis coverage. Staff from IOM and the Red Cross discussed the issue from the perspective of the refugees.

The interviewees supported my framing and analysis of the context; however the main input came from the women and men working in the field of tourism on Kos Island. I interviewed two hotel owners from the centre of Kos, a hotel worker from the same area, and an entrepreneur with an indirect connection to Kos Island's tourism industry who described their opinion of the situation's deeper consequences. A member of the Kos Hotel Association added interesting input to the study. Table 3 shows a table of interviewees, coded based on identifiers to preserve their anonymity in the discussion and data analysis that follows.

⁷ <https://www.skype.com/en/>

Code Name	Abbreviation	Sex	Profession	Location
Interviewee 1	Int. 1	M	Tourism Scholar	UK
Interviewee 2	Int. 2	M	Tourism Professional	GR
Interviewee 3	Int. 3	F	Journalist	GR
Interviewee 4	Int. 4	F	Member of Kos Hotel Association	Kos
Interviewee 5	Int. 5	F	Hotel Owner Lambi	Kos
Interviewee 6	Int. 6	F	IOM Officer	GR
Interviewee 7	Int. 7	M	Digital Marketing Agency Owner	Kos
Interviewee 8	Int. 8	F	Hotel Worker	Kos
Interviewee 9	Int. 9	F	Member of Red Cross	Kos

Table 3: Themes used for media content analysis coding in the study.

Int. 1 brought to light several issues that had not been considered, including the fact that Lesbos and Chios Islands were not traditional tourist destinations and therefore subsequently did not have a developed industry on the island, which helped me to reformulate the initial interview questions. Discussions with Int. 1 and Int. 2 provided perspective in terms of the “politics of things,” with regards to the Greek reality and how its policy (or lack thereof) affects the tourism industry. Businesspeople, including Int. 4, 5, 7 and 8, provided valuable insight to the reality and predicament of the local host community. In addition, informal discussions were carried out with several hotel workers and cited on occasion.

The most interesting points in discussions with Greek interviewees were their need to connect and communicate their predicament, and their dismay to media reports branding them as discriminatory. Interviewees were helpful and honest in their accounts, despite hectic schedules and other challenges. Once the interview process was concluded, five main themes prevailed:

1. Host community views towards the refugee community. i.e. How truly hospitable can a host community be towards uninvited guests and what are the limits?;

2. Effect on the host community's tourist industry and overall economy;
3. Local and national authorities' responses to the problem;
4. Media representation of the host community and its effect on reputation; and
5. Role that NGOs have (if any) in the situation.

DATA ANALYSIS

In this study, I applied four main concepts within the context of hospitality in order to respond to my research questions: representation, human compassion, tourist imagination and power. The concept of **representation** enabled me to understand the identities of the host community and the guests, both invited and uninvited. **Tourist imagination** and **power** are linked to issues of representation, and helped me further understand the concept of hospitality as connected to a tourist location-turned refugee host community.

From a total of 58 articles reviewed, 21 made direct mention to Kos Island in the headline, with reference to reception infrastructure for refugees and overall conditions on the island (SETE Intelligence, 2016). BBC.co.uk published one article in Period 1 and nine articles in Period 2, while Mail Online published 15 articles in Period 1 and 33 in Period 2, as seen in Figure 2.

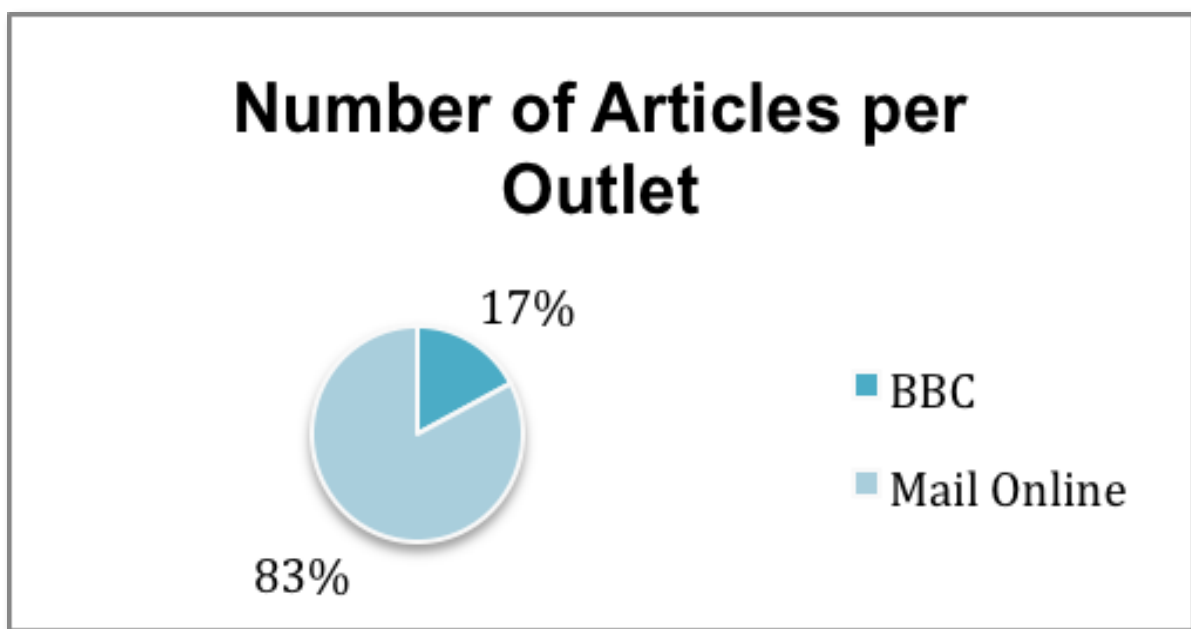


Figure 2: Number of Articles per Media Outlet

The three most prevalent themes derived from the media content analysis were: (1) Humanitarian (11.22 per cent); (2) Elements of humanitarianism (10.83 per cent), and (3) Reference to overall figures of influx and daily arrivals (9.25 per cent). I also reviewed keyword frequency for “Kos,” “Tourist,” “Tourism,” “Refugee” and “Migrant”, with “Kos” mentioned 753 times and “Migrant” mentioned 1,037 times. The keywords “Tourism” and “Tourist” were mentioned to a much lesser extent as the keyword “Refugee,” as seen in Figures 3 and 4.

Keywords per media outlet	BBC	MAIL ONLINE
Tourism	0	8
Kos	48	705
Tourist/s	2	53
Refugee	76	259
Migrant	202	835

Figure 3: Media content analysis keyword frequency in the study

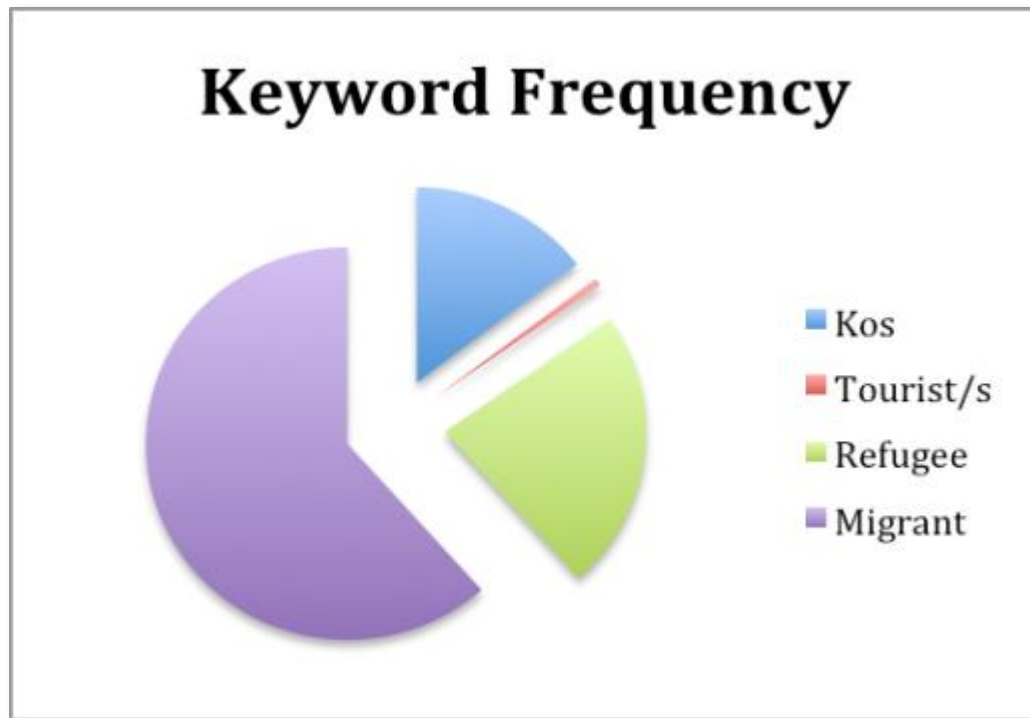


Figure 4: Media content analysis keyword frequency in the study

With regards to article “tone” as relates to the study, 41 articles were viewed as neutral, 15 had an overall negative tone toward Kos Island as a destination, and two were positive in terms of the aid provided to refugees from private individuals. Some articles in the sample demonstrated keywords use of the same frequency. Those published by Mail Online in Period 1 use the keyword “Kos” 61 times in six articles, out of the overall ten, and also have a negative tone towards the island.

A total of 553 images were featured in the sample articles, and from those, almost half published photos of Kos Island depicting refugees either on the shores having just arrived, relieved to have arrived and to be alive, or sitting on the streets waiting to take the next step of their journey. The images are either framed with a series of close-ups of refugees capturing expressions of relief, panic or idleness, or shot from far away, for example of a dinghy in the middle of the sea with no obvious

landmarks. Thus, a viewer could easily wonder if the images were actually on or nearby Kos, or somewhere else. The size of the images is also worth noting, with the majority being 962x659 pixels, characterised as large by Internet standard (Stanley, 2008). The popular Mail Online surpassed quality BBC.co.uk by 87 per cent.

The humanitarian aspect of the refugee crisis was the main narrative throughout the articles. The plight of the displaced fleeing war in Syria, and their eagerness for a new life in Europe, is so strong that they are willing to make the dangerous crossing via the Aegean Sea. This is evident in the headlines but also throughout the articles. Examples of headlines that attest to this are highlighted below:

BBC.co.uk 29 May 2015: "Kos migrants: The stories of those 'spoiling the atmosphere' for holidaymakers"

Mail Online 29 August 2015: "Thank God we're safe! Relieved migrants wash up on the shores of Kos after perilous crossing - but there's still a long way to go"

The narrative of the host community is also evident in the articles, framed in the headlines as a setting that lacks infrastructure and the "know how" to cope with the situation:

Mail Online 27 May 2015: "How many more can Kos take? Thousands of boat people from Syria and Afghanistan set up migrant camp in popular Greek island - with holidaymakers branding the situation 'disgusting'"

BBC.co.uk 03 September 2015: "Migrant crisis: The volunteers stepping in to help"

The dichotomy between the privileged tourists and refugees seeking safety is another interesting narrative depicted in the media. On the one hand, viewers can see happy sunbathing travellers and on the other, refugees struggling for their lives and lacking the utmost basic human rights. In one of the first articles published in the Mail Online in May 2015, a large image depicts tourists walking through Kos with refugees in the background sitting on the sidewalk.

Mail Online 29 May 2015: "Bikinis, sun loungers... and a tide of despair: This week 1,200 migrants washed up on a Greek island beloved by British tourists."

Despite many journalists driven and genuinely moved by the stories they report, Høijer does not rule out possible commercial motives behind the use of such explicit images in mainstream media (2004:516). As Moeller says, “news producers follow the logic of increasingly dramatic coverage, and journalists become desensitised and blasé” (1999). Selling stories of the distant other is also interesting in terms of readership, simplified to “reach” and “cost per click” when referring to electronic sources. The use of specific keywords trending in online media are key to this point, and it is now common practice in online media to use specific keywords that have large “search ability” in order to increase reach and clicks.

According to the WDR, the German public broadcasting institution, “News judgment reflects established criteria. News must be new. Editors sort stories by death tolls. Disasters that are unusual yet explicable, that are the cause of considerable death or destruction in accessible places, which the audience is believed to care about, get covered” (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2005).

Out of the 58 articles sampled, 41 had a neutral tone towards Kos Island as a holiday destination, mainly depicted by making little or no reference to the issue of “tourists” or “tourism,” while in the more neutral articles there was no use of the above two keywords. Although the keyword “Kos” was mentioned frequently, it was not followed or preceded by adjectives that had positive or negative connotations.

As Urry states, the consumption of images is increasingly significant in tourism and fuels the imagination of prospective guests, positively or negatively, depending on the theme (Jackson, 2005:183). Mail Online made extensive use of large images, in the aim to drive audiences to engage with the content. With the use of multimedia, brand awareness is built in a unique manner and consistently drives community engagement, enabling media outlets to stand out. Pictures add diversity to articles and enable readers to flick through articles at a faster pace, without having to read the entirety of the text. The larger numbers of community engagement and views (Statista, 2016), the higher the search engine optimisation (SEO) ranking. Although Mail Online is the second highest rated news outlet it is overall in ninth position (Statista, 2016) following Google, Microsoft, Facebook and Amazon amongst others.

Humanitarian themes are also gaining interest as a topic amongst readers. As mentioned, stories of human suffering and disaster make headlines and editors seeking ratings will publish stories despite a possible lack in expertise of journalists to cover such sensitive issues. According to Professor Steven Ross in a study conducted for Columbia University, “media coverage of aid operations is increasing”

(International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2005), and a report on media coverage by the Ethical Journalism Network conducted in 14 countries reported that journalists “often fail to report the full story, often perpetuating negative stereotypes” (Ethical Journalism Network, 2015).

Hosts and Refugees – A Modern Day Reality

For the “uninvited guest,” in this case refugees seeking safety, shelter and the affordance of basic human rights, the host community on Kos Island feels they have done their fair share - providing shelter, food and safety. Interviewees also report that the host community feels they have not been “protected” by the attacks launched against them by local and international media.

Through the study’s qualitative analysis, it was found that the host community reports being treated unfairly, because even though they feel they replaced the role of the government, they have not received recognition for this support. For Int. 5, a hotel owner in Lambi, despite the mistakes of a community overwhelmed by the situation, it was at least attempting to address and respond to the problem. With her hotel nearby the Captain Elias Hotel, she was a first hand witness to the refugees’ plight, as well as the images printed in the Daily Mail. Int. 5 notes that although the particular accommodation was not appropriate, the local authorities were at least attempting to relocate refugees off of the streets. She questions the ability of Kos Island’s limited police force (20 officers) to support the verification and movement process, reporting that five are meant to carry out a 15-minute verification process (two per shift), meaning that only 60-70 refugees would be verified and sent to mainland Greece per day, while daily arrival rates reached upwards of 800 people. She clarifies:

“How can 20 officers manage their daily routine duties for an entire island, keep it safe and orderly, when five out of twenty are expected to carry out the verification process?” – Int. 5

Another point made evident from the interviews was the need to find dedicated lodging facilities and relocate refugees from the city centre and off of the streets. Given the authorities’ delays in constructing such facilities, this was the most challenging task. On the other hand, Int. 6 and 9 reported that refugees refused to leave the streets, in fear of being confined or even worse incarcerated, until their paperwork was verified.

As described in my ethnographic account, a number of sites were discussed as potential verification centres or “Hot Spots”. Int. 2, a tourism professional and former Member of Parliament, mentioned that even uninhabited neighbouring islands to Kos would have been a better solution for all: refugees would not feel incarcerated, the verification process could be flexible and less pressured, the smaller islands would in the future benefit from infrastructure created for the lodging of refugees, and tourism business would be allowed to continue operations in Kos.

On the other hand, if the above solution were adopted, there would again be significant distancing from the problem, in hopes of not “seeing” the refugees and what they are experiencing, which would only serve to reinforce the power relationship between host and stranger (Gibson, 2003:376), discourage additional refugees from entering the country, and put into question the hospitality of a nation (Gibson, 2003:370).

According to Derrida, unconditional hospitality calls for “a law which tells us or invites us, or gives us the order or injunction to welcome anyone, any other one, without checking at the border” (1997a:8). The use of detention centres, hostels and hotels to accommodate refugees has surely challenged the hospitable nature of the host community, but the question remains, how ready is Kos Island or any host community, to apply Derrida’s version of “unconditional hospitality”? Therefore, an aspect worth exploring further is if the NGOs operating on Kos Island could be substitute hosts, in the sense of “pure” altruistic hospitality – the type referred to by Derrida. Could they be true ambassadors of “ethical hospitality”? Furthering Derrida’s call in an “era of increasing asylum seekers...is it not time to “call out for another international law, another border politics, another humanitarian politics, indeed a humanitarian commitment that effectively operates beyond the interests of Nation-States” (Derrida, 1999b:101)?

In local press reports, NGOs also came under scrutiny, as a growing number had formed in light of the current crisis, supposedly motivated by financial gain. Despite this, their focus was maintained on service to refugees without questioning their ability to “give back” (Gibson, 2003:379). Could the NGOs therefore be the “community of friends” necessary for “a democracy [that] simultaneously has “respect for [the] irreducible singularity or alterity” of the uninvited guest (Derrida 1997b:22)? In my opinion, this could hold true to a point: NGOs, in the case of Greece, have proven their commitment to the extent that they place the wellbeing of refugees above all; UNHCR, one of five leading agencies, announced that it “refused any role in mass expulsion of the refugees” and thus refused to work with the EU in

order to formulate a deal with Turkey regarding the refugee deal (Kinglsey, 2016). On the other hand, there were NGOs founded only to gain through the government subsidies (Chrysopoulos, 2016).

Human Compassion and the Gaze – Shaping Guest Opinions

How did the media reports of summer 2015 shape the “gaze” of the invited stranger? Int. 5 makes an interesting point referring to the host community’s (unintentional) contribution to this. The use of social media by Kos Island locals was, in her opinion, a starting point for some of the negative reports emerging from Kos, which contributed negatively to media representation of the community. She states:

“When locals would upload to Facebook, images of the city centre packed with the refugees sitting on the sidewalk while tourists would drink their coffee, it is not long before these go viral and have a negative impact on Kos.”

The media is a vital informant in shaping opinions that ultimately lead to the selection of a destination/host community, and are in many cases keen to report and expose only “hazardous events” (Kapuscinski, 2014:3), with images that will trigger “hearted” or “blamed-filled compassion” (Höijer, 2004:524). For Int. 4, member of the Kos Hotel Owners Association, the host community was vilified in these reports, as if they were seeking to make an already-difficult situation worse:

“It is painful to see reports in the media that the society of Kos is negative towards the refugee flows. People from all over the community rallied around these desperate people to make up for the absence of the government.”

Int. 4 concurs that the host community did make mistakes communication-wise, however the media heavily focussed reporting on a specific group of locals opposed to any form of assistance for refugees. Int. 4 explains, “A whole community cannot be branded as prejudiced for a small group of people, who just happened to protest in front of the camera.” The media thus exercised their “ideological power” over the host community, allowing prospective guests “to totalise and appropriate” (Jackson, 2005:189).

In addition, the context of images selected or created by the media and used to report the “reality” of the host community and refugee situation should be questioned. Int. 6, an officer at the IOM, reported witnessing a foreign journalist giving a chocolate bar to a young child in exchange for being photographed alone,

looking sad and desperate, while the child's parents stood only a few metres away. If the context of media images can be constructed, then so can the "surveillance" of guests, by journalists who from a "heightened position of power" construct a potentially false reality of the host community (Jackson, 2005:190).

Brotherton questions if tourism "should be viewed as a product, a process, an experience, or all three at the same time" while stating that "defining it [tourism] is like opening Pandora's Box," given the options of possible orientations, issues and comparisons that can be made" (1999). The flow of the tourist experience begins with *expectancy*: what one hopes to see, feel and experience. With regards to the actual experience, once one has arrived and concluded their stay, did the experience match the expectation? And was the memory pleasant and worth repeating? These feelings are in part sculpted by media representations of the tourist destination, particularly more so in today's era of globalisation, modernisation and technology.

As such, another significant point is the consideration of reality versus perception, of human suffering versus the idyllic tourist destination. The media in all its forms (traditional, online and social media) provides "risk information and exposure to news coverage of hazardous events" (Kapusinski, 2014:3), and the perception of the guest-tourist in a specific destination is critical, as it influences choices (ibid). The media provides vital information that shapes opinions and ultimately leads to one's selection of a destination. In turn, the tourist seeks out images of a host destination, and "are most comfortable when looking at the virtual reality they are most accustomed to seeing and expected in the media, and are left irritated when the gazed-at failed to conform to their knowledge of a virtual reality" (Jackson, 2005:193). When reality hijacks their gaze, we have what Baudrillard calls a case of "simulacra" - the inability of a reader to distinguish reality from its images (Jackson, 2005:185).

Int. 1, a tourism scholar who travels extensively, pointed out that he does not want to witness scenes of misery and desperation when he travels, and the majority of media reports in this study depicted exactly this. Images of suffering and despair are the opposite of what a prospective tourist will expect in travel brochures. The identity of Kos Island is a location with sun and beaches, and 2015 media coverage of the refugee influx to Kos directly contradicts and fails to conform to this image expected from European tourists (Jackson, 2005:193).. Many would choose to look away from such despair, in search of a destination that conforms to the typical tourist gaze (Jackson, 2005:193). The tourist, by viewing images of human suffering, automatically puts in motion a "conscious operation of ideological power" (Jackson,

2005:189), exercised upon a host community as tourist location. Daily Mail articles describing Kos as a “hellhole” denote this ideological power.

In the opinion of Int. 6, the images and stories of holidaying tourists passing refugees on the sidewalk were misleading, primarily towards the tourists and destination of choice portraying them as promoters of social injustice. For her, the situation is more complicated than the oversimplified conclusions appearing in the press. For Int. 4 however, this could not be more out of context:

“They [the media articles] annihilated the efforts of an entire host community, who although were witnessing their main industry in decline, were making serious efforts to support the refugees, each in their own way.”

A distinction was also made between national and international media. Int. 4 pointed out, “bad news always makes a good story,” further to my earlier point, “If it bleeds, it leads.” She could understand this approach to a degree, with regards to the international press, but believed it to be off bounds for the Greek media, as they should be more protective of the country’s tourism industry:

“The images that travelled abroad caused a stir, and there were cancellations. But there were images, not reported, from beyond the island’s centre, where tourists were enjoying their holidays peacefully and uninterrupted.”

Again it is difficult to determine if these stories are published for the sake of readership or to inform (Moeller, 1999), in particular in the absence, to my knowledge, of studies that measure the impact these articles may have audiences (Höijer, 2004:513).

CONSIDERATIONS

Issues of ethics and recording material accurately and precisely were of concern, and thus, my approach to the material gathered and interviewees was dealt with accordingly. I first requested interviews from selected stakeholders (Appendix C), and then obtained verbal and/or written voluntary consent from all interviewees. Interviewees were informed of the purpose of this study, recording and transcription, confidentiality procedures, and told they could end the interview at any time. All interviewee names were changed for the purposes of this study.

There were also limitations in terms of the ethically-questionable responses of some interviewees while trying to focus on the research questions. This resulted in a need to consider carefully what to include in order to maintain an unbiased approach, because some of their responses were conflicting.

LESSONS LEARNT

The most challenging aspect of conducting this study was the vast amount of material collected using a mixed method approach. Because the topic referred to current events also made the task challenging, as facts were continually evolving and the need for reformulating questions and methods was a constant throughout the study. Coordinating interviews with interviewees' demanding schedules also proved challenging. The scope of the material led to an initial perplexity in terms of the research direction, and only when the material was fully gathered was I able to have a clearer picture of the theoretical approach to follow.

Limitations in carrying out the media content analysis became evident midway through the study, and were dealt with through the use of various sources, guidance and discussion with peers. In turn, drawing the material together and tying it back to the research questions posed a significant challenge, as the amount of information was compelling and engrossing. Organising the data in an orderly and clear manner was perplexing at times, as I also felt a personal interest and urgency to record all of the findings with a sense that every bit of information helped put the puzzle together.

Although the results of this study may not be conclusive, and there may be flaws in the analytical process due to limited time and resources, my hope is that it can be viewed as a stepping-stone for a future, more comprehensive, study on the issue.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Through this study I aimed to explore how a host's community's reputation is represented in the media and how these representations influence public opinion towards a tourist destination. This was done through a mixed method approach making use of an ethnographic account, media content analysis along with a series of interviews from stakeholders of the host community's tourism industry. I approached the issue through the concepts of hospitality, power, media perceptions about human compassion, and the tourist imagination, in order to try to understand the relationships that form between a host community and its guests. While doing so, I explored the nature of guest versus tourist, and how these notions are appropriated within a host community, whilst contextualising tourism.

I attempted to make sense of the predicament of Kos as a host community through personal observations during the summer of 2015. I made a report of my discussions with local professionals, as well as upsetting images I personally witnessed, in order to account for the new reality of a destination previously known for its promise of a holiday full of sun, sea and fun.

I found that the local community is divided between feelings of humanitarianism and professionalism, always comparing booking rates from the previous year with the current year, as a measure of "optimum objectivity" (Hansen, 1998:34). Their narrative is based on the tradition of humanitarianism and hospitality whilst balancing the starkly different realities of their invited and uninvited guests. I concluded that the relationship between the guests – tourist and refugee – and the host community is grounded by reasons of displacement that vary significantly. Tourist "displacement" (or migration) is viewed as socially acceptable and non-offensive, in my opinion due to the "arrangement" between host and tourist, i.e. financial gain versus the fulfilment of the tourists' expectations of the destination visited. For the refugee, where no such arrangement exists, this displacement is viewed as socially unacceptable, to the extent of being viewed as parasitic. The hosts have sentiments of a "powerless compassion" (Höijer, 2004:524). From my personal interactions with locals and through the interviews carried out in this study, Derrida's views sum up all of the above, pointing to the contradiction between "hospitality of visitation and hospitality of invitation" (2000a:14), and that in true democracy, the nation is a "home" and we have responsibilities towards all guests as a true community of friends (1997b:22).

However, the host community is also deeply concerned with how they are represented in the media. A total of 80 per cent of the interviewees felt they (and by

extension Kos Island) were misrepresented; while the other 20 per cent stated that readers have an understanding of how the media operates and do not weigh heavily on media reports.

This brings me back to my research question: that a host community in times of extraordinary events can be represented in a decontextualised manner. There have been very few reports in the media of how the local tourist industry on Kos has supported local authorities' efforts in the current crisis; instead, emphasis was disproportionately placed on negative issues that occurred. Under the pretence of "cosmopolitan democracy and global sympathy" (Höijer, 2004:513) the media coverage scrutinised the image of host community in order to inform readers on the one hand, but on the other, Williams' opinion that "bad news is good news" (2014) shines light on the media's use of human suffering to further readership and sales. Through the heavy utilisation of images at times out of context, media thus portrays human suffering to its own benefit while disregarding the impact it may have on the host community. The fact that some of the articles under discussion were later revised, both in terms of wording and authorship, supports this notion.

With regards to the actual response to the refugee crisis, the host community did not lack empowerment, but interest, organisation and effectiveness. It needs to be stressed that there was a serious lack of commitment and leadership on behalf of the national government, which was necessary to provide guidance and direction for a national issue. The host community on Kos Island made attempts to address and deal with the crisis at both levels, (1) as a host: business and Kos local authorities made attempts to reassure its invited guests that the situation was under control and being handled appropriately, emphasising Kos as a safe destination that was called to deal with an extraordinary event, and (2) to cater for fellow people in need. Although the handlings had initial shortcomings, a point that all interviewees attested to, they also agreed that the media exaggerated and played to the negative aspects of addressing the crisis.

As of this study's completion in August 2016, there are currently a small number of refugees still residing on Kos island (approximately 900) in organised shelters, with no one dwelling on the streets of the city centre (Newsbomb, 2016). In light of the recent coup in Turkey, some flows of refugees are starting again (iefimerida, 2016), albeit in very small numbers..However, for the local tourism industry on Kos Island, the damage has been done, as there has been a decrease of 14,5 per cent in arrivals on Kos (Newsbomb, 2016) and the Greek government does not anticipate the flow of refugees to stop overall at any point in the near future.

From the qualitative interviews conducted, it was made clear that 40 per cent of interviewees felt the media reports of Kos were the reason that booking rates for the island were in decline at the high rate of 20-25 per cent. One can assume causality between a decline in booking rates and media representation of the host community, however within the scope of the current study, it is difficult to confirm a direct correlation between the negative media reports and decreased bookings for Kos. At this point one can only assume that the media representation has affected of this host community as a tourist destination, with the subsequent decline in bookings.

Tourism is a social phenomenon, as well as a highly volatile industry that is susceptible to numerous socioeconomic and psychological factors (Bell, 2009) (Larsen, 2007); one thus, can use the points of this study to observe and further research the topic, utilising a direct survey to potential, current and past tourists to Kos Island, in order to derive further conclusions.

It is my personal opinion that if Kos Island municipality, and the Greek national and local governments as a whole, had a formal Destination Management Organisation (DMO) strategy, then the losses to its reputation as a tourist destination, regardless of the cause, would not have been as significant. As Int. 1 says, “the negative effects could have been handled in a more constructive and organised manner.” However, the above predisposes the coordinated efforts on behalf of national, local, public and private stakeholders, and a constructive and organised communication plan, formulated in the interests of both the host community and refugees, would have provided an immediate response to the crisis caused by the Daily Mail’s negative and sensationalist portrayals.

The main conclusion reached is that a national strategy needs to be formulated for Greek communities as hosts during ordinary and extraordinary events, a DMO that can lead to a stronger sense of organisation, preparedness and solidarity for the host community, because as Scheyvens points out, tourism can result in social empowerment, only when “a community sense of cohesion and integrity is confirmed and strengthened” (2002: 61) when the rights of invited and uninvited guests are simultaneously balanced with the rights of a host community.

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APPENDIX A – MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING PROCEDURE

Media Selection Procedure

BBC.co.uk

In the search field, keywords were placed in order to generate relevant stories. The outlet to refine the search further provided no additional filters, and sorting was done manually. The web pages were opened and stored in a respective file according to the period they correspond to.

Mail Online

In the search field the search for “Site” was selected as opposed to “Web.” Keywords were then placed in search field in order to generate the relevant stories, and an advanced search included the following filters:

- **Channel** – the “News” and “Reuters” were selected because they were the first two in line
- **Content type** – article selected in order to be consistent with other outlets
- **Author** – no author selected, so as to include articles independent of author
- **Topics** – topics coded are labelled by the Mail Online [M.O] website following a numerical sequence based on their position in the selection list
 - M.O. 1 – Greece
 - M.O. 2 - Immigration
 - M.O. 3 - Syria
 - M.O. 4 – ISIS
- **Days** – “Last Year” was selection from the options: today, last week, last 30 days, last 60 days, last 90 days, last year, all time. Then articles were manually sorted by date, opened, and stored in a respective file according to the period they correspond to.

Outlet Selection (sample)

The main aim of the outlet selection was to ensure comparability of the data. The intention was to balance the outlets in terms of Format (electronic) and Category (one mid-market and one quality outlet, selected in order to compare features in terms of themes).

Material Collection

Coding was conducted for all articles within the coding period. More specifically all articles that included the following keywords: Kos, Tourism, Tourist, Migrant, and Refugee. Articles within the News / Europe section were coded.

Selection Criteria

All stories mentioning Kos or Refugee Crisis were coded in the News and Editorial (including Opinion/Comment) sections. Not coded were: Programs, Sport, Weather, Shop, Earth, Travel and More. Related links, comment and advertisements were not coded.

Selection Rules for Articles

The articles were chosen by adding predefined keywords into the search field of the sites. Once the articles are generated, they were then sorted by date based on the coding period, and **again sorted based on the section they belong to**. The articles had to be part of either the News or News | Europe sections. Then, the article title was sorted to include one or more of the predetermined keywords. Once all of the above was determined then the analysis of the text would begin. In an Excel spreadsheet the following elements of the article were recorded:

1. Date - must be with the specified periods Period 1 or Period 2
2. Headline of article - includes at least one of the keywords
3. Type of article - news report, video or blog
4. Section - featured on the News and / or Europe section
5. Number of images – it is not necessary to have images included
6. Images of Kos: Yes, No
7. Maps: Yes, No
8. Dimensions of images – Do they exceed the size of medium sized pictures of 300x300 pixels? Yes, No
9. Videos of Kos - Yes, No
10. Video duration - Is the duration of video over 30 seconds? Yes, No
11. Signed by Author – Is the article signed by the author? Yes, No
12. Frequency of keywords - check table of each article
13. URL
14. Number of lines
15. Comments- How many comments and / or shares were there in the article
16. Themes – Was the article single or multiple themed?

APPENDIX B – LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Semi-structured interview questions were developed to accommodate the interviewees, such that consistent questions would still be relevant to the interviewees' various roles and professions. The following standardised questions were included:

1. What were the effects of the refugee crisis for last years' tourist season? Where their cancellations / closing of hotel units?
2. In recent the ITB exhibition in Berlin that were involved, what was the view of the Tour Operator for Kos in light of the forthcoming season?
3. Ms. Kountoura, Deputy Minister of Tourism announced yesterday that there was a decrease of 20% -25% in the pre bookings for Kos in 2016. Given that there has not been connection between the refugee crisis with security and Greece is considered a safe destination, why do you think there has been a decline?
4. Do you think that alternative forms of tourism are emerging, such as voluntourism? In Lesvos for example, an island that has no tradition in tourism as Kos does. But with the refugee situation and there are many reports that the island has been inundated by volunteers and employees of NGOs who rent rooms there in the few hotels and spend money in the local market. I would like your opinion on the issue.
5. How do you see the situation for the forthcoming season? Is there cooperation between the local stakeholders, municipal authorities with operators to address the issue? What are the prevailing views of other entrepreneurs?
6. There have been reports in the press that the flows are now close to nil in Kos. However the hot spot that was being constructed on the island is soon to be finished according to a report in the press: Do you think that this could contribute to reversing the current negative press the island has been receiving?

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW REQUEST LETTER



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY

27/02/2016

Dear Madame /Sir:

My name is Eleni Maria Rozali, and I am a MA student that will be completing the Communication for Development Program at Malmo University in June.

In the context of my Degree Project, I am researching the current immigration crisis and it's impact on tourism on the island of Kos. I am particularly interested in these main areas: (1) how can a conflict of interest be tackled with, in the sense that a humanitarian crisis is currently unfolding in Europe and at the same time promote Kos as a tourist destination; (2) What needs to be done with respect to the above in order to bridge this dichotomy?

The format of the interview will be semi guided.

I have identified a list of individuals who play a prominent role in the Greek tourism industry in founding and shaping the developments in the tourism trade for the last 2 decades. Given your position and extensive experience in the field, I would like to request the chance to have a brief interview with you to discuss your views on the topic. The duration of the interview could be between 30 – 50 minutes depending your time and the flow of the discussion.

It can be conducted either at a location of your preference, over the phone or via Skype.

The interviews will be recorded digitally and you will be provided with paper copies of the final transcripts [and, if desired, a CD of the audio recording].

As per guidelines, all interviewees retain the right to review and edit their interview transcript before the final version is deposited, and, if they wish, to place restrictions on the availability of the

interview or to specify conditions under which researchers may have access to.

In the event that you accept to participate in this study, and three days prior to the specified interview date, you will receive a sample questionnaire for your review.

I sincerely hope that you will consider participating in this important effort to document the impact the immigration crisis is having on the tourism industry of Kos.

I will be contacting you via telephone or email in the near future to confirm your interest in being interviewed.

Please feel free to contact me as specified below with any questions. An information sheet on the project is attached for your reference.

Sincerely,
Eleni Maria Rozali
Malmo University