



MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

“They talk about us like toys”

Participative and biographic-narrative exploration of
displaced interpreters' life worlds in Greece

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science (MSc)

Wien, 2024 / Vienna 2024

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 066 840

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Psychologie UG2002

Betreut von / Supervisor:

ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Thomas Slunecko

Acknowledgements - Danksagung

Thank you first to Zainab Rahimi, for staying motivated to keep on working together at this project despite its unpredictability and challenges. Thank you for all the meetings, important critical reflections and inputs. Without your thoughts and analysis, this thesis would not have been possible.

Thank you Nora and Nasim for sharing your expertise and experiences on interpretation in the humanitarian context in Greece. Also, I want to thank Fatima, Sardar, Gabriella, Mia, Mo, Carlotta, Carlo, Sofy, Anna, Mohamed, India and Latifa for learning so much from you when working together on Lesvos. Thank you to Mimis, Aref, Hamid, Yahia and Pascal to connect me with so many interview partners. I want to thank everybody that took the time and effort to get in touch with me and share their experiences in the interviews and beyond. Thank you for your trust and support.

Seit 2015 begleitet mich das Studium der Psychologie an der Universität Wien. Langsam aber doch neigt sich diese Zeit dem Ende – danke an alle, die mir diesen Weg ermöglicht haben. Für die persönliche Betreuung, den erfrischenden Einblick in die Wiener Kulturpsychologie und die Supervision dieses Projekts trotz vieler Veränderungen und Unklarheiten meinerseits möchte ich mich sehr herzlich bei ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Thomas Slunecko bedanken.

Des Weiteren möchte ich mich bei Mag.a Dr.in Dina Weindl, Parissima Taheri M.A. M.Sc. und Farah Saad B.A. B.A. M.A. für die mich sehr prägenden und wichtigen kritischen Auseinandersetzungen im Rahmen des Psychologiestudiums bedanken. Die Arbeit wäre nicht möglich gewesen ohne den vielseitigen Austausch und die Unterstützung im Masterseminar, allen voran durch Raphi, Julia, Katia, Jacob und Hannah. Danke für die gegenseitige Motivation, den spannenden Austausch, das Feedback geben und die wichtigen Kaffeepausen. Danke an Lena für das zeitintensive Korrigieren und das schöne gemeinsame WG-Leben und an Jasper für die durchgehende Unterstützung. Bedanken möchte ich mich auch bei meine Arbeitskolleg*innen fürs flexible Dienstaustauschen, wenn die Zeit knapp war, und die Ermöglichung meiner Bildungskarenz. Danke an Lulu und meinen Bruder Jakob, dass ihr als Pilotinterviewpartner*innen zur Verfügung gestanden seid.

Besonders möchte ich mich bei allen Familienmitgliedern, Freund*innen und Lehrer*innen bedanken, die immer an mich geglaubt und mich unterstützt haben.

gefördert von der Universität Wien

Kurzfristige wissenschaftliche Auslandsstipendien (KWA) 2022

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Introduction

The role of community staff, in general, and displaced interpreters, in particular, has been mostly overlooked in Eurocentric political, societal and media discourses. However, in recent years two substantial calls have evoked public discourse on community interpreters' living realities and perspectives.

The film "Quo Vadis Aida" by Jasmila Žbanić (ÖFI, 2021) evoked media and public discourse through its portrayal of the last days before the Srebrenica genocide in 1995. Aida's role in the film connects the storyline through her duties as an interpreter to the United Nations and her previous life as a teacher with her family and community. Despite Ratko Mladić's plans for the Bosnian genocide becoming evident in 1995, Aida does not receive support in her continuous urgent requests for protection from the UN-Dutch military mission based in Srebrenica. Aida has to tragically experience the Srebrenica massacre, losing family, friends and community members. The film is based on the autobiography of former UN translator Hasan Nuhanović, who filed a lawsuit against the Dutch government due to the role of its military mission in Srebrenica, resulting in a guilty verdict for the Dutch government (Holligan, 2021).

In the same year, another public discourse originated with the renewed takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban in 2021. While numerous Afghan citizens have worked for the last 20 years as interpreters and local staff for the global military, NGOs, and media outlets, evacuation and protection have hardly been provided. While European and US citizens immediately have been evacuated, local staff has been facing severe prosecution in Afghanistan. Several former local staff members shared their stories and thoughts in an Al-Jazeera Article. Below, there are two quotes from a former employee of the US Agency for International Development, sharing the situation thousands of Afghan citizens have been left with.

"They used us, our skills, and now they don't even respond to emails."

"On checkpoints, the Taliban check our phones, so I had to delete everything. I change my place of hiding every night. We are at huge risk. And all we can do is wait for evacuation."

(Pikulicka-Wilczewska, 2021)

These historical catastrophes depict the abandonment of local community members on a structural level. It becomes apparent that the irrelevance of providing life perspectives

for local staff and community members is related to the utilisation (McAllum, 2019) and exploitation of community members as a workforce. Although the situation of community members, particularly in Afghanistan, has partially received some media attention, there have been no structural efforts to provide general life-saving measures, such as internationally organised evacuations for Afghan citizens.

Motivation and Irritation

In the Viennese tradition of cultural psychology (Slunecko, 2017, 2020), my personal experiences, encounters, and irritations are the foundation of my research interest. Between 2019 and 2021, I used to co-work with displaced interpreters in Lesbos, Greece. During the first weeks of my initial arrival in 2019, I attended a workshop informing 'international volunteers' about secondary traumatisation. Towards the end of the seminar, the leading psychologist emphasised that most affected of secondary traumatisation were 'community interpreters' having in common experiences of displacement and potential trauma with their clients interpreting for. Not only I, but most of the international volunteers present were surprised. At the same time, this surprise was a moment of initial irritation, resulting in a shameful realisation: I had solely thought about the benefits for the international team and community members to work with community volunteers, especially for interpretation. However, when trying to put myself in the position of a displaced community interpreter, it was only too evident that this double role would hold several challenges and possibly impact wellbeing and health.

I could not get these thoughts out of my head. Back in Vienna, I was increasingly irritated by the narratives of 'helpless refugees' and 'white helpers' in Eurocentric discourses. During political engagement in activist organisations, people on the move were continuously discussed, but hardly involved themselves, which seemed paradoxical. How can the interests of those personally affected by displacement and regulations of international protection be advocated for and represented without direct involvement?

On a structural level, a binary of '(white) helpers' and 'refugees in need of help' is not only apparent in white political, public and media discourses, but also in white humanitarian and activist organisations as well as in white academic discourse (McAllum, 2019). This structural parallelism of a binary differentiation of NGOs as 'helpers' and displaced communities as 'refugees in need of help' in white discourses can be identified as part of the white Savior

Industrial Complex, which will be explained in more detail later in the thesis. On Lesbos, I have mainly been in contact with the following three communities: the locals of Lesbos, international volunteers, and people on the move. Particularly on the Aegean islands, a place of historical mobility due to the proximity of the Greek and Turkish coastlines, the local community has been used to offer support to people in need after arriving in Greece. Due to the increased displacement of civilians in the Syrian war, local civilians were no longer able to offer sufficient support from 2015 on, which led to the continuous involvement of self-organised as well as administered international organisations and, thus, 'international volunteers'. Depending on their tasks and roles, many people on the move work for little or no compensation with NGOs as 'community volunteers', 'cultural mediators', or 'community interpreters'. Community volunteers are engaged in various tasks, from winterising camp tents and coordinating food distribution to interpretation. Often, areas of responsibilities would merge, leading to situations where interpreters for children's groups would also partly or wholly facilitate the group. Thus, their roles may include interpretation, pedagogical responsibilities, and multiple other tasks.

Even when community volunteers are not staying in initial reception centres with horrendous living conditions, their everyday lives, concerns, and opportunities are fundamentally different from international volunteers working in the same team. These situational differences are exacerbated by structural differentiation through separate training and meetings, and a focus on psychosocial support as well as a focus on psycho-educative training for international volunteers rather than for community volunteers. Whereas training for international volunteers is essential to enable reflection, differentiation, and empathy in difficult situations, it is equally essential to be aware of community interpreters' responsibility, role, and the little, if any (financial) support. Definitions, roles and tasks of community interpretation, particularly in the context of displaced interpreters, will be outlined in this thesis.

In February/March 2020, the situation for people on the move to Greece intensified for various reasons. Conflicts between Greece and Turkey in February 2020 led to the decision by Turkish officials to open its borders to Greece, encouraging border crossing of numerous people on the move, who were met with a massively violent reaction by deployed Greek and EU military troops. For one month, Greece suspended the right to asylum, which has been discussed as an action against international law (Karagiannopoulou et al., 2020).

Particularly on Lesbos, this political aggression turned into public uproars by Greek and international fascist organisations such as the Greek Golden Dawn (Chrysí Avgí) and the Identitarian movement, as well as by locals frustrated by Greek policies and administration. This led to severe threats and attacks on people on the move, NGO members and locals showing solidarity (Zick, 2020).

Finally, the outbreak of COVID-19 in March 2020 led to the closing of most NGOs and the widespread leaving of 'international volunteers'. Following the lack of international humanitarian aid, the military solely ran so-called Reception and Identification Centers (RIC) and Closed Controlled Access Centers (CCAC) in Greece, resulting in severely insufficient support for residents. Out of this emergency, self-organised initiatives developed, such as the Moria Corona Awareness Team and the Moria White Helmets with the aim of preventing outbreak of COVID-19 through media work, information, and camp residents' training (Moria Corona Awareness Team, 2021; Moria White Helmets, 2021). Before 2020, self-organised initiatives and protest forms existed but were continuously suppressed by multiple actors and, therefore, had a small reach. During COVID-19 regulations, the difficult situation for residents resulted in public criticism of NGOs for grievances, inefficiencies, and structural racism (Moria Corona Awareness Team, 2020a, 2020b). Responses to the criticism were varied. While the community itself, some activists in Europe, and a few (former) international volunteers showed support on social media, several NGOs based on Lesbos and abroad adhered to react upon voiced allegations. This open discourse/conflict intensified after the fire of Camp Moria in September 2020 and the construction of the present CCAC Lesbos also referred to as 'Camp Mavrovouni', 'Moria 2' or 'Kara Tepe 2'.

Despite claims of Greek and EU officials of improving living conditions for people applying for asylum in Greece, illustrated by the popularised claim of "No more Morias" by Commissioner Ylva Johansson in 2020, living conditions in the newly built Closed Controlled Access Center (CCAC) Lesbos hardly improved. This development left individuals and organisations aiming to support Camp residents on Lesbos with limited possibilities of action. While some NGOs partnered with the Greek administration and could register for operating inside CCAC Lesbos, organisations voicing criticism on Greek and EU administration of asylum law were not registered and therefore could, and still can up to present, only operate outside of CCAC Lesbos. Due to strictly controlled access and lockdown restrictions, organisations operating outside could hardly reach and support people on the move residing in CCAC Lesbos.

A very strict second lockdown started shortly after my arriving in November 2020 for my second stay on Lesbos. Due to increased movement restrictions for Camp residents, I could hardly follow the initial task of implementing a pedagogical project for toddlers. For this reason, I began to engage in a newly launched psychosocial support program for children and their caregivers. Despite my role as a group facilitator in planning and implementing activities and attempting to address questions, needs, and emotional issues, the children and teenagers continuously formed a stronger personal connection with the groups' interpreters. The children and their caregivers showed heightened trust in interpreters and increasingly sought them directly for interpretation and emotional support. The emotional responsibility and burden thus fell upon the interpreters, all of whom were facing structural insecurities, ambiguity about their asylum status, and challenging living conditions. The interpreters' role involved navigating power imbalances, such as being forced to depend on NGO-paid accommodation or endure the precarious conditions in Camp Moria or CCAC Lesbos. Where NGOs and 'international volunteers' passively accepted the severe limitations of actions due to COVID-19 regulations and restricted access to Camp residents, community volunteers demonstrated remarkable initiatives, such as organising clothing distributions in adverse weather conditions, using personal savings to provide radiant heaters for families, and offering support to distressed unaccompanied minors during their free time. One particularly active interpreter expressed conflicting emotions upon receiving asylum papers, being both glad for her situation and apprehensive about the fate of the children with whom she was working with once she would no longer be present on Lesbos.

In the summer of 2021, I returned to Lesbos for two more months to work with the same psychosocial support program for children. This time, the program was aimed to be much more community-based, leading to new challenges, especially concerning the heightened workload for community interpreters and facilitators due to the high demand for psychosocial support but limited resources. During my third stay on Lesbos, there was hardly any 'international volunteer' in the project, resulting in me working much closer with the interpreter team.

On Lesbos, I had the chance to get to know numerous inspiring people. One of them is Zainab Rahimi, with whom I got the chance to co-work during her time as an interpreter and group coordinator. During my stays on Lesbos, we frequently exchanged our perceptions, experiences, and ideas on how to work together and reflected on structural challenges

and imbalances. The idea of conducting a thesis on the perspectives of displaced interpreters in Greece in cooperation with Zainab Rahimi evolved throughout these exchanges. To pursue this cooperation, we followed participative research approaches (Bergold & Thomas, 2010), especially concerning interview focus, analysis/interpretation of data, results, and possible implementations for enhanced understanding of interpreter's experiences in a humanitarian context.

Outline of this thesis structure

This project focuses on portraying the unique life-worlds, experiences, and biographies from displaced interpreters' perspectives. What does it mean to face living conditions as a person on the move in Greece and hold roles and responsibilities as an interpreter for the own community?

In the following text, some thoughts and reflections on the term 'migration', as well as international juridical definitions concerning international protection, are discussed. This is followed by background information on the current reform of the Central European Asylum System (CEAS) (Atanassov, 2023) and information relevant to asylum applications in Greece (Dimitriadi, 2022; Hellenic Republic Ministry of Migration and Asylum & UNHCR, 2023). The next step covers the roles and tasks of displaced interpreters based on both the personal experiences of trainers for community interpretation and theoretical approaches. Finally, a discussion of the white Saviour Industrial Complex as well as thoughts on 'Orientalism' (Said, 1985), the development of cultural (Hall, 2015) and postcolonial (Fanon, 1961) studies are depicted from the perspective of post-migration society (Siouti et al., 2022).

In their book, "The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science", Chamberlayne et al. (2000) demonstrate biographical methods as powerful tools for bringing back lived realities into social science. In this project, the life-realities of displaced interpreters are captured through the biographic-narrative interview based on the conceptualisations of Wengraf and Rosenthal (Rosenthal, 1993; Wengraf, 2001). The project also involves approaches of participative research (Bergold & Thomas, 2010) and Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The subsequent description of the methodological composition of this thesis depicts access to interview partners, the interview process, and analytical steps. These methodological outlines and reflections eventually lead to the detailed case studies of A and B, depicting Biographical Data Analysis (BDA), Thematic Field Analysis (TFA), and case history and structure.

Ten face-to-face and two online interviews have been conducted following the BNIM approach (Wengraf, 2001) on Lesbos and in Athens in 2022. Detailed case descriptions of two interviews depict the nuanced experience of working and identifying as displaced interpreters. This is achieved through a comprehensive analysis of complex interactions within societal dynamics, which intricately shape biographies at the individual and collective levels. The selection of interviews A and B has been pursued due to their contrasting backgrounds and experiences, providing valuable comparative insights into the circumstances faced by displaced interpreters on Samos, Lesbos, and in Athens.

Consequently, the perspectives of A and B are depicted in their case studies and further methodological developments, such as the conceptualisation of narrative methods for social work. Finally, a short introduction of the project “The Parallel Narrative Experience” by the joint Israeli-Palestinian organisation Parents Circle – Families Forum (PCFF) exemplifies further thoughts and reflections.

Migration – a historic mobility process

Migration has been a constant part of human history. In her novel “Resident foreigners: A Philosophy of Migration”, Donatella Di Cesare follows movement processes back into the ancient cities of Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem (Cesare, 2020). However, in societal discourse, the rising number of people seeking asylum in Europe in 2015 has been defined as a 'crisis', leading to public and political discourses focussing on borders rather than on humans. Beginning in 2015 and essentially after the EU-Turkey Statement of Cooperation in 2016, the creation of First Reception Facilities or so-called ‘hotspots’ - such as the former Camp Moria (RIC Lesbos) - led to a severe worsening of living conditions of thousands of humans seeking refuge in Europe (Zick, 2020). In political discourses, centre-right wing parties have been winning elections by focusing on 'protecting borders' and 'stopping migration'. On the 3rd of March 2020, following political tensions between Greece and Turkey, the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, delivered a speech in Kastanies, the land border between Greece and Turkey, in which she stated:

“(..)We have come here today to send a very clear statement of European solidarity and support to Greece. Our first priority is making sure that order is maintained at the Greek external border, which is also a European border. I am fully committed to mobilising all the necessary operational support to the Greek authorities. (...) Those who seek to test Europe's

unity will be disappointed. We will hold the line and our unity will prevail. Now is the time for concerted action and cool heads and acting based on our values. Turkey is not an enemy and people are not just means to reach a goal. We would all do well to remember both in the days to come. I thank Greece for being our European ασπίδα [English: shield] in these times." (Von der Leyen, 2020)

In her book mentioned above, philosopher Donatella di Cesare (Cesare, 2020) analyses the development of mobility processes throughout human history and criticises the stance of reducing identity and belonging to arbitrarily defined borders of nations. Cesare delves into the experiences of individuals who become resident foreigners in new lands, emphasising migration's ethical, political, and existential dimensions. The concept of being a resident foreigner serves as a focal point, highlighting the tension between residing in a new place and maintaining a sense of foreignness. Cesare fosters a deeper philosophical reflection on migration, considering the intricate interplay between people's personal experiences on the move and the broader societal dynamics that shape their reception in new environments. In the sense of Donatella di Cesare, migration is to be understood as a fundamental aspect of human existence with far-reaching implications for individuals and societies.

Migration – international law

There is no universally accepted definition of "migration" in international law. Regarding the International Organisation of Migration (IOM), the term "migration" serves as: *"an umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons (...)"* (IOM, 2024).

In this thesis, people leaving their usual residence are generally referred to as "people on the move". Despite forced displacement, this term also includes international students and working mobility, often referred to by institutions such as the European Union as 'regular migration' – a term that does not hold any official definition and is frequently misused in political, media and societal discourses.

Displacement refers to people being forced to leave their usual residence due to various circumstances, including war, violence, natural disasters and a lack of employment op-

portunities. Whereas internally displaced refers to people forced to leave their usual residence within their country due to various circumstances, externally displaced refers to displacement across an international border.

When displaced across an international border, individuals needing international protection have the right to receive asylum status if acknowledged as refugees. Also, they have the right to receive subsidiary protection if not acknowledged as refugees but are at real risk of suffering serious harm upon returning to their country of origin as defined by international law (European Commission, 2024b).

At mid-2023, 110 million people have been forcibly displaced worldwide, of whom 62.5 million are internally displaced people, 36.4 million are refugees, 6.1 million are seeking for asylum and 5.3 million are other people in need of international protection (UNHCR, n.d.).

The right of international protection

Asylum is a fundamental right and an international obligation for countries, as recognised in the 1951 Geneva Convention on the international protection of refugees. The 1951 Convention provides the internationally recognised definition of the term 'refugee' and outlines the legal protection, rights and assistance people with refugee status are entitled to receive (UNHCR, 2024a).

Article 1 of the 1951 Geneva Convention defines the term refugee as someone who *"owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of [their] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail [themselves] of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of [their] former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it"* (UNHCR, 2024a).

Since, by definition, people holding refugee status are not protected by their own governments, the 1951 Convention holds guidelines for the international community to ensure their safety and protection. Countries that have signed the 1951 Convention must protect refugees on their territory and treat them according to internationally recognised standards. The cornerstone of the 1951 Convention is the principle of non-refoulement con-

tained in Article 33. According to this principle, individuals holding refugee status should not be returned to a country where they face serious threats to their life or freedom as defined in the Convention (UNHCR, 2024a).

Other rights contained in the 1951 Convention include:

- The right *“not to be expelled, except under certain, strictly defined conditions”* (Article 32)
 - The right *“not to be punished for irregular entry into the territory of a contracting state”* (Article 31)
 - The right *“to non-discrimination”* (Articles 3 and 5)
 - The right *“to decent work”* (Articles 17 to 19 and 24)
 - The right *“to housing, land and property, including intellectual property”* (Articles 13, 14 and 21)
 - The right *“to education”* (Article 22)
 - The right *“to freedom of religion”* (Article 4)
 - The right *“to access to justice”* (Article 16)
 - The right *“to freedom of movement within the territory”* (Article 26 and Article 31 (2))
 - The right *“to be issued civil, identity and travel documents”* (Articles 12, 27 and 28)
 - The right *“to social protection”* (Articles 23 and 24 (2-4)).
- (UNHCR, 2024a)

To date, 146 countries are party to the 1951 Convention and 147 to the 1967 Protocol, including all states of the European Union (UNHCR, 2024a).

Current reform of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS)

Since 1999, the European Union has established the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), with a significant reform initiative launched in 2015/2016 (Atanassov, 2023). This reform encompassed changes to the Dublin legislation, the EU-Turkey treaty, and the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) transfer into the European Agency for Asylum (EAAU). In 2020, the European Commission proposed to reform the system through a comprehensive approach to migration and asylum policy based on ‘efficient asylum and return procedures’, ‘solidarity and fair share of responsibility’, and ‘strengthened partnerships with

third countries' (European Commission, 2020). The CEAS reform involves the development of 11 legislative files, with the European Council approving two sensitive ones related to 'responsibility and solidarity' and 'regulation' in June 2023. The final adoption of the complete reform is expected by April 2024 (Atanassov, 2023; European Commission, 2024a).

Significant changes in regulations governing asylum procedures, standards, and the criteria for obtaining asylum are anticipated. There might also be modifications to the Dublin Regulation, which determines the member state responsible for examining an asylum application. An extension of the mandate of FRONTEX, the EU's border agency, with potential changes to its role and responsibilities is anticipated. Additionally, a so-called 'solidarity mechanism' seems to require member states to support those facing a 'crisis' with options for relocation, financial aid, or in-kind contributions. Also, a uniform EU-wide definition for safe third countries might be established, impacting refugee return policies. This is in connection with the anticipated aim of implementing measures to 'enhance oversight' in asylum procedures, especially concerning the return of individuals to third countries (Atanassov, 2023; European Commission, 2020; European Commission, 2024a).

It is important to note that the specific changes may evolve during the legislative process, and the final details will depend on negotiations and agreements among EU member states and institutions.

Humanitarian concerns considering the reform of CEAS

The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) reform has drawn criticism and humanitarian concerns focussing on the conditions faced by people seeking asylum during the application process. Issues such as prolonged detention, inadequate healthcare, as well as the treatment of vulnerable groups, particularly children, remain points of contention. The effectiveness of safeguards against refoulement and the protection of asylum seekers' rights are areas of ongoing humanitarian scrutiny (Vouliwatch et al., 2024).

There are concerns about persisting disparities among member states regarding asylum standards and procedures, potentially leading to uneven treatment of people seeking asylum. The proposed CEAS reform suggests a renewed effort by the European Union to limit asylum procedure rules, maintaining primary responsibility with border countries, notably Greece. This reform raises concerns about the potential degradation of minimum standards at borders and reduced protection of people arriving in Greece (RSA, 2023). The 'solidarity

mechanism' introduced in the CEAS reform mandates member states to provide support when another member state is in crisis. However, participating member states can choose the type of support (relocation, financial assistance, or in-kind contributions) without mandatory relocation (European Commission, 2020; Johansson, 2023).

Another element of concern is the mandatory channelling of a significant number of people seeking asylum into border procedures that force a stay in overcrowded structures under deprivation of liberty. The codification of the 'instrumentalisation of migrants' concept in EU law is proposed, allowing member states to broadly and arbitrarily deviate from their legal obligations (RSA, 2023).

The CEAS plans to extend the mandate of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (FRONTEX), particularly along the Balkan route, where increased deployment is anticipated in collaboration with national border guards. The role of FRONTEX has evolved with new leadership, positioning it as the "European eyes and ears at the borders", as stated by Commissioner Ylva Johansson during an Interview with Marie Cross from the Institute of International and European Affairs (IAAE) (IIEA, 2024; Johansson, 2023). The involvement of FRONTEX in pushbacks— an illegal praxis of forcibly returning individuals across borders— has been a topic of concern and controversy. Pushbacks are violating international human rights law, including the right to seek asylum and the principle of non-refoulement, which prohibits the return of individuals to places where their freedom could be at risk. It has been proven that FRONTEX has been involved in instances where people on the move were forcibly returned to other countries without consideration of their asylum claims. Reports suggest that FRONTEX assets have not only been present during pushbacks but also that FRONTEX has been actively involved in pushbacks in the Aegean Sea (Christides & Lüdke, 2022; Luyten, 2022).

Anticipated agreements include the expansion of the 'safe third country' concept, allowing the dismissal of asylum claims without a merits assessment, with weakened criteria on third-country safety and a presumption of safety based on a readmission agreement with the EU (RSA, 2023). An intensified return policy would mean increased returns of Syrian citizens to Turkey despite the evident danger of Syrian citizens being deported to Syria by Turkish officials. Concerns have been raised about the designation of safe third countries for refugee return, with current decisions made by member states individually. The reform aims to

establish a uniform EU-wide definition of safe third countries. The EU intentions to establish Tunisia as a safe third country and, as such, a partner for increased returns have been criticised due to documented human rights violations in Tunisia (Johansson, 2023).

Mobility to Greece

The historical mobility between Greece and Turkey, characterised by frequent changes in borderlines, has not only influenced national borders but also holds significance on a continental level, bridging the gap between the 'East' and 'West', 'EU' and 'non-EU', as well as 'Europe' and 'Asia'. These geopolitical dynamics intensified during the Cyprus Crisis and since the notable increase in migration routes through Turkey and Greece from 2015 on. For Greece and the broader European context, this situation generally seems to be encapsulated by the term 'crisis' — or, more precisely, three crises. The first emanates from the intricate repercussions of the 2008 financial crisis, the second arises from the increased mobility to Europe during 2015/2016, and the third has been instigated by the onset of the Covid-19 crisis in 2020 (Dimitriadi, 2022).

The political landscape in Greece witnessed the dominance of the right-wing military dictatorship known as the Greek junta or Regime of the Colonels, lasting from 1967 to 1974. Following the restoration of democracy in 1974 the party system was primarily shaped by the liberal-conservative New Democracy and the social-democratic PASOK. Since the economic and financial crisis of 2008–2009, Greece has experienced a notable erosion of press freedom (Vouliwatch et al., 2024). A significant political shift occurred in 2012, when the anti-austerity democratic socialist party Syriza replaced PASOK as the largest left-wing party, securing its first election victory in January 2015. However, claims of corruption and a growing European influence of centre-right parties led to Syriza governing only for one elective period. On the 07th of July 2019, Kyriakos Mitsotakis assumed office as the new Prime Minister of Greece, forming a centre-right government after the landslide victory of his New Democracy party. Subsequently, in June 2023, the conservative New Democracy party secured another victory in the legislative election, guaranteeing Kyriakos Mitsotakis another four-year term as Prime Minister (BBC News, 2023b). Since 2019, governmental pressure on autonomous structures has severely increased. Particularly since 2015, self-organised initiatives have played a key role in supporting people on the move, such as organising housing in

unoccupied buildings. However, from 2019 on, most of these self-organised projects have been evicted, bringing thousands of people at risk of homelessness (Psaropoulos, 2019).

Upon Arrival in Greece

Third-country and stateless individuals entering Greece unauthorised and aiming to submit an asylum application are bound to stay in RIC (Reception and Identification Centers) or CCAC (Closed Controlled Access Centers). In 2021, the first CCAC opened on the Aegean Island of Samos. As of January 2024, people on the move arriving on the Aegean Islands are bound to register and stay at the CCACs on Kos, Leros, Lesbos, Samos or Chios to submit an asylum application. Upon arrival at the mainland, the asylum application is only possible through registration and stay at RIC Malakasa, RIC & CCAC Diavata and RIC Fylakio, which are based on former military camps located in the regions of Malakasa, Thessaloniki and Alexandroupoli. According to the Hellenic Republic Ministry of Migration and Asylum (2024a), RIC and CCAC consist of the administrative units of "Nationality Identification and Verification", "Medical Screening and Psychosocial Support", "Information Provision", and "External Security and Safety".

The Closed Controlled Access Centers on the Aegean Islands (CCAC) are regional operation units of the Reception and Identification Service. Following severely restricted movement during registration and identification procedures, residents can only enter and exit the CCAC according to the schedule set by each CCAC individually. Residents are not allowed to spend the night outside the facilities. If a resident is not found within the facilities during regular audits and according to the operation schedule for two consecutive times, their material and accommodation benefits may be ceased (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Migration and Asylum, 2024a).

Living conditions upon seeking asylum in Greece

The living conditions of people seeking asylum in Greece have raised significant humanitarian concerns (Dimitriadi, 2022). Greece has been a primary entry point for people on the move to Europe. Overcrowded reception centres have been a persistent issue, especially on the Aegean islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Kos and Leros. Conditions in these facilities are often substandard, with overcrowded living spaces, insufficient sanitation facilities, and limited access to basic amenities. Backlogs in the asylum application process have led to prolonged stays in these overcrowded facilities, contributing to uncertainty and frustration

among people seeking asylum in Greece. Some individuals end up living in temporary and inadequate conditions for extended periods while waiting for their asylum applications to be processed. Limited access to healthcare is a significant concern, especially in crowded camps, as the living conditions increase the risk of spreading diseases, and there may be challenges in providing timely medical assistance to those in need. Access to education, legal aid, and psychosocial support services is often insufficient, impacting the wellbeing and prospects of people with vulnerabilities, particularly children (Karagiannopoulou et al., 2020). Overcrowded and tense living conditions can lead to increased vulnerability to exploitation, including human trafficking and gender-based violence. Lack of security in some facilities may expose people on the move to risks of violence and harassment, both within and outside the camps. Greece experiences harsh winter conditions, and the living conditions are not adequate for these weather challenges. Insufficient shelter and heating pose significant risks to the health and wellbeing of residents during the winter months (Vouliwatch et al., 2024).

Humanitarian concerns illustrated – Living in CCAC Lesvos

The structure of the CCAC Lesvos is located in Mavrovouni, about five km from the centre of Mytilene. It began operating as a temporary accommodation structure after the destruction of RIC Moria by fire in September 2020 and has since functioned as RIC Lesvos. In November 2022, the structure was transformed from a Reception and Identification Centre (RIC) to a Closed Controlled Access Centre (CCAC). It is located in a former shooting range next to the sea, exposed to severe weather conditions, strong north wind, and dust due to sandy ground. Media coverage has severely decreased due to restricted access to the CCAC for non-residents and a strictly enforced non-photography policy (RSA & Pro Asyl, 2023).

As of January 2024, residents with unsuccessfully closed asylum procedures no longer receive housing or food in CCAC Lesvos. Due to nearly non-existent perspectives of leaving the island, several thousand residents depend on NGOs' private food donations. Due to a severely restricted registration process, hardly any NGOs can operate inside the camp, leading to a severe shortage of medical, psychological, and legal support (Meinhart, 2023). There is no running water, hardly any electricity, and no winterisation of containers and tents. Sanitary facilities are severely inefficient. There are no persistent education programs or child-

friendly spaces. Violence and exploitation are on the rise due to intensified living situations and insufficient protection measures (RSA, 2024).

The procedure for asylum application in Greece

The initial asylum application can only be submitted on the Aegean islands (CCAC Lesvos, Chios, Leros, Kos) and the mainland locations in Malakasa and Diavata. The complete registration includes personal details, reasons for seeking international protection, and biometric data. Fingerprints are entered into EURODAC, and transfer to another European state may occur under the "Dublin III" regulation. Applicants undergo a comprehensive process, including document submission, searches, medical examinations, and an interview scheduled by the Asylum Service. The International Protection Applicant's Card is issued, valid for up to one year, with an associated tax number (AFM) and a temporary social security and healthcare number (PAAYPA). Legal assistance can be sought independently but has to be financed entirely by the applicant. Decision outcomes include refugee status, subsidiary protection, or rejection, with a return decision if rejected. The International Protection Applicant's Card (IPAP) grants a temporary stay during the examination. Successful applicants receive a residence permit (ADET) and may apply for a travel document for EU visits. Applicants who have been denied or granted subsidiary protection have the option to appeal to the Independent Appeals Committee, with the support of registered lawyers, within a specified deadline. The Independent Appeals Committee examines appeals, and applicants must attend the discussion. If appeals are rejected, applicants can submit a revocation application to the local administrative First Instance Court within 30 days. Deportation is possible if the revocation application is unsuccessful. Rejected applicants may be detained in a Pre-Departure Detention Center until removal or approval, even if subsequent applications or appeals are made (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Migration and Asylum, 2024b).

Residential status in Greece

If granted refugee status in Greece, a three-year renewable residence permit is provided. Beneficiaries of subsidiary protection receive a one-year permit, renewable for two years. Individuals holding refugee status can obtain a Hellenic Republic travel document for 90-day EU visits. Greek authorities grant a travel document to subsidiary protection beneficiaries upon request if obtaining one from their country is objectively impossible. After seven years of legal residence and meeting "integration criteria", recognised refugees or subsid-

iary protection beneficiaries may apply for Greek citizenship. Status revocation or non-renewal may occur for various reasons, such as regaining protection from the country of citizenship, document falsification, national security threats, or serious crimes. Rights for international protection status holders include access to social welfare, medical care, public education, and the labour market. The Temporary Aliens Insurance and Health Care Number transitions to the Social Security Number (AMKA) if all necessary steps for application are taken within a month of receiving the residence permit. AMKA grants access to benefits and care equivalent to Greek citizens. Additional rights include access to public education, the labour market, eligibility for a long-term resident permit after five years, and, for people holding refugee status, the right to family reunification under certain conditions (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Migration and Asylum & UNHCR, 2023).

Implications and consequences

In summary, people on the move face decreased access to international protection on national and international levels, illustrated above by present Greek regulations and the ongoing reform of the Central European Asylum System (CEAS). Some of the most severe limitations include the violation of the right to non-refoulement, defined by Article 21 of the 1951 Geneva Convention as the right not to be punished for irregular entry into the territory of a contracting state (UNHCR, 2024a). The ongoing praxis of pushbacks by national border police and coast guards, as well as the involvement of FRONTEX, clearly show a structural praxis of refoulment policy. These, at present, illegal practices seem to become, to some extent, legalised through the current CEAS reform, such as the anticipated extension of the FRONTEX mandate and efforts of increased forced returns to third countries lacking in the provision of international protection to beneficiaries (Christides & Lüdke, 2022; European Commission, 2020; European Commission, 2024a; Johansson, 2023; Luyten, 2022; RSA, 2023).

The continuous substandard living situations in RIC and CCAC in Greece are massively impacting the physical and mental health of residents, reinforced by the unpredictable duration of processing asylum applications (RSA, 2024). However, the successful granting of asylum status hardly leads to enhanced perspectives. The lack of legal assistance and interpretation results in being unable to complete bureaucratic requirements for receiving a Greek Social Security number (AMKA) in time, leading to individuals with residence status losing

access to social and health insurance in Greece. This development adds to the already heightened risk of experiencing homelessness, poverty and unemployment in Greece for international beneficiaries. This, in turn, results in increased moving processes to other European countries via the so-called 'Balkan route'. From Greece, the route continues through the Western Balkans, such as North Macedonia, Croatia and Serbia, to central European states such as Hungary and Austria. People on the move are facing various challenges and dangers along the way, including harsh weather conditions, lack of proper shelter, the risk of exploitation and exposure to violent pushback practices (Dimitriadi, 2022; Karagiannopoulou et al., 2020).

In this complex situation, displaced interpreters face multiple challenges as interpreters for their community, which will be outlined below.

Community interpretation and cultural mediation

The following illustration of an interpreting context by Miletic et al. (2006) depicts the need for sensitive interpretation and mediation considering physical and mental health and sociocultural imprints on communicative expression.

Clinician to Chinese-speaking client: "What kind of moods have you been in recently?"
Interpreter to client (in Chinese): "How have you been feeling?"
Client (in Chinese): "No, I don't have any more pain, my stomach is fine now, and I can eat much better since taking the medication."
Interpreter to clinician: "She says that she feels fine, no problems."
Clinician to client: "Do you still feel sad, do you feel that life is not worthwhile sometimes?"
Interpreter to client (in Chinese): "The doctor wants to know if you feel sad and if you like your life?"
Client (in Chinese): "No, yes. I know my family need me, so I cannot give up. I try not to think about it."
Interpreter to clinician: "She says that no, she says she loves her family and that her family need her."
 (Miletic et al., 2006)

Severe miscommunication, as described above, is not the sole responsibility of the person interpreting. Due to limited resources, particularly in the field of migration, displaced

interpreters often have to start interpreting without receiving training and an introduction to the particular fields, including standard technical terms in the medical, legal, and psychological fields. Additionally, displaced interpreters usually do not receive sufficient, if any, breaks between the interpretation sessions, leading to overwhelm and exhaustion (Mehus & Becher, 2016). Also, due to minimal resources and the heightened support needs of community members, displaced interpreters are simultaneously pushed into the role of a community interpreter and a cultural mediator. However, professionals and academic researchers strongly recommend a clear distinction and division of responsibilities to ensure the quality of interpretation and cultural mediation and limit the exhaustion of displaced interpreters (Martín & Phelan, 2011; McAllum, 2019).

The role of community interpreters is primarily to serve as linguistic intermediaries, facilitating communication between individuals who speak different languages. They ensure that information is accurately conveyed from one language to another, allowing individuals to participate fully in various activities or access essential services (Martín & Phelan, 2011). Cultural mediation is a broader concept that involves facilitating communication in terms of language and addressing cultural differences and nuances that may impact effective interaction. The role of a cultural mediator is to focus on specific communication situations between individuals or groups from diverse cultural backgrounds, particularly in short-lived everyday situations (McAllum, 2019). Therefore, cultural mediators are not deemed to work in contexts that demand the knowledge of field-specific terms and continuous and detailed interpretation (Martín & Phelan, 2011). For example, during a psychological assessment, there should be access to an interpreter for detailed and ongoing linguistic intermediation and a cultural mediator in situations depicting cultural differences, which could impact effective interaction.

However, as already mentioned, this vital differentiation of roles hardly exists in the working realities of displaced interpreters. Therefore, a focus can be put on providing training for community interpreters with a particular focus on challenges in the context of displacement, such as depicted by the self-study module, “Interpreting in a Refugee Context” (Division of International Protection Services, 2009). The handbook is designed to aid interpreters in understanding the challenges of interpretation between languages and offers techniques for facilitating communication between individuals who speak different languages. It emphasises the importance of professional behaviour, distinguishing between

professional and unprofessional conduct, and its impact on the institution and clients. The module covers self-care for interpreters in demanding and potentially dangerous refugee-interview contexts. The document is structured as a self-study guide, allowing readers to choose modules based on their professional needs. Each module addresses interpreting questions, focusing on professional behaviour, linguistic neutrality, interpreter tools, correct behaviour, and self-care (Division of International Protection Services, 2009).

A vitally important focus must be put on teaching practitioners to be aware of the challenges displaced interpreters face and how to work effectively together in this context. The article “Guidelines for working effectively with interpreters in mental health settings” by the Victorian Transcultural Psychiatry Unit (VTPU) (Miletic et al., 2006) provides a framework for professionals working in mental health settings to collaborate effectively with interpreters. The focus is ensuring culturally competent and accurate communication between mental health practitioners and clients with diverse linguistic backgrounds. Key recommendations include selecting qualified interpreters, establishing clear communication protocols, and being mindful of cultural nuances. The guidelines aim to enhance the quality of mental health services for individuals from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds by fostering effective communication through interpreter-mediated interactions (Miletic et al., 2006).

Discrimination of people on the move

People on the move are vulnerable to experiencing discrimination on an individual as well as collective level. Most people on the move to Europe are particularly affected by racism. Discrimination refers to the unjust or prejudicial treatment of individuals or groups based on socially constructed categories of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, disability, or other protected attributes. It involves actions or behaviours that deny equal opportunities and rights to specific individuals or groups, often leading to their marginalisation or disadvantage within a particular social, economic, or institutional context. Intersectionality is a theoretical framework coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 to understand how various social categories, such as race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and other forms of identity, intersect and overlap, leading to unique and complex experiences of discrimination and privilege (Crenshaw, 2017).

Racism describes the experience of discrimination due to the socially constructed category of race and is present on a macro level, including structural and institutional racism,

and on a micro level, including interpersonal and internalised racism. Structural racism describes multiple institutions actively upholding racist policies and practices on a societal level, whereas institutional racism describes policies and practices that reinforce racist standards within an organisation or workplace. Interpersonal racism defines racist acts and microaggressions carried out from one person to another and often leads to internalised racism depicting subtle and overt messages that reinforce negative beliefs and self-hatred in individuals (Butler, 2022).

The white Saviour Industrial Complex

The white Savior Industrial Complex refers to specific actions, attitudes, and behaviours by white individuals or organisations, typically from Western countries, who engage in charitable or humanitarian efforts in non-Western nations. Often, these efforts are motivated by a sense of superiority, reinforcing stereotypes and paternalistic attitudes. Also, it serves as a means of financial support through donations and sponsorships. Individuals or organisations may engage in such efforts to boost their own moral standing or feel a sense of accomplishment, often without addressing the root causes of the issues they are attempting to alleviate (Cole, 2012). Individuals or organisations from Western countries might adopt a paternalistic attitude, believing they know what is best for the communities they are trying to help. This attitude is also visible in the reinforcement of stereotypes, where Westerners position themselves as 'saviours' coming to the rescue of 'helpless individuals' in non-Western societies. Instead of empowering local communities, the white Savior Industrial Complex can perpetuate a cycle of dependency on external aid. The primary motivation behind the actions is seen as improving the image or moral standing of Western individuals or organisations rather than addressing the root causes of the issues. Engagement often results in superficial commitment, focusing on short-term solutions that may not lead to sustainable change (Siouti et al., 2022).

The term “*white* Savior Industrial Complex” was initially brought to the public by Teju Cole, a Nigerian-American writer, in a series of tweets in 2012. Cole's tweets critiqued the simplistic narratives and motivations behind Western interventions in Africa (Cole, 2012). The Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie has spoken extensively on colonialism, identity, and cultural stereotypes. Adichie's TED Talk, “The Danger of a Single Story”, touches on the impact of Western narratives and the question of who holds the creational power of

stories and the effect on awareness of oneself and others (Adichie, 2009). The work of Cameroonian philosopher and political theorist Achille Mbembe (Mbembe, 2001) explores post-colonial issues by providing insights into power dynamics, colonial legacies, and resistance in the Global South. While Edward Said's work does not directly address the white Saviour Industrial Complex, Said's book "Orientalism" (Said, 1985) is foundational in understanding how Western societies historically represented and constructed narratives about the 'East'. Detailed analysis of social dynamics and racism leading to the white Saviour Industrial Complex are to be found in the research of cultural (Hall, 2015) and postcolonial studies (Fanon, 1961).

Orientalism - Edward Said

The book "Orientalism", first published in 1978, defines 'Orientalism' as a way of seeing, understanding, and representing the 'East' by the 'West' (Said, 1985). It encompasses a set of assumptions, stereotypes, and cultural representations that have been perpetuated by Western scholars, writers, and artists. Said argues that Orientalism is not a neutral academic pursuit, but deeply entwined with power relations. Western scholars, often linked to imperial and colonial projects, have constructed a distorted image of the East that serves political and cultural dominance. Said explores how Orientalist discourse relies on binary oppositions, positioning the East as the 'Other' in contrast to the West. This dichotomy reinforces notions of superiority and inferiority, with the West seen as modern, rational, and advanced, while the East is portrayed as traditional, irrational, and backwards. Said discusses the close connection between Orientalism and European colonialism and analyses how knowledge produced by Orientalist scholars often served the interests of colonial powers by justifying imperial endeavours and constructing a narrative of the 'civilising mission' (Siouti et al., 2022). Said explores how Orientalist representations have not only influenced Western views of the East but have also impacted the self-perception of people in the Middle East. The constructed image of the East has played a role in shaping the identity and consciousness of individuals in the region. Said challenges the essentialist assumptions inherent in Orientalism, arguing against the idea of a fixed, unchanging 'Orient' and emphasising Eastern societies' diversity and complexity (Said, 1985). Edward Said's book "Orientalism" has had a profound impact on postcolonial and cultural studies, as well as on the examination of power dynamics

in knowledge production, shaping discussions on representation, identity, and the intersections between academia and political power (Siouti et al., 2022).

Postcolonial theories - Frantz Omar Fanon

“*Les Damnés de la Terre*” is a seminal work by Frantz Fanon, published in 1961 and translated into English as “*The Wretched of the Earth*” in 1963 (Fanon, 1961, 1963). The book explores colonisation's psychological and social effects on the colonisers and the colonised, examining the dehumanising impact of colonialism on the colonised population. Fanon describes the violence, racism, and exploitation that characterise colonial rule, highlighting the psychological trauma and the development of a collective inferiority complex among the oppressed. By discussing that the colonised internalise the beliefs and values of the colonisers, leading to a sense of alienation and self-hatred, Fanon illustrates the mechanism behind internalised racism (Butler, 2022). Fanon explores the role of violence in liberation and its psychological impact on both the oppressors and the oppressed and examines the emergence of nationalist movements as a response to colonial oppression. Furthermore, Fanon addresses the decolonisation process and the challenges that newly independent nations face in establishing their identity and overcoming the legacy of colonialism. Fanon critiques the 'European Left' for its failure to understand and support the struggles of colonised peoples fully and argues that true solidarity requires acknowledging and dismantling the structures of colonial oppression. While exploring the role of the intellectual in the decolonisation process, Fanon discusses the responsibility of intellectuals to engage in the liberation struggle and contribute to creating a new, just society (Fanon, 1961). Franz Fanon's analysis of the complex dynamics of colonialism, identity, and liberation has been foundational for developing postcolonial and cultural studies, influencing Edward Said's (1985) and Stuart Hall's (1980, 2015) work.

The development of cultural studies - Stuart Hall

Stuart Hall was a cultural theorist who played a crucial role in the development of cultural studies. His work focuses on understanding how culture operates in society, particularly concerning power, identity, and representation. Hall was interested in the role of power in shaping discourse and representation, arguing that dominant groups in society have the power to control and shape the narratives that become widely accepted, which is illustrated by the TED talk of Adichie mentioned above (Adichie, 2009). The concept of articulation of

difference, as introduced by Hall, emphasises how different elements are connected in discourse to create meaning, subsequently reinforcing power structures (Hall, 1980).

Hall explored the complex and dynamic nature of cultural identity and argued that identity is not fixed or predetermined but a continuous negotiation and construction process. Cultural identity, for Hall, is not based on essentialist notions but is somewhat contingent on historical, social, and cultural contexts, shaped by various influences and is subject to change. Hall's work on diaspora focuses on the experiences of displacement, migration, and the formation of cultural identity among communities living outside their country of origin. He emphasised the concept of hybridity, suggesting that cultural identity is a blend of different influences as individuals in diasporic communities navigate multiple cultural affiliations (Hall, 2015). Hall advocated for an approach that combines sociology, anthropology, literary theory, and media studies to understand the complex interplay of culture and society. While emphasising the fluidity of identity, power's role in representation and the complexities of cultural processes, Hall referred to the thoughts and analysis of Edward Said and Franz Fanon (Hall, 1980).

Agency

One essential consequence of pervading racism and, in particular, of the white Saviour Industrial Complex is the limitation and denial of agency of those deemed as 'helpless'. In a broad sense, agency refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently, make choices, and impact their environment (Schlosser, 2019). It encompasses the idea that individuals are not passive recipients of external influences but can exercise their own will and make meaningful decisions. Generally, the concept of agency includes intentionality, autonomy, power and responsibility (Barnes, 1999). Intentionality is defined as the ability to act purposefully and set goals based on one's values and desires. Autonomy describes the capacity to act independently, free from external constraints. Power can be perceived as the ability to influence or shape outcomes, either individually or collectively. Moreover, responsibility might be conceptualised as acknowledging the consequences of one's actions and taking accountability for those choices (Spies & Tuiider, 2017). Agency is a relevant matter of research in various academic fields, particularly in sociology, psychology and philosophy. In psychology, Albert Bandura, known for his work on social cognitive theory, emphasised the role of agency in human behaviour, highlighting the importance of observational learning,

self-efficacy, and the belief in one's capacity to exert control over one's actions (Bandura, 1989). In the field of philosophy, one of the most prominent thinkers on agency has been Michel Foucault, who particularly explored the relationship between power and agency. Foucault's works, such as "Discipline and Punish", examine how power operates in various social institutions and influences individual actions (Foucault, 1978). In sociology, Pierre Bourdieu introduced the concept of habitus, which refers to the internalised set of dispositions and preferences that guide individual behaviour. While exploring how social structures shape agency and influence choices, Bourdieu's theory of practice emphasises the necessity of integrating agency and structure to understand and account for social life (Bourdieu, 1977).

Implications for this project

The condensed extracts above aim to illustrate the tension between structural oppression and the resulting limitations of individuals experiencing discrimination and the experience of agency on a collective as well as individual level. In the following section, the methodological approach of this project will be outlined with a particular focus on reflecting on the challenges of appropriate methodological approaches considering the analysis of intertwined structural limitations and the agency of displaced interpreters working with NGOs in Greece.

Methods

In contrast to natural sciences' depiction of an 'objective world', interpretive social research is based on conceptualising life worlds that are structured and interpreted according to personal relevance structures. In-depth case studies, guided by research categories or "secondary constructions", can help reconstruct and understand individuals' life worlds through the analysis of their implicit knowledge and adherence to social norms, referred to as "primary constructions" (Schütz, 2012). The theoretical basis for interpretive social research is detailed in Alfred Schütz's article "Common-sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action" (Schütz, 1962). Interpretive social research, or reconstructive social research (Bohnsack, 2014), leads to methods such as documentary method, narrative analysis, and objective hermeneutics.

As Rosenthal (2018) outlines, interpretive social research is based on the principles of communication and openness, leading to the methodological approaches of detailed case studies and sequential analysis. Schütze calls for the requirement of research methods to leave space for everyday communication processes. The communication process should allow actors to express their view of the world and their definition of the research situation (Rosenthal, 2018; Schütze, 1978). Besides a focus on communication processes, the principle of openness is inherent to interpretive social research. Rosenthal implements this principle methodically as openness towards changes in the research plan, developing an open research question that will be modified/evolved during the research process, forming hypotheses and developing theoretical samples during the research process (Rosenthal, 2018).

Narrative analysis is one of the numerous methodological approaches to interpretive/reconstructive social research. As Anderson and Kirkpatrick (2016) describe, the central core of a narrative interview is to shift the focus away from the researcher's plan to the individual's story and the decision of what to tell. In this research project, the biographic-narrative-interview (Wengraf, 2001) has been adopted from Rosenthal's (1993) conceptualisation, evolving out of the initial construction of the narrative interview by Schütze (1983). How we perceive ourselves, form experiences, future wishes, and connections are not measurable in a neutral way but instead defined by the meanings we develop ourselves. At the same time, narratives give insight into past events and the individual representation of these events, motives, intentions, and cultural and social context (Straub, 2010).

For a long time, narratives have been banned from the scientific community as they have been labelled as trivial and simplified everyday stories suitable for entertainment but not scientific research. However, analyses from the 1960s until the 1990s by historical and philosophical disciplines occupied themselves with more profound meanings of narratives. Nowadays, narrative techniques have been adopted for several fields of psychology, such as general psychology, developmental psychology, clinical psychology, research of biography and identity, historical awareness, and cultural psychology (Straub, 2010). However, while narrative techniques have been adopted in various fields of application there is still a lack of incorporating narrative approaches into academic psychological research. While narrative approaches are considered as holding practical value, they are not widely adopted as formal research methodologies in the psychological field. Due to the dominant conceptualisation of psychology as a natural science, cognitive and neuroscientific theories dominate over narrative approaches about memory and the mind in contrast to sociology, cultural studies and other social sciences.

An alternative approach is offered by the Viennese tradition of cultural psychology (*Wiener Kulturpsychologie*) by focusing on personal experiences, encounters, and especially irritations as psychological research interest (Slunecko, 2017, 2020). Besides narrative methods, numerous other interpretive/reconstructive social research approaches are adopted for academic psychological research, focusing on the (re)construction of life-worlds. The following section focuses on conceptualising the (biographical) narrative interview due to its application in this research project.

Narrative Interview by Schütze

Schütze developed the narrative interview during studies of collective changes in communal living following municipal consolidation (Schütze, 1978). From a focus on communal decision processes and power structures, Schütze's research shifted towards an interest in the life stories of the whole lifespan. The development of the narrative interview is based on Symbolic Interactionism. The concept of individuals in Symbolic Interactionism can be depicted as shaping society through communication processes of understanding and accommodation (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr, 2021). Schütze was influenced by the Chicago School, where modern qualitative research, such as Deductive Qualitative Analysis and Grounded Theory, had been developed (Mey & Mruck, 2010).

Schütze structures the narrative interview in three phases, starting with an opening phase, leading to questions related to the interview content and finishing with theorisation. A particular focus lies on the opening phase, as, based on Symbolic Interactionism, a spontaneous narrative enables access to the interviewee's experiences and orientations. Narrating personal experiences is enacted by orientation and structures innate to narratives and shaped by a "triple bind of narration" (Schütze, 1984). The narrator is bound to the requirement to close, condense and provide detail, and these three requirements offer the insight desired. Instead of following a detailed interview outline, it is the interviewer's task to support this triple bind of narration during the interview process (Mey & Mruck, 2010).

The narrative evolves out of unique communication processes between the interviewer and interviewee. Firstly, the interviewee will be bound to present their experiences in a detailed way to ensure understanding on the interviewer's part, which is depicted by the constraint to provide detail. Secondly, the interviewees will choose experiences most relevant to themselves due to the limited time frame leading to the constraint to condense. Thirdly, the interviewee will try to embed their experiences in a structured and thorough narrative frame showcasing the constraint to close (Schütze, 1984; Svasek & Domecka, 2020).

After reconstructing several narrative interviews, Schütze developed four main procedural structures categorising interviewees' attitudes towards their life stories. These four procedural structures would be individual action schemes, institutional action schemes, trajectories (of suffering) and metamorphoses (Schütze, 1984; Svasek & Domecka, 2020). Individual action schemes describe the subject's life plan, often developed by clear intrinsic motivation. Narratives in this category depict whether and how the person's experiences align with their internal life plan. Institutional action schemes depict the subject's life plan resulting out of structural expectations of the subject and their social network. Narratives depicting institutional action schemes showcase whether and how this external life plan is realised. Trajectories (of suffering) showcase the forming of life stories through overwhelming experiences and the subject's reaction to them. In contrast to internally or externally built life plans depicted above, trajectories (of suffering) showcase the inability to build such a concrete life plan due to experiences and structural circumstances. Narratives of this kind depict the individual's reaction and coping with these experiences. Metamorphoses result from the subject's internal world, similar to the individual action schemes described above. However,

they do not form a consistent life plan but instead appear unexpectedly. Narratives of metamorphoses depict the subject's life world as a systematic change of their (perceived) options of experiences and actions (Schütze, 1984; Svasek & Domecka, 2020).

In a detailed analysis, Schütze distinguishes between the three text sorts of narration, description and argumentation. Narrative text entails telling a story in rich detail, often with direct speech and present tense elements. Description showcases a timeless and non-historical approach to depicting a person or situation. Argumentation is to be found in theorising and position-taking, often in a blend of present and past perspectives (Wengraf, 2001). A particular focus lies on the communicative scheme of narration (Svasek & Domecka, 2020), as it seems most likely to enable insight into the interviewee's subjective structures of meaning and action.

Narrative-biographic interview by Rosenthal

In 1999, Gabriele Rosenthal published an extensive study on the dialogue in families of Holocaust survivors and families of Nazi perpetrators (Rosenthal, 1999, 2002b). In this study, Rosenthal implied her conceptualisation of the narrative-biographic interview (Rosenthal, 1993, 1995a) to conduct multigenerational family interviews in Germany and Israel (Rosenthal, 1999).

Rosenthal (2018) combined and modified the narrative analysis described above (Schütze, 1983) with methods of Objective Hermeneutics following Ulrich Oevermann (Oevermann et al., 1979) and Thematic Field Analysis (Fischer, 1982; following concepts by Gurwitsch, 1964). Objective Hermeneutics focuses on the reconstructive analysis of text data, aiming to identify objective structures of meaning (Oevermann et al., 1979). A reconstructive analysis is methodologically approached by focusing on detailed text analysis, sequential interpretation and thought experiments. Thematic Field Analysis is a research method rooted in Gurwitsch's examination of the relationship between phenomenology and Gestalt psychology (Gurwitsch, 1964). It centers around the organisation of consciousness and involves distinguishing between themes and their broader thematic contexts. Gurwitsch's approach delves the interplay between phenomenology's focus on subjective experience and Gestalt psychology's emphasis on the organisation of perceptual elements into wholes. Within thematic field analysis, there is a focus on identifying and understanding the

central themes within the consciousness, as well as the broader context in which these themes are situated (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2001).

Rosenthal's conceptualisation of the narrative-biographic interview (Rosenthal 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 2004) is based on the principle of reconstruction, the principle of abduction and the principle of sequentiality. The principle of reconstruction depicts an approach not based on predefined categories but a process of interpreting the meaning of individual passages by examining the overall context of the interview. The principle of abduction describes the process of gathering all possible hypotheses for an empirical phenomenon, then building follow-up hypotheses and finally, empirical testing of developed (follow-up) hypotheses in the concrete case (Rosenthal, 2018). The principle of sequentiality leads to a strictly chronological implementation of the abductive process described above. This chronology is oriented towards the biographical timeline for analysis of the experienced life history, and in a second step, towards the biographer's chosen structuring of their life story to analyse the narrated life story (Rosenthal, 1993).

The principles of reconstruction, abduction and sequentiality, are based on Rosenthal's conceptualisation of an analysis considering the processual character of social interactions. A particular focus lies on the actors' constant decisions (including every act of speaking) and the possible alternatives in each sequence (Rosenthal, 2018). Already depicted by this chapter's title, Rosenthal's conceptualisation of a narrative-biographic interview particularly examines the use of the narrative interview in biographical research. Therefore, it consists of two analytical strains, one examining the “experienced life history” and the other analysing the “narrated life story”. In other words, it aims to depict the narrator's perception of their life story at the time of the experienced situation in the past - experienced life history – and to contrast it to the narrator's perception of their life story at the present of the interview - narrated life story. Rosenthal outlines that these theoretical assumptions require data collection and analysis that enable insight into the genesis and sequential gestalt of the life history and reconstruction of their present perspectives and to distinguish between present and past perspectives (Rosenthal, 2018).

Adaptation by Wengraf

Wengraf's conceptualisation of the biographic-narrative-interview-method (Wengraf, 2001) is based on Rosenthal's abovementioned conceptualisation and has been transferred

and popularised in English academia. Wengraf encountered Rosenthal's conceptualisation through research at the SOSTRIS project (Social Strategies in Risk Society), coordinated by Prue Chamberlayne and Michael Rustin. The SOSTRIS project was funded between 1996 and 1999 by the "EU Framework Four Programme on Social Exclusion and Social Integration" (Chamberlayne & Rustin, 1999). As the research team identified the need for a differentiated approach to subjective positionings and informal social processes, diverse biographical methods were adopted to gain a deeper understanding of social dynamics. Through multinational comparative analysis, individuals at risk of social exclusion were identified in social groups with particular characteristics considering how to address uncertainties, biographical resources and specific contexts in modern "risk" society (Chamberlayne & Spanó, 2000).

Differentiation between Schütze, Rosenthal, Wengraf

What are the similarities and differences considering the conceptualisation and implementation of approaches by Schütze, Rosenthal and Wengraf as described above? Considering the interview setup, all three approaches share the structure of an open question aimed to induce a narrative sequence uninterrupted by the interviewer, followed by an open-questioning phase based on narrative content. Additionally, it is possible to add a sequel of questions related to topics not mentioned in the narrative that are of research interest. Considering the interviewing technique, the three approaches are similar as they aim to induce a self-governed storytelling finalised by the narrator's coda, leading to internal and external questions (Svasek & Domecka, 2020). Although using slightly different terms, all three authors follow this concept. Also, all three recommend the complete transcription of the interview.

In research practice, interviews following Schütze's conceptualisation are often not transcribed completely. The transcription can be reduced to contents following narrative communicative schemes, as they are at the centre of Schütze's analysis, whereas contents following descriptive or argumentative communication schemes are not of such interest. Whereas Schütze differentiates between narration, description and argumentation (Schütze, 1983), Wengraf distinguishes between the five text sorts of narration, description, argumentation, report and evaluation (Wengraf, 2001). The text sort of report evolves out of recounting various events and providing an overview from a distanced perspective.

Evaluation serves as the condensed moral of a story, usually at the beginning or end of narrative episodes (Wengraf, 2001).

Narrations are still fundamental to analysis following Wengraf's and Rosenthal's conceptualisation. However, a particular emphasis is put on the structural analysis, leading to the demand that at least the narrative phase at the beginning of Subsession 1 should be transcribed and analysed in total length. Schütze's focus on the text sort of narration is connected to the emphasis on sociolinguistic textual structures to identify potential process structures outlined above to generate insights and understanding (Svasek & Domecka, 2020).

Rosenthal's and Wengraf's conceptualisations focus less on the sociolinguistic textual structures than on contextualisation and on comparing the person's narrative and biographical past (Svasek & Domecka, 2020). This contextualisation leads to two analytical strains, one analysing the potential experiences in the past based on biographical data, the lived life (Wengraf, 2001) or "experienced life history" (Rosenthal, 1993), the other analysing the narration at the time of the interview, the "told story" (Wengraf, 2001) or "narrated life story" (Rosenthal, 1993).

The different genesis of their conceptualisation can partly explain this difference in analysis. Schütze's conceptualisation of narrative interviews has been developed while analysing communal changes, mainly by interviewing politicians. In contrast, Rosenthal's and Wengraf's conceptualisation is based on research with interviewees in a more vulnerable position with biographies intertwined with a complex historical context. Rosenthal's conceptualisation is based on developing a framework for multigenerational interviews with families of victims and perpetrators during National Socialism. Wengraf's conceptualisation is based on adapting Rosenthal's framework into the SOSTRIS project to research social exclusion in the European Union. This difference in research practice is mirrored in the different analytical approaches following a nearly identical interview technique.

Interview format in this thesis

The methodological approach in this thesis is based on Rosenthal's conceptualisation, following mainly Wengraf's description and adaptation. Considering the second part of the interview (Subsession 2/questioning part), the interview format was adapted to Rosenthal's concept of "probing" rather than Wengraf's conceptualisation of "Pushing for Personal Initial

Narratives". Experiences during the first interview led to ethical questions of Wengraf's conceptualisation of narrative-inducing questioning in interviews with heightened power imbalances and vulnerable narrators. A critical reflection of research practises, and a comparison of Rosenthal's and Wengraf's conceptualisation of the questioning phase is outlined by Moran et al. (2022).

This research project aimed to follow participatory research approaches inspired by a two-day workshop on participative research at the Vienna Autumn School of Methods (VASOM, 2021). The adaptation of participatory approaches was constantly developing, leading to ongoing reflection with Zainab Rahimi. Within the stage model of participation based on Wright et al. (2010) this research project can be contextualised within preliminary stages of participation considering ongoing information, consultation and inclusion processes. This thesis contains Informed Consent, information about data use and implementation of Data Protection policies, and general transparency of the research process. However, it does not contain full participation due to limited resources and expertise. Upon reflection and feedback, it is critically reflected how this research project entails participation criteria. Participative Research on a full participative level is unfortunately rare, particularly in the field of migration and cross-cultural research, a shortcoming critically reflected in theories of post-migration (Siouti et al., 2022).

The primary orientation of participative research is not research about people or for people but with people (Bergold & Thomas, 2010). There is no universal participative method or plan, but more a need for an ongoing reflection on how and when individuals are involved in any decisions concerning the research process. In Europe, especially in German-speaking countries, participative research appeared more prominently through the arousal of "Aktionsforschung" (action science) in the 1970s (Bergold & Thomas, 2010). Aktionsforschung (action science) is defined as a method of social change. Its primary research aims to make vulnerable groups more seen, advocate for their rights, and diminish social inequalities. It is essential to work together with vulnerable groups actively. Otherwise, there would be the likelihood of reproducing existing power inequalities in societies, such as academics describing marginalised communities without a real connection to their realities (Levac et al., 2019).

Besides Aktionsforschung, many other approaches, such as “Gemeindepsychologie” (Communal Psychology), feministic approaches, critical psychology, and practical inputs, influenced and led to the development of participative research. Nowadays, a particular focus lies on subjectivity, experience, biographical experience, and individual point of view (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Participative research is found in diverse sciences such as child development, education, inclusive research, public health, evaluation, participation, empowerment and many more (Levac et al., 2019). The term of participation results out of the theory of democracy. How can as many concerned people as possible be included in decision-making that is relevant to their lives?

It is necessary to understand the underlying structures and dynamics of power and, therefore, essential to be aware of power imbalances and dependencies to find a transparent way of equal participation. Otherwise, these imbalances will influence and distort the life reality found in the research project (Guishard, 2009). Two main questions are of substantial importance for the whole research process.

1. Which institutionalised parameters inhibit or promote participation?
2. In which way do individuals have enough resources for participation/which level of participation is possible concerning individuals' existing resources?

There are diverse possibilities for answering these questions depending on the situational context, it is necessary to offer various strategies in participative research. One of the most profound structures is the so-called Stage Model of Participation (Wright et al., 2010), which describes different levels of participative research. The first non-participation stage is described as instrumentalisation (Level 1) and instruction (Level 2). This would be common in classical opinion polling. The preliminary stages of participation include information (Level 3), consultation (Level 4) and inclusion (Level 5), which would contain informed consent, information about data use and implementation of data protection policies and general transparency of the research process. The stage of participation includes shared decision-making (Level 6), partial delegation of decision-making authority (Level 7) and decision-making authority (Level 8). There is a wide range from shared decision-making concerning the method used, thematic priority, interpretation of findings, and many more to absolute decision-making authority, resulting in participants leading the research project and re-

searchers playing more of a structural and organisational role. For example, inclusive research projects have been entirely run by participants, with academic researchers mostly being relevant for offering resources but not leading and deciding about the project. The final stage in the Wright model is beyond participation, leading to community-based initiatives.

Several researchers, such as Blumenthal (2011), Corbett et al. (2007), and Ochocka and Janzen (2014), have reflected on ethical frameworks for conducting participative research. Some of the most important principles are to involve community members across research stages, knowledge sharing and respect between involved community members and researchers, compliance with standard ethical principles in research and concrete steps towards positive social change (Levac et al., 2019). Fundamental for participative research approaches is an ongoing analysis of power imbalances between the academic researcher and the participants/ co-researchers, reflection on them and an appropriate application of ethical guidelines (Lykes, 2017).

Possible adaption of the Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM)

Wengraf describes BNIM as a tool for planning, structuring, and analysing biographic-narrative interviews individually and in panels of up to five persons (Wengraf, 2001). In this thesis, panels are composed of Zainab Rahimi, who used to work as a displaced interpreter in Greece, and myself.

Interview setup

The interview starts with Data Protection Information and Informed Consent, is followed by the biographic-narrative interview, and ends with general Demographic Data; the draft documents are attached to this thesis. All biographic-narrative interviews are divided into two Subsessions. The first Subsession is called 'Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative(s)' (Wengraf, 2001).

"Please tell me the story of how you (started working as X). Please mention all the experiences and events which were important for you. Start wherever you like; please take the time you need. I will listen, and I will not interrupt. I will take some notes if I have further questions after you've finished telling me about it" (Wengraf, 2008)

The first Subsession starts with an open, narrative-inducing question (Wengraf, 2001). While actively listening, the interviewer takes notes of topics that seem unclear, new and relevant to the interviewee or interviewer. The second Subsession starts when the narrative of the first Subsession is exhausted. Now, (possibly narrative-inducing) questions of the mentioned topics are asked in the order of their raising in Subsession one, only using the exact words used by the narrator (Wengraf, 2008). Additionally, possible follow-up topics are noted. If necessary and possible, a third Subsession can be added after analysis of the material of the first two Subsessions. In the third Subsession, the interviewer can ask for more details on topics that stem from the first two Subsessions and their analysis and research interests.

Implementation

A collection of my co-working experiences on Lesvos and a comparison with literature research on these topics led to the first draft and exchange with ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Thomas Slunecko in August 2021. From the 15th to the 18th of September 2021, I attended workshops on participative research and grounded theory at the Vienna Autumn School of Methods (VASOM) and started integrating these inputs into the master thesis concept. In January, regular contact with two interested co-researchers started. In March, one of the co-researchers dropped out for personal reasons. On 27.03.2022, Zainab Rahimi and I discussed confidentiality, anonymity, approaching interview partners, interview format, analysis of material, and a feasible time frame during a first-panel meeting. Our co-research focused on approaching interview partners, analysing interview materials, and gathering general feedback. In May, Zainab Rahimi and I started approaching possible interview partners with the call for interview partners during my stay in Athens (5th – 12th of June) and on Lesvos (13th–23rd of June) in 2022. The KWA stipend (Kurzfristige wissenschaftliche Auslandsstipendien) of the University of Vienna has supported that research stay. During my stay in Greece, I was in contact with Zainab Rahimi, exchanging updates. Back in Vienna, the focus was on finding a feasible transcription modus leading to a grounded theory approach based on creating memos for each change in speakers, text sort, and topic, simultaneous to the structure of sequentialization necessary for general Thematic Field Analysis. In the second step, thorough transcription (Dresing et al., 2015) was applied to analyse chosen interview segments in more detail. Between July and September 2023, Zainab Rahimi and I analysed the Biograph-

ical Data of two interviews in several online panel sessions. Due to limited resources, I conducted the Thematic Field Analysis of these two interviews by myself, with several peers giving feedback.

Pilot Interviews

To get accustomed to the interview technique of (biographic)-narrative interviews, I conducted two pilot interviews as Wengraf (2001) recommended, the first on the 17th of March and the second on the 1st of June in 2022. Both interviews were conducted with friends and about their decision to study in Vienna at the time of the interview. Due to ethical decisions, I conducted pilot interviews with friends about a relatively neutral theme to gain experience and feedback from both of them on how they felt during the interview and what to improve.

“Please tell me the story of how you ended up studying in Vienna. Please tell me about all the experiences and the events which were important for you, personally. Start wherever you like. Please take the time you need. I will listen first, I won't interrupt. I'll just take some notes in case I have any further questions for after you have finished telling me about it all. So, please tell me now the story of how you ended up studying in Vienna.”

Based on the conceptualisation of Wengraf (2008).

In both sessions, the initial narrative (Subsession 1) lasted about 15 – 20 minutes; after a short break, it was continued with the questioning phase (Subsession 2), following the (narrative) experiences mentioned in Subsession 1. In total, both interviews altogether lasted between 40 and 60 minutes. Both interviewees said that it was difficult for them at the beginning to start the narrative, as they never really thought about their decision to study in Vienna retrospectively, but when starting to narrate, they would remember events and emotions that had a seemingly vast impact on their decisions. Both reported that they enjoyed the open format during the initial narrative as it also served as a space for personal reflection.

In a second step, I transcribed and started to analyse both interviews to gain a more practical insight into Rosenthal's and Wengraf's conceptualisation of biographic-narrative interviewing. Regarding the pilot interviews, it seemed doable to transcribe the whole Subsession 1 and 2 as they were not too long and easy to follow. Regarding the language barri-

ers and the duration of the conducted interviews, it became evident that transcribing both sessions as a whole was not doable, and a different approach had to be adopted.

Considering the different contexts and emotional impact, the interview technique regarding Subsession 2 had to be adapted to Rosenthal's conceptualisation of probing instead of Wengraf's outlining of pushing for personal inducing narratives. Whereas Wengraf's conceptualisation of the questioning phase was very helpful in gaining detailed and particularly narrative-inducing material in the abovementioned pilot interviews, it proved to be too harsh and potentially emotionally stressful for the interviews conducted with displaced interpreters. This ambiguity becomes particularly apparent in the case description of A, where I eventually improvised in skipping questions related to assumingly traumatic events noted in Subsession 1 and refrained from repeatedly asking the same questions to induce narratives as I perceived both techniques as potentially emotionally stressful. Moran et al. (2022) differentiate research situations that enable a positive adaption of Wengraf's conceptualisation, such as those experienced in the pilot interviews described above, and research situations with a heightened chance of adverse effects, such as those experienced in the interview with A. The authors argue for a sensitive evaluation of power imbalances between the researcher and interviewees and preparation for switching to a less focused conceptualisation of the questioning phase.

Outreach process and sampling

The outreach process was mainly happening in April and May 2022 through personal contacts from Zainab Rahimi and me. According to Grounded Theory principles, we would share the texts below with community groups of displaced interpreters, friends and colleagues working on the ground, and social media. There have been two separate calls for interview partners, one aimed at interpreters in Athens and the other focussing on interview partners on Lesvos. Considering the terms used below, it has to be critically reflected that “people on the move” would be more inclusive and neutral in contrast to the term “refugee”. At the time of the call, we decided to use the term refugee as both of us thought it would be more approachable to interpreters as it is more familiar on the ground due to its particular legal connotation. Considering the terms “interpreter/cultural mediator”, we also followed the terms we both were familiar with from our work experiences with NGOs on Lesvos. However, terms such as “community interpretation” are used in academic research

and frameworks and humanitarian practices (Division of International Protection Services, 2009).

Research – Looking for Interview Partners (Athens/Lesvos)

Are you a **refugee** and working (or have been working) as an **interpreter/cultural mediator for NGOs in Greece** for a period of at least **two months**?

If yes, I would be happy to get in touch with you!

I am a psychology student at the University of Vienna (Austria) and am working on a master's thesis about the experiences of refugees working as interpreters with NGOs in Greece. Between the **5th and the 12th of June /13th and 21st of June 2022** I will be in Athens/Lesvos to meet interview partners in person. If you are interested in taking part but are not available at that time, we can also meet online via Zoom/Skype.

The interview will last between **1-2 hours**. Your personal details will be **confidential** and **anonymous**.

If you are interested, please contact me for more details:

e-mail: a01547877@unet.univie.ac.at

Whatsapp/Telegram/Signal: (private phone number)

Thank you for sharing with anybody interested!

Interview conduction in Greece

In June 2022, most displaced interpreters in Greece lived in initial reception centres such as Camp Mavrovouni on Lesvos or Camp Malakasa close to Athens, where essential infrastructure such as WIFI was unavailable, making online interviews impossible. Also, the living situations of displaced interpreters were and are still constantly changing. For example, authorities often communicate transfers from Lesvos to the mainland only a few days before. Therefore, besides reaching out to possible interview partners in advance via co-researcher Zainab Rahimi, personal contacts and social media, it was essential to also reach out on the ground to counteract possible drop-out of participants and include interpreters that were not reachable from afar. Between the 5th and 22nd of June 2022, I conducted biographic-narrative interviews (Wengraf, 2001) with displaced persons working as interpreters with NGOs in Greece. From the 5th to the 12th of June, I stayed in Athens, and from the 13th to the 22nd of June on Lesvos. At the time of submission of the timetable for the KWA stipend in May 2022, three interview partners in Athens and eight on Lesvos had confirmed their participation. In total, that would have been 11 interviews. Between the 5th and 22nd of June, ten biographic-narrative interviews were conducted in person in Athens and on Lesvos. Two additional online interviews were held on the 26th of June and the 7th of

July, as one participant had been relocated to Germany and one was unavailable on Lesbos due to being involved in emergency interpretation there. In total, 12 biographic-narrative interviews and additional non-recorded open interviews were conducted in Athens, on Lesbos and online.

Outreach process to interview participants in Athens. Two of the three interpreters I had been in contact with before coming to Athens were eventually unavailable due to personal and work-related reasons. During the second outreach at One Happy Family Community Centre in Athens, I contacted two displaced interpreters who both took part in biographic-narrative interviews. The interviews were conducted at One Happy Family Community Centre and public spaces like the National Garden. Besides outreach with different NGOs, I contacted individuals at a squat serving as a self-organised migrant social centre in Athens. As some persons did not feel comfortable participating in a semi-structured and recorded interview format, we decided to talk openly, taking notes but not recording. Particularly informative were the shared experiences of one person who came to Greece seeking refuge from Afghanistan about 20 years ago. They completed a one-year training course for professional interpretation in Athens and now advise displaced interpreters and organisations working with displaced interpreters. The open interviews and meetings occurred in public spaces and cafés in Athens.

Challenges in Athens. In general, getting in touch with displaced interpreters in Athens was more challenging than on Lesbos, as fewer displaced persons seemed to work as interpreters. Also, First Registration Centers (RIC) on the mainland are far from Athens and hard to reach. At the time of the interviews, the more central Elaionas Camp still existed. However, I did not manage to contact organisations and individuals operating and living there—the lack of displaced persons working as interpreters in Athens resulted from two reasons outlined below. First, individuals holding residency status, particularly asylum status, were forced to find (better) paid positions as the Greek state hardly supports persons with closed asylum procedures. Second, there is a big community of displaced persons who are not registered or have been rejected in the asylum process and are staying in Athens illegally, facing a high risk of deportation. This fear of deportation leads to only limited possibilities concerning working as an interpreter and taking part in interviews, such as for this master's thesis.

Outreach process for interview partners on Lesbos. Five of the eight confirmed interview partners on Lesbos took part in biographic-narrative interviews. Two of the other three individuals were not available anymore. The third person had been very motivated to participate but cancelled shortly before the interview because she felt uncomfortable. I offered to talk freely without recording or postponing the interview, but unfortunately, the person declined. During the second outreach process on Lesbos, I contacted three displaced interpreters who all participated in biographic-narrative interviews. I also talked with individuals who did not want to participate in a semi-structured interview setting and the recording of it but wanted to share their experiences more openly and informally without recording. On Lesbos, biographic narrative interviews and informal open interviews took place at Parea Community Center, public spaces such as parks, and private spaces such as participants' accommodation, as for some, it was not possible to meet in public.

Challenges on Lesbos. Lesbos's challenge was finding a safe place where people would feel comfortable sharing their experiences. Interview partners were often worried about being seen by police or NGO members. It is essential to know that the situation on Lesbos has been tense for a long time towards conducting interviews with displaced persons. Media and researchers are not allowed in Mavrovouni Camp and are often under suppression by authorities on Lesbos. The coverage of topics such as the living conditions in Initial Reception Centers, police violence, sea rescue and especially the illegal practice of pushbacks by the Greek Coastguard and Frontex is severely suppressed. Also, the situation of displaced persons on Lesbos is generally challenging to predict. Nearly all set interviews had to be postponed or done spontaneously, as interview partners received bureaucratic appointments on short notice. Also, interpreters were continuously demanded for spontaneous interpretation. For example, one interview partner had to cover interpretation without further notice as three boats of people on the move arrived between the 13th and 22nd of June on Lesbos and were in acute demand of interpretation.

Experiences in general. During my research stay in Athens and on Lesbos, I spent most of the time contacting individuals and organisations, conducting biographic-narrative interviews, open interviews, and informal exchanges of experiences. Living situations in Athens and on Lesbos are challenging and unpredictable for displaced persons, especially if working as interpreters, so I had to adapt to participants' availability very spontaneously.

Additionally, the process of gaining trust took some time. Especially on Lesbos, many individuals had negative experiences with researchers and journalists before, so I had to take time for informal meetings before and after the interviews. Also, unpredictable living conditions sometimes led to settings that were not ideal for conducting interviews, such as the need to supervise children or telephonic availability for interpretation during the interview.

I am thankful I got the chance to do this research in Greece. Due to the life circumstances of the interview partners, conducting interviews would hardly be possible otherwise. Moreover, getting in touch with such a variety of shared experiences provided me with a much more diverse insight into the life realities of displaced interpreters.

Process following the interview conduction

Following the research stay in Athens and Lesbos, I started to organise the notes made during the interviews, particularly the field notes. Through exchange with Prof. Slunecko and recommended adaptations outlined in the article "Zooming In, Zooming Out. Analytical Strategies of Situated Generalization in Psychological Research" (Busch-Jensen & Schraube, 2019), this thesis developed towards the following description of data analysis. The main aim was to switch between a detailed analysis of the initial narrative sequences and a structural overview of Subsession 1, considering information from field notes, informal talks, and research on related topics to develop a multi-faceted approach and perspective. During the sequentialisation of Subsession 1, a solely content-based transcription was adopted. The transcription of the initial sequences that are analysed in detail is based on the transcription framework of Dresing et al. (2015).

Planning of Data Analysis and Changes

5 Stages of BNIM (Wengraf, 2001)

- 1). Analysis of biographical data (BDA), addressing the chronology of experiences in the lived life, the lived-through past
- 2). Analysis of the interview text in a thematic field analysis (TFA), aiming to reconstruct the structuring principles of the story-as-told, its *gestalt*
- 3). The construction of a "case history " based on (1) and (2) addressing how events have been experienced in the past and how the patterns of orientation and interpretation and self-presentation developed genetically out of these past experiences
- 4). Micro-analysis of small selected pieces of text aiming to analyse in depth the interrelation between past experiences and their presentation and to check hypotheses developed before and in stage 3 above
- 5). Finally, based on the results of the previous four steps, a discussion of the interrelations between the life history and the told story, contrasting the two, aims at formulating a structural hypothesis about the principle of connection between the life history (a specific sequence of lived-through experiences in the past) and the told story (the present-time presentation of specific experiences from that life-history). This is known as "identifying the case structure".

Data analysis of BNIM. Considering data analysis, the transcripts are interpreted along two analytical strains. The first strain focuses on objective life events, the experienced life history/ lived-life-living track, whereas the second strain is about subjective perception and telling of these life events, the narrated life story/told-story-telling track (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2004). The first analytical strain of the experienced life history/lived-life-living track is analysed through Biographical Data Analysis and the second analytical strain of the narrated life story/told-story-telling-track is depicted by Thematic Field Analysis (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2004).

Before interpreting the experienced life history, the transcript is separated into clear segments with biographical data information, the Biographical Data Chronology. According to Wengraf, interpretation for this track should be started by a panel of three to five persons

discussing the first biographical data and developing hypotheses. In this thesis, the panel consisted of Zainab Rahimi and myself, theorising not only the beginning biographical data but thoroughly all biographical data depicted. This led to a total of seven online panel meetings lasting between one and four hours each. The first three panel meetings were focused on the analysis of biographical data of A (held on 05.08., 27.08., 29.08.2023), and the following four were concerned with the analysis of biographical data of B (held on 07.09., 08.09., 15.09., 18.09.2023). In these panel meetings, we developed hypotheses according to Wengraf's conceptualisation of focusing on experiential hypotheses (in which way could the narrator have experienced that situation at that moment?), shaping hypotheses (in what way could this experience shape the narrator's orientations and future life?) and following hypotheses (what might have occurred next/later?). Then, these hypotheses were compared and, if necessary, adapted with the following biographical data discussed in a timely chronology. Eventually, structural hypotheses should be identified in the panel. In contrast to Wengraf's suggestion of reducing the panel meeting to about three hours and the researcher continuing to work and consider structural hypotheses on their own, in this thesis, all hypotheses regarding Biographical Data Analysis have been developed in panel meetings with Zainab Rahimi. This decision resulted from Zainab Rahimi's feedback, her vast insight and a different perspective on the life realities of the interview partners. We decided to focus panel work on analysing biographical data, critically reflecting on our positions and the resulting subjective depiction of the experienced life history/ lived-life-living track (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2001).

Due to the limited resources of this master thesis, the second analytical process of the told-story-telling track via Thematic Field Analysis is solely based on my hypotheses and peer feedback. The narrated life story/told-story-telling track aims to describe the narrative orientations of interviewees (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2001). Whereas the Biographical Data Analysis depicts the previous analytical strain by focusing on socio-political contexts intertwining with the interviewee's lived phases, the Thematic Field Analysis, forming the second analytical strand, tries to depict a better understanding of the interviewee's orientations while narrating their life story. It is based on the conceptualisation of Thematic Field Analysis by Gurwitsch (Gurwitsch, 1964), methodologically adapted by Fischer (Fischer, 1982) and implemented into biographic-narrative interviews by Rosenthal (Rosenthal, 2018). The following paragraphs describe the adoption of Thematic Field Analysis in this research

project in detail. In the first step, the transcript is divided into segments by change of speaker, topic, or how topics are addressed (text sort). According to Wengraf's conceptualisation, the material was sequenced considering narration, description, argumentation, report, and evaluation text types. Thematic Field Analysis should start in a panel and follow through the transcript of Subsession 1 or even the complete interview, including Subsession 2. Due to restricted resources, Thematic Field Analysis has not been conducted through panel meetings and has been reduced to Subsession 1. Detailed hypothesising outlined below has been limited to chosen parts of the transcript of Subsession 1 (A: 0:00:00 – 0:12:02; B: 0:00:00 – 0:25:34). Detailed Thematic Field Analysis follows a similar outlet of detailed hypothesising already discussed in the description of Biographical Data Analysis. As the number of transcript segments is fundamentally higher than the number of biographical data, it is limited to the first sequence of segments (A: 0:00:00 – 0:12:02; B: 0:00:00 – 0:25:34) and followed by a less detailed depiction of thematic fields throughout Subsession 1. Subsession 2 is not analysed for timely reasons, but the contents of the Thematic Field Analysis are contextualised by information from Subsession 2 and field notes. Simultaneously to Biographical Data Analysis, the first segments (A: 0:00:00 - 0:12:02; B: 0:00:00 – 0:25:34) are analysed considering explorative, shaping and following hypotheses as described above. In the next steps, these hypotheses are analysed on whether they were to be found in the following segments. While exploring relevant hypotheses, their connections to sub-themes depicted dominant themes guiding the narration.

In the end, analyses of both the Biographical Data Analysis and Thematic Field Analysis were brought together to construct the Case History (Wengraf, 2001). Comparison of the analysis of the experienced and the narrated life stories enables one to gain insight into what happened historically and how these experiences are narrated retrospectively. Analysing similarities and discrepancies between these two strains should clarify the narrators' historically situated subjectivity and the historically emergent situation (Wengraf, 2008).

Following the construction of the Case History, a deeper look beyond the contextualisation of experienced life phases and narrated themes aims to analyse on a structural, more abstract level, leading to the Structure of the Case. Structuring the case leads to a more differentiated outlook on other narrators and questions, whether these structures are to be found in other cases or how they are unique to the analysed case.

Build up of case descriptions

The case description starts with the field notes depicting the communication and situation before, during and after the interview by personal reflection from the interviewer's perspective. In the next step, the Biographical Data Chronology is developed out of all information accessible through communicative exchanges, discussion during the interview and sociodemographic information gathered at the end of the interview. The first analytical strain of Biographical Data Analysis evolved through online panels with Zainab Rahimi, who worked as an interpreter for several NGOs on Lesbos, particularly in the medical and psychological field. At the end of each hypothesis, it is noted whether it stemmed from Zainab Rahimi (Z), myself (J), or both of us (Z/J). Hypotheses supported by biographical data known to us are the basis of the Narrative Biographical Analysis. The conceptualisation of hypotheses is according to Grounded Theory principles, oriented on BNIM conceptualisation (Wengraf, 2001). The two main principles are:

1. Datum by datum analysis: Predictive hypotheses are multiplied before being refuted or supported by a later datum or by later data
2. The multiplication of counter-hypotheses and tangential hypotheses concerning the first hypotheses

There should be at least three hypotheses for each datum: the original hypothesis, the counter hypothesis and the tangential hypothesis. The analytical panel is presented with one block of data (one datum) at a time; information about future data is not provided to ensure the free multiplication of hypotheses about possible future data.

Biographical Data Analysis: Hypothesising Questions

(Breckner, 1998; modified by Wengraf, 2001)

- 1). Experiential hypotheses: How could this event be experienced concerning age, personal development, family, generation, gender identity and social background?
- 2). Shaping hypotheses: How could the sequence of events so far shape the future lived life – orientations, turning points, meanings?
- 3). Following hypotheses: What would be expected to occur next or later in the sequence of the lived life?

Hypotheses not supported by at least three biographical data by the end of the Biographical Data Analysis should be considered unproven (Wengraf, 2001). In the next step, this analysis, generated by Zainab Rahimi and myself, is condensed in the narrative summary of the Biographical Data Analysis (BDA) and contextualised by research on sociopolitical circumstances. The Narrative Biographical Analysis is structured into distinguishable phases marked by significant life events, so-called turning points; approximately 5 -7 significant phases should be derived (Wengraf, 2001). Considering the biographical data analysed, in the next step, possible orientations of the interviewee narrating their life story are hypothesised. This slowly leads to the second strain of analysis, the Thematic Field Analysis. According to Fischer-Rosenthal and Rosenthal, Thematic Field Analysis describes a process of detecting topics and their interrelations based on the thematic field conceptualisation by Gurwitsch (1964). In the following section, possible hypothesising questions are compared following conceptualisations by Breckner, Wengraf and Rosenthal.

Thematic Field Analysis: Hypothesising Questions

(Breckner, 1998; adapted by Wengraf, 2001)

1. Is the biographer generating a narrative or being carried along by a storytelling flow?
2. How far is the biographer oriented to the relevance system of the interviewer, and how far to their personal relevance system?
3. In which thematic field is the single sequence embedded?
4. Why is the biographer using this specific text sort to present the experience or the topic?
5. In which details are the single experiences or topics presented, and why?
6. Which topics are addressed? Which biographical experiences, events, and periods are covered and omitted? What material comes up in Subsession 2 (due to further questioning) that was omitted from the initial narration in Subsession 1?
7. Which text sort, change of speaker, or topic will occur next if any of the hypotheses created above are true? (following hypotheses)
8. What hypotheses about the whole or the current thematic field (TFH: thematic field hypotheses) suggest themselves at this stage?

Thematic Field Analysis: Hypothesising Questions

(Rosenthal, 2018)

1. Why was this content introduced at this point?
 2. Why was this content presented using this text type?
 3. Why was this content presented so detailed or briefly?
 4. What could the theme of this content be?
 5. Or what possible thematic field does this theme fit into?
 6. Which themes (areas or phases of the person's life) are mentioned and which are not mentioned?
 7. Which areas or phases of the person's life do we first hear about in the questioning part, and why were these not mentioned during the initial self-presentation (or main narration)?
-

In this thesis, the questions above have been compared, and we decided to stick to Wengraf's adaption for collecting hypotheses during the Thematic Field Analysis: "Why is the biographer presenting this experience or topic now, and why are they using this specific text type?" (Wengraf, 2001)

As outlined above, the conceptualisation of hypotheses is oriented on datum by datum analysis and the multiplication of counter-hypotheses and tangential hypotheses (Wengraf, 2001). This process leads to at least three hypotheses for each datum: the original hypothesis H(o), the counter hypothesis H(c) and the tangential hypothesis H(t). Again, the analytical panel is presented with one block of data at a time to ensure the free multiplication of hypotheses about possible future data (Wengraf, 2001). Due to restricted resources, the Thematic Field Analysis was not conducted in a panel with Zainab Rahimi but was overlooked by various colleagues and adapted in connection to their feedback. Also, this detailed hypothesising was fully completed in the first sequences of Subsession 1. The following sequences were analysed following sub-themes developed through hypothesising.

For a better understanding, the case description, however, starts with the depiction of the overall analysis of Subsession 1, followed by the structuring of sub-themes. Secondly, the first sequences are outlined considering the more detail-oriented analysis concerning guiding sub-themes and text types. Now, both the Biographical Data Analysis and Thematic

Field Analysis are completed. In the next step, these two analytical strains are brought together for better understanding and connecting the historical context and retrospective narration. By constructing the Case History, a comparison of the two analytical threads reveals contrasts and connections between the lived phases derived from the Biographical Data Analysis and the sub-themes emerging from the Thematic Field Analysis. While comparing them, possible orientations brainstormed before the conduction of the Thematic Field Analysis are now checked upon their employability, whether or not they are applicable and in which way. New orientations becoming clear upon this construction are depicted and described as well. The constructed Case History and, in particular, developed orientations, their intertwinings and differentiation form the basis for a deeper and more abstract analysis, leading to the Case Structure. The analysis of the Case Structure aims to explain deeper lying structures leading to orientations visible in the analysed data, particularly in connection to assumed structures of other cases.

Methodological reflections

"The problems that I'd like to take up each derive from the general issues addressed in Orientalism. The most important of these are: the representations of other cultures, societies, histories; the relationship between power and knowledge; the role of the intellectual; the methodological questions that have to do with the relationships between different kinds of texts, between text and context, between text and history."

(Said, 1985)

"This thesis focuses on displaced interpreters working with NGOs in Greece."

The sentence above can be found in brainstorming notes and drafts of this master thesis. While trying to develop a concept, something close to a framework, searching for the correct methodological approach, conducting interviews and slowly moving to the analysis stage, this inherent issue regarding the focus of this thesis was becoming uncomfortably apparent. In what way can a white European student conduct such a research project without inevitably reproducing a Eurocentric discourse on migration?

The postcolonial turn describes a practice of analysing and criticising racism and practices of Othering, particularly in social sciences, enforcing a critical reflection upon knowledge production (Siouti et al., 2022). Upon self-reflection, literature study and, most importantly, feedback on this research project's conceptualisation, I am trying to elaborate

methodological possibilities and critical reflections on the reproduction of Othering. One key component seems to be that life-world experiences are shaped by both self-determined actions (agency; individual level) and societal structures shaping the accessibility of self-determined actions (hegemony, collective level). Rather than describing life-worlds through a binary lens of active and passive decision-making, the philosophical concept of rhizome (O'Sullivan, 2002) questions the sheer possibility of a distinction between the individual and the collective. On a methodological level, the complexity of the conceptualisation of life-world experiences is exemplified by an ongoing dispute between biographical research and discursive practices, both illustrated as somewhat incompatible research approaches. While discursive practices criticise biographical assumptions of an empirical, observable subject, biographical research disapproves of discursive analysis disregarding of individual's agency (Spies & Tuijter, 2017). Qualitative methods, such as the Situational Analysis of Adele Clarke, have been trying to face this controversy through complex methodological approaches. Situational Analysis has been discussed as an advancement of Grounded Theory, combining Strauss's ecological, social worlds/arenas theory, Foucault's discourse analysis, and Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomes and assemblages. In Situational Analysis, the situation becomes the fundamental analysis unit (Clarke et al., 2017). For various reasons, situational analysis has not been conducted in this master thesis but instead serves as an inspiration for an advanced approach to solving the methodological dilemmas described above.

How could these dilemmas be addressed and handled given the accessible knowledge and resources of this master's thesis?

A participatory approach seemed inevitable even before the first concept drafts were developed. As the research interest evolved from personal experiences of working with displaced interpreters on Lesbos, an exchange of experiences and thoughts happened constantly before and during conducting this master thesis. While these exchanges occurred relatively informal and solely verbal, they are the backbone of the evolution of this master's thesis. These exchanges and shared experiences of colleagues and friends working as interpreters are the catalysts behind reflection and information-gathering processes. While gaining input on participative research approaches at VASOM summer school, their implementation is an ongoing, challenging, and even more enriching process. Several

exchanges with (former) colleagues, friends and interview partners have ultimately shaped the direction of this project. Co-research with Zainab Rahimi is essential for this master's thesis work. First exchanges and brainstorming in 2020/21 while still working together on Lesvos resulted in the interest to start a research project in this direction, reflected in the draft of a topic guide attached to this thesis. The ongoing exchange, discussion of research interests and feedback from this thesis supervisor and colleagues led to the more open approach of narrative-biographic interviews following the conceptualisation of Rosenthal and Wengraf. While preparing for these interviews, the outreach to interview partners and contacts on the field happened in close connection with Zainab Rahimi and friends and colleagues. One of the vast fundamentals of this research process happened by analysing the interviews in a panel with Zainab Rahimi, particularly considering the Biographical Data Analysis. Zainab Rahimi's analyses are fundamental to gaining insight into interview partners' lives.

Methodologically, the interest was quickly focussing on biographical-narrative methods, as a focus was found on the agency of displaced interpreters. The pervasive categorisation and differentiation between 'international volunteers' and 'community volunteers' within NGOs on Lesvos swiftly revealed itself as yet another manifestation of the political and societal discourse assuming a binarity of 'refugees' and 'helpers'. This discourse originates from narratives perpetuating the white Savior Industrial Complex, effectively silencing agency of displaced interpreters.

In contrast, biographical-narrative methods focus on the exploration of interview partners' agency or creation of their life stories, as described by Wengraf (2001). While focusing more on biographical methods, the methodological approach gradually developed towards a particular conceptualisation, namely the biographical-narrative-interpretive-method or BNIM (Wengraf, 2001). The detailed guidelines on developing open research questions, communication and information process with interview partners (informed consent, pre-interview phone calls), and anonymity helped build a structured and transparent process for interview conduction. However, while conducting the first interview, ethical questions arose and led to an adjusted interview process, trying to focus better on the interview partners' well-being and participation. Wengraf's conceptualisation of Subsession 2 where the interviewer is instructed to 'Push for PINs', which should accelerate the production of critical incidents, is to be critically reviewed. Particularly for interview

processes with vulnerable interview partners, 'Pushing for PINS' can substantially trigger traumatic experiences (Moran et al., 2022). Therefore, the concept of Subsession 2 in this master thesis is to be read considering the conceptualisation of Rosenthal's "probing" rather than Wengraf's "pushing".

While conducting interviews and engaging with the material, the biographic approach of agency seemed to minimise or even hide collective experiences and societal structures limiting possible agency. Underlying racism in humanitarian aid has been one of the most prominent discussed topics during the interviews with displaced interpreters. Particularly (formal) interviews and (informal) exchanges with displaced interpreters actively engaging in self-organised collectives opened new perspectives and questions concerning this project's motivation and structure. Finally, a mix of (Reflexive) Grounded Theory, Narrative-Biographic Interviews, and Participative Research approaches evolved.

While focusing on transcription and analysis processes, it became apparent that the transcription of the whole interviews as suggested by Wengraf (2001), was not doable due to limited resources. However, I struggled to adopt the practice of choosing specific segments out of the interviewee's narratives and leaving others out for this master thesis due to the critical reflections outlined above. Also, summing up the interview narratives in one's own words would fall into these described dilemmas. Exchange with study colleagues being confronted with similar dilemmas brought the idea of focusing more on a Grounded Theory based approach of sequentialisation. As transcription of the whole interview was not feasible, I started to base the sequentialisation on detailed in-audio memos close to the interviewees' verbal material. About 90 memos for about 45 minutes of verbal material were created in the first round of memo writing. In the next step, memos were added and matched into segments oriented to BNIM methodology depicting sequential changes on speaker, topic, or text sort change. The segments themselves are as close to the verbal material as possible and focus on actions the interviewee would describe.

Analysis of power imbalances in practice

In general, power imbalances in the humanitarian context, specifically on Lesbos, are complex. My role as an international volunteer came with many privileges compared to cultural mediators and the refugee community on Lesbos. As I have been part of international NGOs and worked in teams there several times, my role as an 'international volunteer' and

the label of a Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS) professional comes with different expectations and, therefore, different experiences. Through constant reflection, study of critical literature, peer feedback and ongoing exchange with the community, I tried to reflect transparently on the danger of recreating existing power imbalances in this research project.

My primary contacts are former working colleagues who are partly already familiar with the research project's aim and are used to sharing with me. However, these informal relations and friendships might influence how openly interpreters talk about their experiences. As I belonged to the group of international volunteers, I am especially concerned about how open interpreters I have been working with will talk about their experiences and voice criticism towards international volunteers and NGOs in general. This could be balanced out with interpreters I have not been familiar with in a working context and who therefore will perceive me as a student, making it easier to talk more openly about critical topics. I am in contact with former cultural mediators who moved to Germany, France or Austria, with cultural mediators who work in Athens or used to work as cultural mediators on Lesbos and now live in Athens. I am also in contact with cultural mediators still pursuing their work on Lesbos. Specifically, I am in contact with displaced interpreters working with NGOs in Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS). While sharing the same position as (former) cultural mediators on Lesbos, the life realities of the interview partners are very distinct during the interviews in June/July 2022 and the whole research process starting in 2021, which might influence not only experiences but also perception of their work, role, and general experiences as cultural mediators. Power imbalances will inevitably not be reflected enough, particularly concerning the representation of communities, caretaking responsibilities, access to education, work experience, financial and legal situation, especially regarding asylum procedures, and variances in gender roles and community impact. One aspect to counteract these imbalances and reduce any risk for participants is the anonymity of the interviews. The transcripts and sequentialisation have been sent to A and B, specifically asking about feedback on details that participants do not feel comfortable sharing in this thesis. I have lastly been in communication with A and B in 2023, both confirmed to have a look on the material and did not voice any wishes on changes.

While trying to inform myself and engage with participative research approaches, I have already focused on a specific qualitative method, namely interviews. In the stage of full participation, the discussion and decision-making about the method used is part of the process. However, while researching and reflecting on the life circumstances of displaced interpreters on Lesbos/Greece, I realised that I must focus on a method that will allow following participative approaches on a participatory level that is still doable for conducting a master thesis at the University of Vienna. As Levac et al. (2019) described, restricted resources are often the most challenging barrier to conducting participative research. While spending time and effort informing myself on qualitative methods, due to limited resources, time, and experience, I quickly realised that conducting qualitative interviews would be most reasonable for this research aim. I focused on educating myself on participative research approaches, focusing on panel meetings with Zainab Rahimi on developing the outreach process to interview partners, the interview (setting) and discussing interview material, results, implications, and limitations.

Researchers' positioning

Drawing from a feminist standpoint grounded in the concept of Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2017), along with the theoretical frameworks of postcolonial (Fanon, 1961; Mbembe, 2001) and cultural studies (Hall, 1980, 2015) and post-migration society dynamics (Siouti et al., 2022), it becomes imperative to illuminate and disclose the researchers' positioning in this thesis. This contextual awareness forms the foundation with which the current research topic has been chosen and developed. Acknowledging the context of identity, power structures, and cultural influences ensures a more comprehensive and inclusive examination of the subject matter. The emphasis on disclosing personal positionality aligns with ethical research practices and underscores the recognition of the researcher as an integral part of the research process. Discovering specific localisations of the interviewees in the material requires comparisons to be made. The comparative horizons are based on the researcher's implicit experience that should be disclosed to ensure an understanding of the intertwining of the researcher's subjectivity and the research process (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr, 2021).

In the introduction to this thesis, the outlined theoretical approach is based on personal experiences as well as empirical outcomes of this thesis. This adaptation is based on Slunecko's concept of *"tracking one's own path"* (Slunecko, 2020) and the principles of

Grounded Theory (Glaser, 2017). The methodological section outlines and reflects the challenge of finding an appropriate methodological approach. Following the discussion of this thesis, Zainab Rahimi and I would like to give a brief insight into our social and political positions.

Judith Paminger

I am white, able-bodied, cis female* identified and hold Austrian citizenship. Growing up in a small village in Upper Austria in a middle- and working-class context has substantially shaped my perception of my societal position and the need to reach financial independence. Upon attending grammar school, I got into contact with schoolmates and teachers holding an academic background that opened new perspectives for me. This exchange led to a motivation of being able to travel and obtain an academic education through scholarships and grants. After completing my A-Levels, I could work on a family project for one year in Belfast (UK) by receiving an Erasmus+ scholarship. During that year, I discovered my interest in working with children and adults and the desire to acquire more skills and knowledge in this field. Therefore, I started to study psychology in Vienna, besides working in the socio-pedagogic field from 2015 onward. During that time, I started engaging in self-organised initiatives focusing on Mental Health and a community-based German course. Upon completing my bachelor's degree in 2019, the experiences and friendships in this German course inspired me to start working at a community centre on Lesbos through Erasmus+ funding. These experiences fundamentally opened my eyes to my privileges of being a white European citizen and the severe power imbalances in place. When returning to Vienna to start a master's degree in psychology, I started to engage in self-organised movements with people on the move. During that time, I also started to inform myself more on feminist discourses, particularly on the intersection of the socially constructed categories of gender, race and class. Due to COVID-19 and the resulting online curriculum, I could work on Lesbos for several months in 2020 and 2021 while continuing my studies. While working in 2021 on Lesbos with Zainab Rahimi, my interest in learning more about life worlds and the realities of displaced interpreters working with NGOs in Greece intensified. Through exchange with ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Prof. Slunecko and the recommended attendance of the Vienna Autumn School of Methods (VASOM) in 2021, the first concept of this thesis slowly developed. In 2021, I started working on a housing project for unaccompanied minors while pursuing this research project

and the master's curriculum. The KWA stipend in 2022 and educational leave (Bildungskarenz) in 2023 enabled me to focus on this research project and exchanges with Zainab Rahimi.

Without stipends and grants from the European Union and the Austrian State, I would have never had the chance to pursue this life path, which depicts these programs' substantial contribution to social justice and upward educational mobility for citizens of the European Union. However, for people on the move and third-country nationals, the European Union and its member states severely restrict access to residence status, employment permits, health care, education, scholarships and grants. Therefore, the privileges of being white, able-bodied and of Austrian citizenship are in stark contrast to the systematic disadvantages people on the move and third-country citizens are experiencing in the European Union. This master thesis would have never been possible without the ongoing exchange, co-researching and advice of Zainab Rahimi.

Zainab Rahimi

I am Zainab Rahimi, born on October 2nd, 1997, in Afghanistan. But I grew up in Iran. School was tough there because we did not have proper documents, so I could not continue my education. My family moved around a lot between Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan. We faced discrimination everywhere, even in Iran where I was born.

I thought Greece would be better, but it was not. Discrimination and violations of rights were rampant. Despite all this, I used my English skills to help other refugees by interpreting for organisations. That is when I discovered my passion for working with kids. We started projects to help them out.

In Greece, I met Judith, who had a great outlook on refugees like us. Her positivity fuelled my determination to keep going. Two years ago, I moved to Germany, where I am trying to build a new life. I am focused on making a positive impact, no matter what challenges come my way.

“I am working for my community”

Case Description A

Field Notes

Before the interview

I got the contact from A via Y, whom I first met as a community volunteer coordinator at an NGO in Lesvos in 2019. In May 2022, Y was working as coordinator of a relatively new community project of that same NGO in Athens and one of the first persons I contacted for outreach support in Athens as I did not have many direct contacts there.

I contacted A in May 2022, asking if A would be interested in knowing more about the research project and shortly outlining when I would be in Athens. A agreed to call on the 29th of May. Before the call, I sent A the files Informed Consent and Data Protection on WhatsApp and added that A should, if possible, have a look at it and could text me anytime if questions appear and that we would discuss its contents during the call. As I was prepared for a relatively short call describing and discussing questions around the research project, Informed Consent and Data Protection Policy, I was taken a bit by surprise by A sharing personal content I was not expecting in its details. A stated that it was really difficult working as an interpreter and told me about working as an interpreter in the general hospital of Samos and about getting three rejections (of Greek asylum applications). From trying to explain that these details would be discussed in the interview, I switched to listening as I felt that it was essential for A to speak freely, discussing that they wanted to write a book about everything. A asked me to text when I arrive in Athens, as interpreting schedules are always changing.

Upon arriving in Athens, I texted A, who quickly suggested a time and day; however, it was more challenging to find a location accessible for A due to their undocumented status and suitable for conducting an interview. Y and other coordinators at the community project (mentioned above) offered us a small empty room in the centre. Eventually, most of the interviews in Athens took place there as it is situated in an area accessible to people without legal residential status and generally a relatively safe space for interviewees. Additionally, it was a space many interviewees already knew because of its activities, such as classes, psychological support, creative workshops, and a café, where food and beverages were offered for free.

During the interview

We met on the 07th of June around 2 pm at a square A suggested and walked to the community centre to share some small talk. A seemed quite happy to meet and motivated to talk about their experiences. At the community centre, A greeted Y and other visitors, friends and colleagues. Eventually, we went to the small room with windows open to an inner yard belonging to the community centre; when asked about closing the window for privacy, A preferred to have it open. As we met at the beginning of June during lunchtime, temperatures were above 30 degrees, and no cooling system was available. We started with discussing Informed Consent and Data Protection Policy, particularly anonymity, the use of the recorded tape and A's rights to stop the interview at any moment and skip answers to questions A would not want to talk about. These contents had already been discussed during our phone call in May; A did not have any further questions and signed both the Informed Consent and Data Protection Policy. Then, I started the recording and stated the initial narrative-inducing question, introducing Subsession 1, the initial narrative.

Subsession 1

Initially, I interrupted A two times as I had difficulties understanding A's fast-paced Cameroonian accent. The atmosphere during the interview quickly changed to a heavier and more emotional one in contrast to the atmosphere during small talk, which will become apparent in the subsequent Thematic Field analysis outlined below. After about 20 minutes, A's phone rang; it seemed to be rather important and led to a sequence of texts and phone calls. Subsequently, A seemed quite stressed, apologising for the interruption and stating that there is a lot of problems. I asked A if everything was okay, which was confirmed and led to A ending the initial narrative after about 45 minutes from the start of the interview.

Break

The break between Subsession 1 and Subsession 2 lasted 15 minutes, where A ate the snack and drank the water I provided for every interview while going through the notes of Subsession 1. At that point, I started questioning the rigid procedure considering the conceptualisation of Subsession 2 by Wengraf (Wengraf, 2001). Instead, I intuitively skipped marked questions where I had noted a particular emotional impact on A during the initial narrative.

Subsession 2

During Subsession 1, A shared content that seemed to have a heavy emotional impact while talking about it. In Subsession 2, this intensified, particularly apparent in two experiences A was sharing, described in the following paragraph.

Content Note: The following paragraph describes death and detailed violence.

Besides talking about experiences, A showed photos of a (dead) person wrapped in a plastic bag on the ground, presumably near Samos Camp. To the shocked and confused question about this photo, A explained that this photo showed a *Black guy who had just died and was put in the bag* by authorities of the Camp. A further said that A came with a coffin with a colleague, and they buried the person at a cemetery. A also showed pictures of a (BIPOC) person who had iron clips in the head in a hospital. A told they opened the head of him. I was shocked and confused and impulsively asked, "Why?" which was unanswered. A had tears in their eyes and seemed very emotional. A continued saying that the person was *very sick, got transferred to Patras* and that a befriended doctor tried to check at the hospital there, as they did not trust the hospital staff. A repeated *I saw many things that it is really difficult*, and of the plan of *writing a book which they will not like*, where A has *proof of everything*.

As the discussed contents of Subsession 1 and the impact on A already seemed to be quite intense, I spontaneously decided to leave out particularly emotionally loaded follow-up questions noted during Subsession 1 in an intuitive attempt to try to reduce emotional stress during the interview. This decision had to be critically reflected, outlined in detail in the Methodological Reflection of this master thesis and is essentially based on a paper by Moran et al. (2022). In this paper, Wengraf's instructions for Subsession 2, particularly during interview processes with heightened power imbalances and potentially vulnerable interviewees, are critically reflected. As I was concerned about the interview's ethical dimensions, particularly the emotional impact of Subsession 2, I decided to focus on analysing Subsession 1.

After the interview

After Subsession 2, we talked a bit about demographic data, I explained that A did not have to fill it in and that all contents in it are confidential. A was open to fill in every field except sex/gender.

During the interview, I was pretty worried about its impact on A and tried to create a positive or at least neutral atmosphere, thanking them for their input and asking if there was anything A would like to talk about now or later. When asked if A wanted to get the transcript, the answer was *I really don't care*. Also, A said they had told me enough and that I could *read the rest in the book*. I explained that I would like to read the book, which A found possibly hard to believe. After some small talk, A left, telling me *I need to sleep*.

In August 2023, I contacted A about updates on the project, as discussed before. All interviewees whose materials are analysed in this master thesis are contacted and receive the transcribed material if they wish. A was interested in looking at the transcript, and I encouraged them to give feedback on anything they would not feel comfortable with. Therefore, I sent A the segmentation of Subsession 1 and the transcribed sequents. A did not return feedback about the material but stayed in contact about their current living situation.

Biographical Data Chronology

The biographical data below is disclosed from the information provided by A during interaction before the interview, during the interview itself and by the Demographic Data Sheet filled out subsequently to the interview.

1989 Born in Cameroon (age 33 in 2022)

- MBA in Finance
- Children

6th of March 2018 Leaving country of origin (Cameroon)

21st of November 2018 Arrival in Greece (Samos)

- Asylum application at the Camp of Samos (Vathy Hotspot)
- November - February 2018: working as an interpreter with a medical NGO for a primary check-up for three months
- From February 2018 -? Working with a medical NGO in the hospital of Samos as an interpreter
- Receiving the first rejection of asylum application while working in the hospital of Samos
- Working as an interpreter for psychologists, doctors, lawyers

2022 Moving from the Camp of Samos to Athens

- Starting to work as an interpreter with one NGO in Athens
- Resigning at this NGO because of the way people were treated there

07. 06. 2022 Interview with A in Athens

- Three rejections of the asylum application
- Working as an interpreter in Athens
- Future goals of A: to leave Greece and write a book about their experiences

General biographical and demographic information

At the time of the interview, A has worked since 2018 as an interpreter, nearly four years in total. A is interpreting in French, English, Bassa, Bulu, and three further unclear ones (unclear handwriting). A's mother tongue is English. According to the interview, A has been working with seven NGOs, mainly in the medical field, but also for psychologists, lawyers and individuals. A did not fill in the question about identification about sex/gender ("*Do you identify with any sex/gender: e.g. female, male, diverse, none?* "). A stated that the family status is *single* and *having children*.

Narrative Summary of the Biographical Data Analysis (BDA)

The following narrative summary stems from the Biographical Data Analysis (BDA, attached to this document) conducted in a panel with Zainab Rahimi. As neither Zainab Rahimi nor I have personal experiences with Cameroon, our analysis is based mainly on interactions and experiences shared by interpreting colleagues originally from Cameroon and literature research.

In 1989, A was born in Cameroon amidst a countrywide economic crisis that lasted until the early 2000s. Due to the limited facts on the interviewee's private life, particularly before seeking asylum in Greece, it has been somewhat challenging to depict A's life as a child and adult in Cameroon. The following educational career supports the assumption that A was born into a middle-class family in an urban setting with access to schools and universities. A's mother tongue is English, which is vital information concerning Anglophones' particular situation in Cameroon.

Anglophone Cameroonians mainly reside in one of the two English-speaking regions (North-West and South-West) at the Nigerian border, making up about 20 % of the total population in contrast to the majority of Francophone Cameroonians (Noguera Pinto, 2023). This division between Anglophones and Francophones is connected to the Republic of Cameroon's (South Cameroon) reunification process with 'French Cameroon' in 1961.

While living in Cameroon, A obtained a master's degree in business administration (MBA) in finance. We do not know which university and what time A obtained this degree. According to our literature research, various public and private universities offer a master's degree in business administration in Cameroon (AD Scientific Index, n. d.). Also, A has children who seem to have stayed in Cameroon, following subtle cues during the interview process. We do not have any information about the relationship of A to their children. As they are not with A, they seem to have stayed in Cameroon with other caretakers, or they might have applied for asylum in another country. However, as A does not talk about family reunification, which would be a vital chance for A to access asylum and stay with their children, we assume the children stay with family or other caretakers in Cameroon. There is no information about the age and number of children, nor the relation between A and their biological parent(s), whether they would have been in a romantic relationship or married. Therefore, we assumed various reasons for A leaving Cameroon. One assumption would be that A would have a family life with the children and their other biological parent(s) and would initially want to leave Cameroon with them. However, that could not have been possible due to financial reasons or out of fear of exposing the children to the migration route's dangers. Therefore, A might have been forced to leave to be able to provide financially for their family from afar due to the difficult economic situation in Cameroon.

Another assumption would be that A might have a complicated familial relationship and be willing to leave Cameroon to attain more independence abroad. As A has been undertaking a long migration route, has no residence status in Greece and is dependent on working, we assumed that A did not belong to Cameroon's elite and might have struggled to find a job there. In 2016, tensions between the Anglophone Cameroonian minority and the Francophone Cameroonian-dominated government intensified and led to the Anglophone Crisis, resulting in an armed conflict in 2017 with thousands of Anglophone Cameroonians leaving the country (Noguera Pinto, 2023).

On the 6th of March 2018, A left Cameroon and, on the 21st of November 2018, arrived in Samos (Greece). During the interview, A did not share any information about their migration route, but considering the eight-month duration, it is assumed that A had endured a long, exhausting, and dangerous route on land and sea. Due to the lack of possible visas for leaving Cameroon, mostly highly qualified Cameroonians endure the dangers of alternative migration routes through Morocco or Libya, with a high risk of enslavement and human trafficking (Migration Profile Cameroon, 2021).

Upon arrival on Samos, A underwent the formalities of registration at the former Reception and Identification Centre in Vathy (Samos), which is compulsory to apply for asylum and receive accommodation and cash assistance (Dimitriadi, 2022). This process has been implied by Greece following the EU-Turkey Deal in 2016, restricting individuals right to move and access asylum to registration and stay at so-called Reception and Identification Centres (RIC) often referred to as Hotspots (e.g. Vathy Hotspot) or Camps (e.g. Samos Camp).

Emotionally, A might have experienced a mix of immense happiness and relief of reaching Europe, but also exhaustion stemming from a long, moving process of uncertainties. In the beginning phase of arriving at the Reception and Identification Centre, A might have been shocked by the living conditions and the contrast to their expectations. While navigating unauthorised moving from Cameroon to Greece, A might have adapted to a fast-changing situation and had a clear goal to reach. On Samos, A had to adapt to very different circumstances and learn to understand a new system of formal and informal rules in the Camp and Greek asylum system.

For the first three months until February/March 2019, A worked as an interpreter with a medical NGO in the primary check-up. Afterwards, A worked in the hospital of Samos as an interpreter, with unclear starting and endpoints. Generally, employment by official institutions, such as hospitals, is considered more challenging but beneficial. It holds a steady income and assumingly leads to a positive outcome in asylum cases due to a Greek contract and registration with a Greek Tax number. While working as an interpreter in the hospital of Samos, A received the first rejection of the asylum case. This is a very unusual decision as interpreting positions at formal institutions are rare, demand a high level of proficiency and commitment and usually lead to asylum, subsidiary protection or some other kind of residence permit. Therefore, we assume that A has perceived this experience as shocking and unexpected.

In total, A has received three rejected asylum appeals at the time of the interview in 2022. On Samos, A has been working as an interpreter with lawyers, psychologists and doctors, which are generally deemed more financially stable interpreting fields than working as an interpreter in other fields such as camp administration, food distribution or activity organisation. However, working in these fields also means interpreting cases of violence, desperation and sickness, which can have a lasting impact on the interpreting person.

At the beginning of 2022, A moved - assumedly unauthorised, i.e. without a residence permit - from Samos to Athens. The reason for moving to Athens stems from A's residence status and the Closed Controlled Access Center (CCAC) opening on Samos in September 2021. Following the fire in the Reception and Identification Center (RIC) on Lesbos, referred to as Camp Moria, and subsequent fires at the Reception and Identification Center (RIC) on Samos, Greece closed down these former Camp sides and focused instead on opening highly controlled centres. The Closed Controlled Access Center (CCAC) is marked by high surveillance, no access to media and hardly to NGOs, and restriction of freedom for the individuals accommodated (McGregor, 2022). Therefore, displaced persons with rejected asylum appeals would have to choose between being unable to leave the Camp, possibly getting deported out of Greece, or trying to reach the mainland unauthorised and living undocumented in Athens or applying for asylum in another European country.

When arriving in 2022 in Athens, A started to work as an interpreter with an NGO based in Athens. A resigned from this NGO because of how they treat the people. We do not know with what organisations or individuals A has been working afterwards and if it has been challenging to find work. Despite the high qualification of A and the vast amount of interpreting experience, having no residence permit and access to public support systems and accommodations limits A's perspectives of finding work and building a future in Greece.

Therefore, it has been unsurprising that A is preparing for another appeal in their asylum application but is not planning to stay in Greece long-term. Instead, A shares the wish to leave Greece and write a book about everything.

Turning Points and Phases of the Lived Life

While looking at the narrative summary of the analysed biographical data, the following turning points seem to structure A's life in six distinguishable phases (Wengraf, 2001).

- Until 30 **Life in Cameroon** (1989 -2018): As we do not have more information on the life reality of A in Cameroon and the time points of particular events, we cannot structure living in Cameroon by more informative phases. Instead, it summarises A's growing up in a likely urban area in Anglophone Cameroon, accessing an MBA in finance and having children at some point.
- 30 **Leaving Cameroon** (6th of March 2018 - 21st of November 2018): This phase marks A's emigration from Cameroon to Greece with a particular beginning and ending of eight months of unclear events and uncertainties.
- 30 **Arriving to Greece**: After emigration, a phase of a new orientation follows. Subsequently to seeking asylum, A is registered at the former "Vathi Camp" on Samos and is confronted with living in a First Reception Centre in Greece.
- 30 **Starting to work for the community**: Soon, A starts working as an interpreter with NGOs in the medical field at "Vathi Camp" and Samos Hospital.
- 30-34 **Getting rejected**: While working at Samos Hospital, A receives the first and unexpected rejection of their asylum application, which marks a phase of shock, disappointment and disillusion.
- 34 (2022) **Living without documents in Athens**: In 2022, A moves to Athens, preparing for another asylum appeal after receiving three rejected asylum appeals. This phase marks the difficulty of working in Athens without a Greek residence permit.

Possible Narrative Orientations

Considering the biographical data analysed above, the following paragraphs should outline possible orientations of A narrating their life story.

- **Supporting others**: A could tell a story of supporting others and being a stable resource for people of A's community, a story of solidarity and community. There might be rich narratives in combination with argumentations and evaluations.
- **Being discriminated against**: Alternatively, A could focus on experiences of being discriminated against, illustrating discrimination towards Anglophones in Cameroon, BI-POC in Europe and seeking asylum in Greece, possibly leading to a more argumentative-based use of language.
- **Individual resistance**: Another option would be to focus on their struggles and fighting their way out of them, obtaining an MBA degree, leaving Cameroon and ar-

living in Greece, working as an interpreter in the hospital of Samos, and filing appeals against the rejected application for asylum. In this case, there would probably be mainly argumentative and evaluative text sorts with narrative personal experiences substantiating.

- **Collective resistance:** A could also hold a narrative about community advocacy and activism against discrimination, illustrating A's role as an interpreter with NGOs and the hospital of Samos, resigning from an NGO in Athens because of the way they treat people.
- **Hard work/staying active:** Another option would be the telling of their story as a hard-working/active individual, obtaining an education such as an MBA degree, working experiences as an interpreter with lawyers, psychologists and doctors, filing appeals, and advocating for the rights of A's community.
- **Professional interpreter:** Subsequently, A might elaborate on their professional experiences as an interpreter, narrating typical situations when working with NGOs in Greece, challenges and A's professional development from first until most recent interpreting experiences. Therefore, it might be expected to see rather descriptive text sorts with narrative scenes of working as an interpreter.
- **Leaving Cameroon:** A could also tell a story about having to leave Cameroon, focusing on forced displacement and the impacts of that.
- **Working as an interpreter to attain self-determination in a suppressive environment:** A could also illustrate the story of working with NGOs in Greece as a process of self-empowerment and attaining some way of self-determination in a severely suppressive environment.
- **'Typical story' of seeking refugee/applying for asylum:** A might follow a narration flow in this interview that is typical for an asylum interview conducted by official institutions due to this interview's topic. This would be depicted by an emphasis on distanced reports and descriptions, illustrating a certain level of detachment rather than personal or emotionally charged narratives.

Thematic Field Analysis of the Text Structure Sequentialisation

In the next analytical step, Subsession 1 is analysed through Thematic Field Analysis based on the conception of Rosenthal and Wengraf (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2001). The thematic fields that structure the initial narration (Subsession 1) are analysed below, fol-

lowed by a more detailed transcript-based analysis covering the timeframe from 0:00:00 to 0:12:17. The Thematic Field Analysis, unfortunately, could not be conducted in a panel with Zainab Rahimi due to time constraints. The documented text structure sequentialisation used for this analysis can be requested by this thesis author.

Overview of thematic fields

In the beginning, A starts in report modus, disrupted by a first interview interaction of the interviewer asking for clarity as A speaks Cameroonian English. From a somewhat distanced perspective, A outlines Cameroon as the country of origin, mentions the exact date of arrival in Greece and the first NGO to work with through a condensed report (Memo 2-6; 0:00:00 – 0:01:59). Gradually, A switches to a more detailed but distanced modus of describing working in the medical field in the Camp of Samos (Memo 11; 0:02:07). When describing the severe medical conditions of people in the Camp of Samos, A switches into argumentation (0:04:50) about how this impacts the well-being of interpreters in the medical field. From then on, A switches between short episodes of narrative descriptions/descriptive narratives, argumentations and evaluations. These quickly changing sequences start with a community-based focus in A's work, showcasing it as a positive impact on A; that's why for me, that was quite good to help people, to try to help people (Memo 32; 0:07:19 – 0:07:30). This positive perspective on interpreting work shifts in the subsequent text segment, but for me, for the bad things/it's eh (.) it's a lot (Memo 36-37; 0:08:03 – 0:08:27) outlining the impact working as an interpreter had on A's mental health despite the above mentioned positive ones. The following evaluation disrupts A's description and argumentation about the burdensome effects of interpreting work *but all for it (inc.) for (.) (inc.) for a really (..) for a good reason. (..) Because one day I want to write a book. (.)* (Memo 37; 0:08:27). Followed by a short narrative of A quitting to work for an NGO in Athens, *the way I saw them (.) How they were working (..) I resigned*. Subsequently, A outlines their moral values in evaluative and argumentative text sorts, referring to an orientation to *come work here for my community* (Memo 41; 0:09:43). After that, A consciously jumps back to their experiences on Samos, *I continue what I (..) what I got in Samos* (Memo 145; 0:10:44), connecting burdensome experiences leading to the motivation of writing a book. This thematic field is concluded by a narrative about A's role as an interpreter of assessing needs and recognising withheld medi-

cal issues of clients due to shame and stigma, *"doctor, apart the fever there is something else, try to (.) I will try to talk to him to make him talk"* (Memo 146-147; 0:11:20 – 0:12:17).

The subsequent content illustrates the interconnection between socially stigmatised sexual orientations and the association with diseases and shame within the Cameroonian/African community. A starts by describing the stigma of homosexuality, HIV and epilepsy; *they are stigmatised* (Memo 147-51; 0:12:17 – 0:13:25) and the challenge *to make people talk* (Memo 148-55; 0:14:07 – 0:15:23). Afterwards, a short narrative about one woman asking A to look after her child is interrupted by a short evaluation of *faith in God* in the *African community* (Memo 57 – 152; 0:16:09 – 0:16:39). Subsequently, an argumentative passage outlines living conditions and hardships in the Camp due to prolonged and uncertain Asylum procedures; *they cannot open the card, they making the person wait, taking the money* (Memo 64-66; 0:19:00 – 0:19:35), leading to actions such as severe self-harm as an attempt to leave the Camp into better conditions, *the person inject themselves with blood with HIV* (Memo 66; 0:19:35). This long argumentative and emotional passage is concluded by reference to the professional secrecy as an interpreter; *I cannot tell you because it's like...professional secrecy* (Memo 70 - 155; 0:21:55 – 0:22:23). A continues to evaluate and argue in which way the sharing of personal hardships considering the asylum application is helpful for building up the resilience of clients in need of support, *that's why I tell you I was taking example with me* (Memo 155 - 156; 0:22:23 – 0:22:44). In the following sequence, A's experiences of racism are outlined through a short narrative interrupted by argumentative sequences about confronting a female* (team member?) about their racist behaviour, comparing it with racist behaviours of locals living on Samos (Memo 162-163; 0:25:05 – 0:25:26) and starting a narrative episode about boycotting the farewell party of a former team member at a café due to racist behaviour of its owner. In the next section, A's experiences of working as an interpreter with NGOs in Greece are outlined as motivational bases for *writing a book* (Memo 79; 0:28:30). Subsequently, the evaluation of NGOs is examined on a general level, identifying NGOs that *are there to take their money* (Memo 83; 0:29:42) and NGOs that *really help people* (Memo 85; 0:30:19). The following 10 minutes of the interview are interjected by A receiving phone calls and texts from a person needing support, communicating in French (Memo 88 – 181; 0:31:35 - 0:42:04). Upon A's affirmation to proceed with the interview, a condensed section evolves, delving into an assessment of the broader life circumstances of individuals residing in the Camp, transitioning eventually to more personal

exploration. This exploration involves navigating the aftermath of a rejected asylum appeal while being employed at the hospital of Samos and the subsequent impact on A's overall well-being, prompting a profound sense of distress, as expressed with the remark, *that's why I started to feel bad, really, really bad* (Memo 93; 0:43:17). Immediately following this reflection is the evaluation that, despite the challenges, *it's life, you know* (Memo 94; 0:43:33). This evaluation seems to act as a conclusion of the initial narrative, with a long pause until A is requesting *do you have another question?* (Memo 96; 0:43:55). This request serves as a communicative reconnection to the interviewer, with A possibly trying to attenuate the abovementioned content.

Detailed analysis

The initial narration (Subsession 1) lasted about 45 minutes (43:58, memo 183) with interruptions by phone calls/texting of A. Narrative episodes hardly occurred, and they were usually short and incomplete and often disrupted by small segments of evaluations or argumentations. At first glance, A's initial narration seems to be fragmented, with a broken narrative structure depicted by short and frequently changing text segments, considering the mentioned themes and text sorts alike. However, pervading orientations are to be found after a more detailed look at the following transcript (0:00:00 – 0:12:17).

Thematic Field 1 - Reporting of facts as a framing of the interview

- 1 [0:00:00] I: Okay. (.) Now/(..) and then I will also put it on the phone. (4) um (11) okay (.) So now the
 2 recording is on. (.) Perfect. (.) um (.) so (.) My first question (.) is quite open. yeah (.) um (.)
 3 It's about your story for yourself. How you started working as interpreter (.) um in Greece
 4 yeah. And you just mention all experiences or events where you think they are important for
 5 yourself. (.) um (.) you take the time you need. (.) You start where you think it's necessary.
 6 And and you end where you think it's necessary. And I will just listen yeah. (.) Um and I will
 7 (.) take notes. yeah. For afterwards. (.) Okay? (.) So. (.) If you're ready, um, you can tell me
 8 your (.) story. Yeah? (.)
- 9 [0:01:33.] P(A): Okay. (...) Um, ah then (.) (this?) (.) (inc.) Yes I'm coming from Cameroon.
- 10 [0:01:42] I: Yeah. (..)
- 11 [0:01:45] P(A): I came in Greece (..) this been the (.) twenty-first of November in 2019 (.) yeah (.) I
 12 started working with eh (.) one NGO (.) X (anonym.)
- 13 [0:02:01] I: What's the name sorry?
- 14 [0:02:02] P(A): X (anonym.)(.)
- 15 [0:02:02] I: Ah in? (.)
- 16 [0:02:04] P: X (anonym.), (..) it's an American NGO (.) in Samos (.) as interpreter (...)
- 17 [0:02:07] I: Mhm

The initial question is formulated close to Rosenthal's and Wengraf's conceptualisation regarding openness and transparency of the interview process, focusing on the interviewees' life phase of working as interpreters in Greece. However, the frequent pauses and the vast amount of filler words (such as *yeah*, *ahm/um*, *okay*) depict a somewhat insecure presentation of the initial question. A's first response is mentioning Cameroon as the country of origin, building up the first thematic field of A, introducing themselves and framing the content to be talked about in a condensed report modus. Starting this report with the fact I'm coming from Cameroon seems to stem from A's understanding of the vital context for the interviewer to understand the following content. The following content might consist of further argumentation and evaluation of what coming from Cameroon might mean for A, possibly containing narrative sequences about A's life in Cameroon. However, A stays in the report modus and mentions the exact date of arrival in Greece and the first NGO to work with on Samos. Therefore, it should be considered that A's initial mentioning of Cameroon might instead stem from an automatic answer mode required at formal interviews that are to be attended during registration processes and asylum applications. The country of origin, the date of entry into national territory and the names of employing NGOs or institutions are

fundamental questions in such formal interviews. If this continues as a persistent orientation, the interview content might consist of a short, condensed initial narrative focussing on facts depicted by reports and distanced descriptions and hardly more personal sharing through narratives and argumentations. However, this does not hold up to the following content: a relatively long initial narrative of 45 minutes consisting of alternating argumentative and evaluative text sorts. Therefore, it seems more likely that A actively decides not to speak about life in Cameroon due to possibly wearing experiences in Cameroon or A perceiving life in Cameroon as irrelevant, considering the focus of the initial question on experiences as an interpreter. The exact mentioning of the date of arrival in Greece might not only be connected to the frequent requests in formal interviews, but also result from its likely strong remembrance and significance to A as the opening date of a new chapter in their life. In the initial narration (Subsession 1), A does not share any more details about their arrival in Greece. However, in the following phase (Subsession 2), A shares a narrative with descriptions and argumentations about the arrival and first days on Samos. The mentioning of the first NGO A used to work with leads to the following thematic field of describing working as an interpreter in the medical field and outlining cultural mediation on a general level.

Thematic Field 2 - Describing working in the medical field and cultural mediation

- 18 [0:02:07] P: Yes, I was working with (.) medical stuff medical (..) medical project for (..) refugees (.) in
 19 the camp of Samos. (..) I worked there almost three months because when I was working
 20 there like eh during three months in this camp you should know going into your country I
 21 was working yeah always working. I was working as a (.) interpreter, cultural mediator. You
 22 know with interpreter eh/ I'm coming from Cameroon, from Africa. We are in dialect (.)
- 23 [0:02:14] I: Hm
- 24 [0:02:16] P: Yeah. Many of them don't speaking English (.) they only speaking French, some French
 25 from Dialect (.) that I'm also speaking (...)
- 26 [0:02:44] I: Mhm
- 27 [0:02:45] P: Yeah (.) ahm when they are talking about cultural mediator, cultural mediator (.) is a
 28 person that/ you know, in Africa we are having our culture (.) It's different from the culture
 29 of European (.) and, you know ah (..) there are certain things that (.) you can't really (..) don't
 30 other suppose to acce/ (.) to some of our people in Africa/ but it's forbidden for us (...)
- 31 [0:03:27] I: Mhm (.) Mhm
- 32 [0:03:29] P: Yeah.(.) That's why I was working like when the doctors (.) after they ask the question
 33 of/ (.) you know, our culture is not (..) they are not accepted

With the change of thematic field, the text sort changes from a somewhat condensed report to a still distanced yet more detailed description. As indicated above, A continues to focus on working experiences with NGOs in Greece. At a closer look, it seems that A is not so much interested in everyday working experiences with NGOs, but rather in discussing the role of an interpreter in this context. A elaborates on the term interpreter and brings the term cultural mediator into the interview context. The term interpreter versus cultural mediator is ambivalent in the field and the literature, with experts advocating for a more precise distinction considering the roles of cultural mediation and interpretation (Martín & Phelan, 2011). However, in frequently changing contexts and, therefore, high fluctuation in NGO team members, such as visible at NGOs on Samos or Lesbos, there is an inconsistent differentiation between the responsibilities and roles of interpreters and cultural mediators, sometimes even mixed with the term and responsibility of a group facilitator. As depicted in later segments, this passage outlines A's referral to analysing the role of interpretation and cultural mediation through descriptive, argumentative, evaluative, and some narrative segments. A's role as an interpreter/cultural mediator also seems to be a role between groups and identities, which might be reflected linguistically in the way personal pronouns are used by A. For example, the phrase *I was working with a medical project **for refugees*** seems to depict a self-distinction from refugees. However, it might also be a more or less conscious linguistic takeover of NGOs claiming to work for refugees. It might be a conscious and critical reflection of a discourse depicted through white saviour narratives *talking **about refugees***, undermined by a later passage in Subsession 2 analysing that *they talk about us like toys*. In this sequence, the phrase *going into **your** country* seems to address the interviewer not in a nation-focused perception of Greece as a country, as A is well aware that the interviewer is not from Greece. Instead, it seems that the interviewer is addressed as a European citizen with inherent privileges and as *white* in contrast to A's self-definition as Black (BIPOC) and a member of the African community. Alternatively, the interviewer could have been addressed as a representative of NGOs in Greece due to knowledge of the interviewer's former stay on Lesbos. It might also not directly address the present interviewer, but instead, Greek officials, as according to the hypothesis above, A might hold an orientation similar to formal interviews in the asylum procedure. Linguistic changes in using personal pronouns are visible in this segment and throughout the interview. A switches from ***we** are in dialect* to ***they** only speaking French*. While in the previous section, the focus was ***we** are in dialect*, here there is

a distinction between *they only speaking French* and the interpreter who also speaks English (and other languages). A might continue switching between *we* and *they* when differentiating between experiences A shares with the community and experiences/roles that are unique to an interpreter's experience. The linguistic change mentioned above might also stem from A's differentiation between the ability to speak several languages and community members who *only speaking French*, which could either outline a differentiation between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians or between A's academic education (MBA) and less formally educated Cameroonians. However, neither Subsession 1 nor 2 hold content regarding the situations of Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians, educational differences, or variety in social backgrounds.

When *they are talking about cultural mediator*; this sentence leaves some unclarity who is considered as they, whether it is from the clients' or NGOs' perspective. It might also be addressed directly to the interviewer, as A knows about the interviewer's previous experiences with NGOs on Lesvos. The knowledge of partially shared experiences could lead A to refer to contents more directly, skipping descriptions and information that might be given to persons outside that field, which might be summarised as a form of indexical communication between A and the interviewer.

A's unclearly referring to *they* might reflect on A taking over a distanced perspective from NGOs and people living in the Camp due to the interpreter's role as a mediator between (medical) staff and clients. On a broader level, A's discussion of a cultural mediator might depict A's positioning between mainly European-based NGOs and the clients A interprets for and whom A refers to as *my African community* throughout the interview. In the following section, A refers to the shared experiences of cultural mediators/interpreters (in the medical field) of being harshly confronted with the severe living conditions of people staying in the Camp. When working in that sector; *we are seeing a lot of things*. A identifies with the shared experiences of interpreters in contrast to the differentiation of NGOs/clients when *they talk about cultural mediators*. Although A also lived in the Camp, A talks about living conditions solely from a distanced interpreter's perspective. Only in the last section of the initial narrative (Subsession 1) does A talk about the personal experience of receiving a rejected asylum appeal while working at the hospital. There might be several reasons A would share clients' experiences rather than personal ones. Talking about the living conditions in the Camp from a distanced interpreter's perspective might stem from a need for self-

protection or possibly also from a wish of not being equalised with their clients due to A's different role as an interpreter.

Thematic Field 3 - From description to argumentation on health conditions in 'Vathy Camp' on Samos and its impacts on interpreters in the medical field

- 35 [0:03:41] P: (.) Yeah. (.) Yeah, I was there/ I worked like interpreter (...) (inc.) started off with
 36 explaining to them (..) and when working (.) with the medical staff the medical (inc.) the
 37 medical, you know, in the camp (.) Many people are sick. Many people are really (.) pff with
 38 a lot of problems (.) mentally, physically, a lot, a lot of/(.) Yeah. (.) No (.) just you know that
 39 (.) it's like (.) for me/ (...) you know, when you're working in that sector, it's quite difficult. (.)
 40 Very difficult because we are seeing a lot of things (.) a lot of things
 41 [0:04:29] I: Yeah
 42 [0:04:30] P: People that are sick (.) with/(.) maybe cancer (.) HIV. (4) Maybe they are ahh (.) like eh
 43 epilepsy (..) seizure (..) a lot, a lot of things (.)
 44 [0:04:49] I: Yeah
 45 [0:04:50] P: a lot (.) a lot (.) a lot of things. And what we are doing with patients (..) is like (.) it's also
 46 affecting me (..) it's also affecting me (.) Why, because you are seeing many things (.) And
 47 sometimes you are also affected by like supposed to see like a psychologist this that that (.)
 48 because you are (.) discussing many things with patients and discussing like (.) what they are
 49 having (..) No, you are like their father. (..)

The thematic field here focuses on the health situation in the Camp and the impacts on interpreters in the medical field. From the broader description before, A now switches to a more detailed and emotional argumentation about the living conditions in the Camp's impact on physical and mental health. A elaborates on the impact of working as an interpreter on one's well-being; *it is also affecting me*. It seems to confirm the assumptions made above and possibly develop into an orientation in this interview on the impact on the well-being of interpreters. Slowly, the thematic field focuses on the relationship between interpreters and clients, with A depicting an interpreter's role as similar to a caretaker; *you are like their father*. A seems to take on many responsibilities not only for interpretation and cultural mediation but even more towards taking care on a personal, emotional, and familial level. This positioning might indicate a later sequence in which A is depicting their role as a community representative *working for my African community*. Whereas these caretaking responsibilities resemble dynamics of saviour tendencies in social field professionals, A's taking on fundamental responsibilities might instead stem from close identification or confrontation with clients and their hardships. Disappointing experiences with NGOs and formal institutions

might have led to mistrust and a feeling of being the sole reliable person capable of supporting their community.

Thematic Field 4 - Outlining a Community focus, comparing it to familial relationships

- 51 [0:05:20] P: That's what makes me to be famous in Samos (.) You have access. I know/(.) everybody's
 52 kind of coming from far away (..) And, you know, (inc.) said, you know, (.) because of all the/
 53 because I was working with/ where they were (.) coming to the hospital many people, they
 54 were coming all of them to the hospital. That's why many people know me (.) for that. (..)
 55 But (.) as I remember I feel what it's like (.) it's good and at the same it's bad
- 56 [0:05:53] I: Mhm
- 57 [0:05:54] P: It's good and it's bad, really bad
- 58 [0:05:55] P: (...) because I've seen (.) I study the books (..) You know, when they are discussing with
 59 the people (.) you are with people (.) they are becoming like member of the family.
- 60 [0:06:09] I: Mhm
- 61 [0:06:10] P: (.) It's a community.
- 62 [0:06:11] I: Mhm
- 63 [0:06:12] P: They are (...) like your father. (.) Sometime I was thinking about people losing their
 64 father, child, parent. Because many people were coming out when they see me, even when I
 65 sleep in my tent: „Oh please, I'm sick I'm really bad“
- 66 [0:06:28] I: ohh
- 67 [0:06:29] P: I was like ok I was taking care of them. (.) Or like my children, you know, it's not easy (..)
 68 thinking about like my children and (..) I make it a really like family(.) I really make enough
 69 family there. (.) That's why people called me some „papi“ (inc.) that I even (.) even don't
 70 know. I really remember the (unclear) the (.) effect for many people. (.) Thousands and
 71 thousands and thousands of patients. (..) Somebody like even calling me/ I will just start
 72 repea/ "it's (war?) it's (war?)" (.) ah i cannot even remember any real. (.) It's no good they're
 73 sending you their (pictures ?). Yeah, I was yeah. This feeling is all refugees. (..) That's why for

Whereas A focuses on pressures and their impact on the interpreter's well-being in the sequence above, A's evaluation it's good and at the same it's bad seems to modify the framing of these experiences in this new thematic field. As previously outlined, A continues to switch between personal pronouns: *I've seen/ when **they** are discussing/ **you** are with people/**they** are becoming*. What is interesting is the short reference to education; *I study the books*. It is unclear what type of book A refers to, whether it would be about interpretation, working in the social field or the general education completed in Cameroon. The paragraph evolves into a thematic field of community focus compared to familial relationships. As outlined above, A refers again to clients in a familial way; *they are becoming like member of the family*. This referral supports the abovementioned thoughts of A being personally connected

and feeling responsible for the clients. However, this community focus points to a positive aspect here and might also mean support for A due to shared experiences in the community. In a small narrative, A outlines how these personal connections impact their everyday life inside the Camp, *even when I sleep in my tent*. Even outside official working hours with NGOs or public institutions, A is perceived in their professional role as an interpreter and cultural mediator for the community rather than an individual also in need of rest. In a now rather detailed and descriptive way with elements of direct speech, A narrates people asking for support: *"Oh please, I'm sick, I'm really bad"*. A outlines the pressure of these expectations by comparing it with taking care of them, similar to the sequence analysed above, *or like my children, you know it's not easy*. As is known from the demographic data and some subtle cues during the interview, A has children (who seem to have stayed in Cameroon). Therefore, this focus on caring for the community and comparing clients with family members might stem from missing their family in Cameroon. However, there seems to be some one-sided connection, *and people called me some "papi" that I even don't know*. This contradicts the abovementioned sequence of make it really like a family. A seems to be an essential (familial) figure ("papi"), but, in contrast, A does not even know them. Though the relations with community members are generally compared by A with familial relationships, they are untypical considering the non-reciprocal connections, even anonymity. The text sort of description is disrupted by small narratives and memories of direct speeches of clients (*calling me "papi", it's war, it's war*). The particular text sorts and the discrepancy between community support and narrative memories of individual suffering portray the general situation of people living in the Camp; *this feeling is all refugees*.

Thematic Field 5 - Evaluating personal motivation to work as an interpreter

- 74 me/ that's why for me that was quite good to help people, try to help people. (.) Try to give
 75 them hope. (.) yeah (.) Try to (..) comfort them. Don't know (.) everything is possible. (.)
 76 Don't lose hope. Something is possible (.) Because sometimes I was thinking about how I
 77 (would be?) (..) I was telling them you see, I have three rejection. (.) But I'm still (after?)(.)
 78 and have the capacity to help you guys. (.) I'm working that I'm giving you guys (.) eh
 79 residency. You guys having residency but I'm still having rejection. (.) I still have the capacity
 80 to help you guys. If I have the capacity therefore to help you guys (.) also (.) don't loose hope
 81 (..)
- 82 [0:08:01] I: Yeah yeah
- 83 [0:08:03] P: That's why I was taking example with me, example all for (inc.) (..) But for me, for the

This passage holds the thematic field of the personal motivation to work as an interpreter. As has been discussed before, working as an interpreter might also serve as a coping mechanism for A to deal with their suffering. *That's why for me that was quite good to help people, try to help people.* A outlines a support strategy of sharing one's suffering and experiences of overcoming it. This depiction of connectedness contrasts with mentioning dissimilar positions between A and clients. *You guys having residence but I'm still having rejection.*

Thematic Field 6 - Outlining the impacts of working as an interpreter on personal well-being and evaluating the motivation to write a book

- 83 [0:08:03] P: That's why I was taking example with me, example all for (inc.) (..) But for me, for the
 84 bad things/ it's eh (..) it's a lot. It's a lot, it's a lot.(.) Sometimes I really don't want to think
 85 about (..) thinking about it (..) sometimes.(.) But for all of it (inc.) for (..) (inc.) for a really(..) for
 86 a good reason. (..) Because one day I want to write a book. (.)
- 87 [0:08:31] I: Yeah.
- 88 [0:08:32] P: I want to write a book about eh what i saw, what I was going through.(..) What I was
 89 going through (4) Because (..) you know, many people that are coming from different part,
 90 different part (..) different part, different country, different culture
- 91 [0:08:48] I: Mhm
- 92 [0:08:50.3] P: (..) You know, one by one, you are talking with people, you are talking with people. (.)
 93 They are talking with them. Many of them do come out, tell them their secret, many of them
 94 tell you what they are suffering of. (..) And you see/(.) I mean, it was a lot for me. (..) At one
 95 point I remember when my my boss told me I was supposed to see a psychologist (..) because
 96 it was really affecting me. So at one point/(.) Even now, even now, I'm talking (..) is not-it's
 97 (even?)(inc.) (..) it's certain things that that/ (..) I was working with/ eh when I came in (..) in

The following thematic field depicts interpreting work's impact on interpreters' well-being as motivation to write a book. The phrase *Because one day I want to write a book* seems to depict a way of enduring and coping with the current non-changeable living situation. A evaluates the motivation *to write a book about what I was going through*. Additionally to the abovementioned coping function, this motivation might also stem from a sense of compassion for other people still experiencing the same suffering. On a linguistic level, there is again the switching of the use of personal pronouns visible. A short narrative about remembering the need for psychological support is not continued; *it was really affecting me*. Instead, the narrative evolves back into the orientation on pressures and the negative impact of interpreting work on a general level.

Thematic Field 7 - Narrating resigning at an NGO as an act of individual resistance

- 97 (even?)(inc.) (.) it's certain things that that/ (..) I was working with/ eh when I came in (.) in
 98 Athen(s)I was working with one NGO here. (.) The way I saw them (.) How they were working
 99 (..) I resigned. Because I don't want to see those guys, I don't want to see it (.) any more (.)
 100 because anyone who is treating another human is like (.)
- 101 [0:09:43] I: Yeah
- 102 [0:09:44] P: They asked me "why?(inc.) the reason?" I was "don't know (inc.)"
- 103 [0:09:45] //Yeah?
- 104 [0:09:46] P: You doing that? I know. (..)
- 105 [0:09:46] //I: Yeah. (.)

Now, the thematic field of individual resistance opens up. A shares a narrative of resigning at an NGO in Athens due to the organisation's actions, *the way I saw them*. This orientation of resistance will again be relevant through a narrative about boycotting a café due to the owner's racist actions. A does not want to endure further witnessing and being part of a system of discrimination and assumably racist actions; *don't want to see it anymore*, possibly referring to personal experiences in the past.

Thematic Field 8 - Outlining own morals and values

- 106 [0:09:50] P: I have what they call value. (...) I have what they call the dignity of the world, I have/
 107 trying to understand (...) That's what/that's my (inc.) (.) that to respect or see people the
 108 way/ (inc.) ecause I don't know what the guys are doing here.
- 109 [0:10:13] I: Mhm
- 110 [0:10:14] P: (..) My job is to come work here for my community, for my African community, that's my
 111 job. But when I'm seeing how we are treating them, I'm not happy. (.) I don't know them. (.)
- 112 But in the way that I (command?) are human beings first. (.) Certain individuals are coming
 113 from my community in Africa. (.) I don't like that/ that it's not like that/ (.) I resign (.) (inc.) (..)
 114 I better work (.) for volunteers somewhere (.) than to work this (inc.) (.)
- 115 [0:10:44] I: Mhm

The former thematic field leads to outlining one's morals and values. Through evaluation and argumentation, A showcases precise positionings as collective-oriented motivation for working as an interpreter; *my job is to come work here for my community*. Linguistically, A seems to identify with NGOs and feel responsible for other NGO members' behaviours; *when I'm seeing how we are treating them, I'm not happy*. This paragraph seems to connect a general criticism of NGO dynamics linked to discrimination and particularly racism in con-

trast to A's positioning of moral values. In this narrative, the consequences of that contradiction lie in A's quitting his position at this NGO and evaluating that it would go against their moral values and instead work with volunteers, even though A seems financially dependent on a stable job position.

Thematic Field 9 - Turning back to narrating the role of an interpreter on Samos

116 [0:10:46] P: I continue what I (..) what I got in Samos. (..) When I'm telling you I was like/ I saw many
 117 things (..) that really affect me. (..) That's why I decided to write a book (..) (inc.) (..) to write a
 118 book for that (..) because (..) after that (..) many information, many things that are going on (..
 119 with people (..) with Greek (..) with eh um. (4) Every day in the asylum (..) was quite like/ quite
 120 bad. (..) (inc.) When someone is coming to the hospital, the person is sick/(..) the person that
 121 tell you for (..) "I'm having fever" The doctor said "Ah, okay, you are having fever, you can
 122 take this or that" But somebody like me, I know (..) apart the fever, there's one other thing (..
 123 because some of them, they are/ they are afraid to talk (..) and they are even ashamed to talk
 124 to say what (..) they have been going through. (..) I'm the one „doctor, apart the fever there is
 125 something else, try to (..). I will try to talk to him to make him talk“

In this sequence, A changes the topic back to Samos and does not finish the narrative of resigning at the Athenian NGO. It is an evident change of topic and a jump back in time to an orientation of pressures from working as an interpreter and deciding *to write a book*. The underlying motivation for this rather harsh change remains somewhat unclear. Possibly, A perceived working in Athens as a side story in addition to the main narration of working as an interpreter on Samos. Also, A might change back to working on Samos to make it easier for the interviewer to understand the abovementioned contents, particularly considering the reasons for resigning at an NGO in Athens. The first reference in this sequence is directed towards *Greek*, which will be elaborated further in the subsequent interview sequences. In the narrative *on a usual day in the asylum*, A points out more specifically in what way it is an interpreter's role to care about the client. In this narrative, A takes on the role of emotional support to the client and also analyses the client's situation and needs, trying to support the client's access to treatment *to make him talk*.

Construction of the Case History

In the next step, the chronological Biographical Data and Thematic Fields structuring Subsession 1 are compared to evaluate in which ways events might have been experienced in the past and to what kind of patterns of orientation, interpretation and self-presentation that could have led (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2001)

Biographical Data Analysis	Thematic Field Analysis of the initial narrative (Subsession 1)
a). Until 30 Life in Cameroon (1989 -2018) Growing up in Cameroon (probably in an Urban area in Anglophone Cameroon), accessing an MBA in finance, having children b). 30 Leaving Cameroon (6th of March 2018 - 21st of November 2018) Emigration from Cameroon to Greece, eight months of unclear events, uncertainties c). 30 Arriving to Greece Arrival in Vathi Camp on Samos (Greece) and seeking asylum, phase of a new orientation of living in a first reception centre in Greece d). 30 Starting to work for the community, working as an interpreter; working at the hospital of Samos e). 30-34 Getting rejected, first rejection of asylum application while working at the hospital in Samos, shock/disappointment in the asylum system in Greece, phase of disillusion f). 34 (2022) Living without documents in Athens, moving to Athens in 2022, four rejected asylum appeals, preparing for another appeal, difficulty working in Athens without	1). Reporting of facts as a framing of the interview (0:00:00 – 0:01:59) 2). Describing working as an interpreter in the medical field and outlining cultural mediation (0:02:07- 0:04:29) 3). From description to argumentation on health conditions in "Vathy Camp" on Samos and its impacts on interpreters in the medical field (0:04:50-0:06:01) 4). Outlining a community focus, comparing it to familial relationships (0:06:09 - 0:07:19) 5). Evaluating personal motivation to work as an interpreter (0:07:19-0:08:01) 6). Outlining the impacts of working as an interpreter on personal well-being and evaluating the motivation to write a book (0:08:03-0:09:26) 7). Narrating resigning at an NGO as an act of individual resistance (0:09:26-0:09:43) 8). Outlining own morals and values (0:09:50— 0:10:44) 9). Turning back to narrating the role of an interpreter on Samos (0:10:46-0:12:17) 10). Stigmata and shame in the African

a residence permit	community (0:12:17 – 0:16:09) 11). Desperation and community support are outlined by the narrative of a worried mother asking for support (0:16:09 – 0:17:54) 12). The Greek (asylum) system and its severe impact on well-being and mental health (0:17:54 – 0:22:23) 13). Building up the resilience of others through sharing personal hardships, evaluating on giving an example of oneself (0:22:23 – 23:57) 14). Outlining racism and collective resistance to it by narrating the collective boycotting of a café (0:23:57 – 0:28:30) 15). Argumentation about the experiences of an interpreter as motivation to write a book; see 5). (0:28:30 – 0:29:42) 16). Evaluating the work of NGOs on a general level (0:29:42 – 0:31:35) 17). Disruptions of interview (phone calls/texts) (0:31:35 – 0:42:04) 18). From general to personal experience of challenging lived reality (0:42:04 – 0:43:55) 19). End of the initial narrative (0:43:55 -0:43:64)
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At first glance, there is a clear imbalance between the relatively small amount of biographical facts known by the interviewer and the vast range of thematic fields. Interestingly, all thematic fields seem to focus on the life of A in Greece and the description and analysis of broader societal factors depicting the living situation of displaced interpreters. While considering the possibilities of A narrating their story of working as an interpreter, it is evident that there is not an explicit focus but rather a mix of several perspectives on narration. In the subsequent paragraph, possible narrative perspectives that have been gathered exploratively above will be compared with outcomes of the Thematic Field Analysis.

Working as an interpreter to attain self-determination in a suppressive environment. This orientation is not showcased as an explicit motivational factor but seems to be intertwined with collective and individual resistance. Subsequently, it shows to be an underlying factor of positive effects of working as an interpreter mentioned by A; *that's why it was quite good for me.*

'Typical' story of seeking refugee/applying for asylum. Particularly in the beginning of the interview, A seems to hold a perspective partially similar in its structure and elements to an interview with official institutions. Outlining the country of origin, the date of leaving Cameroon, and arrival in Greece in a condensed report modus resembles questions asked in formal asylum applications. However, the rest of the interview does not stick to this condensed and distanced report modus.

Supporting others. Short narratives, argumentations and evaluations strongly emphasise community support and solidarity. However, this orientation is frequently disrupted by thematic fields of evaluating the role of an interpreter and its struggles. On a linguistic level, some narratives can be found, but overall, they are dominated by argumentation and evaluation. This somewhat narrated ambivalence between emphasising community support and solidarity while depicting challenges of working as an interpreter might illustrate the experienced ambivalence in this context.

Being discriminated against. Experiences of discrimination are mainly showcased argumentatively on a collective level, enriched by narratives depicting individual and collective resistance to discrimination and others experiencing discrimination. The personal experience of discrimination is thoroughly implied but hardly verbalised. The few passages with narra-

tive depictions of personal experiences of discrimination seem to be emotionally challenging for A to share, showcased by the narrative of receiving a rejected asylum appeal while working at the hospital of Samos. The experience of discrimination solely focuses on experiences in Greece, as we do not know about experiences in Cameroon or on the way to Europe.

Professional interpretation. This orientation is showcased by A's elaboration on professional experiences through narrating situations experienced at work. However, the position of being an interpreter is not a clear one and holds much more than the pure act of interpretation. This is illustrated linguistically by text sorts changing between argumentation, description and narratives. The changing use of personal pronouns showcases a fluid change between identification and estrangement from the African community and NGOs alike.

The orientation of individual resistance is strongly connected with collective resistance. Both are based on deep reflection of individual and collective agency and structural power dynamics, leading to evaluative and argumentative text sorts (Carlson et al., 2017). While A is putting narrational focus on individual resistance for the well-being of others, acts of resistance for themselves is showcased more subtly. While struggles in Cameroon and on the way to Europe are not mentioned, individual struggles, such as the effects of interpreting work and receiving rejected asylum appeals, are less outlined by narratives but rather by short, fragmented evaluative and argumentative sequences. More narrative-based sequences outline experiences of collective resistance, often structured by starting with A's resistance, followed by subsequent collective support and actions. Individual and collective resistance actions are depicted as being based on community advocacy and activism against discrimination.

Hard work/staying active. An orientation of a hard-working and active individual could be found at first glance as A focuses on work-related experiences. However, at a closer look at the material, it becomes clear that the abovementioned orientation on individual and collective resistance captures A's motivation for staying hard-working more than work itself.

Leaving Cameroon. A's life experiences on a biographical and narrative level document the impacts of forced displacement with Cameroon as the country of origin on an individual and collective level. Being forced to leave Cameroon builds the essential starting point of A's experiences biographically and during the interview. While the interview focus shifts to orientations of individual and collective resistance, experiences of racism and working as

an interpreter as a tool for accessing some self-determination, forced displacement is the underlying reason behind A's life reality and the life reality of *my African community; this feeling is all refugees*. However, this is hardly explicit during the interview but is referred to as subtle contextualisation of narratives about personal and client's hardships; *this feeling is all refugees; but this is life*.

To summarise, A's interview seems to be showcased by the intertwined orientations outlined above. Additionally, one orientation pervades the interview not mentioned above, as it has not been considered a possible narrative orientation: *Faith in God*. A does not focus on it but mentions it continuously in response to the narration of personal suffering. A switches between outlining the fight for achieving agency as a hard-working interpreter leading to accelerated self-determination, individual and collective resistance on the one hand and experiencing powerlessness by an oppressive system forcing A to leave Cameroon, experience discrimination and being dependent on a successful asylum application on the other hand. In contrast to A's active approach of channelling their way through this system, *faith in God* seems to help A to endure accumulated experiences of desperation and violence that are unchangeable by actions on an individual and collective level.

Although 29 years of A's life occurred in Cameroon, A solely refers to the last years spent in Greece. There are various reasons possibly behind that 'decision'. On a more conscious level, A might not see life in Cameroon as relevant to the interview, possibly implied by the initial question and even the phone call before the interview. Also, A might have wanted to protect their privacy, which was relevant throughout the interview. A referred to their professional secrecy and carefully requested anonymisation and confidentiality before putting their full name on the short demographic form at the end of the interview. This careful disclosure of personal information can be even better understood insofar A has no residential permit. However, three asylum appeals have been rejected, which forces A to be careful of where to stay and which information to disclose due to the heightened chance of being deported out of Greece.

Despite the more evident and conscious reasons outlined above, A's strong identification as a cultural mediator and interpreter might also be a more subtle reason for the scarce disclosure of personal details. The elaboration on a general level might not only stem from a strong identification with a mediating role but also from a focus on community care.

The narratives mainly shared focus on the hardships of people A used to interpret for. The narrative depiction of their experiences showcases A's emotional connection and collective orientation to work for the African community.

In contrast, A's focus on elaboration on a more distanced level out of an interpreter's perspective might also be necessary due to a need for self-protection from stressful and possibly traumatic contents and memories. Similar effects on interviewees' narration processes can be found in narrative-biographical projects with interviewees faced with recent personal trauma as well as second and third generations of Shoa survivors (Rosenthal, 1995b).

During the interview, A often switches between working experiences on Samos and in Athens. During the initial narrative (Subsession 1), the focus lies on work in the medical field, particularly at the hospital of Samos. The end of the initial narrative and one of the most personal passages is the narrative of receiving the first rejected asylum appeal while working at the hospital. The depiction of all hardships and suffering seems to revolve around this excruciating moment for A. Despite the several turning points suggested by the biographical analysis, receiving the rejection while working at the hospital seems to be experienced by A as a central turning point in their life.

Case Structure

It has been somewhat challenging to depict an underlying structure through A's biographical and thematic analysis. There is a low overlap between the actual lived story of 34 years and the told story that focuses on the last four years of A's life in Greece. Several orientations seem to be intertwined as outlined above. However, none of them seems to capture the underlying structure entirely. Instead, these orientations' connections, contradictions, and complementations are interesting here.

It's good and at the same it's bad. This trivial-sounding phrase summarises the contradictions and connections between thematic fields, their depiction and generally the relation between biographic facts, personal experiences and their showcasing in this particular interview situation. Through the work as an interpreter, reciprocal community support evolves - really making like a family - and leads to the motivation of being perceived as a supportive and inspirational figure by the own community; you are like their father. These positive experiences and the augmented possibility of self-determined courses of

action in a severely suppressive environment - what do you want the people to do? To die?- can showcase a way of agency - that's why it was quite good for me to try to help/try to talk- on an individual level. On a collective level, agency is showcased through the possibility of engaging against racism and suppression through connections with others. By working as an interpreter, A gets in touch and bonds with other interpreters and allies with whom collective actions of resistance and community support are possible. Acts of collective resistance are shared by A through the narration of boycotting a café due to the racist behaviour of its owner together with interpreters and, finally, all team members (Memo 163 -164; 0:25:26 – 0:27:25).

In Subsession 2, A shares narratives of collective action by organising together with a friend a small funeral for a BIPOC person. Another narrative showcases A arranging a medical friend to visit a BIPOC person in the hospital to ensure proper medical care. On an individual level, A outlines in Subsession 1 resigning at an Athenian NGO due to NGO's treatment of their clients (Memo 40 – 41; 0:09:26 – 0:09:43).

In contrast, A depicts that interpreting work in this field can lead to adverse effects. In addition to the already demanding task of interpretation, A also needs to offer socio-emotional support so clients and community members can generally access necessary support. This additional emotional responsibility leads to increased workload and responsibility in a field of constant lack of resources and heightened support needs; *I try to make them talk, know that apart the fever, there is something else*. This psychosocial support exceeds the already high existing responsibilities of working as an interpreter and cultural mediator; *it's not easy to think about them like your children; it's a lot, I'm working for my African community*. Serving as a role model for the community, to some extent even in a therapeutic role, might lead to high expectations and pressure, both external and internal. Being constantly confronted with the hardships of people in the same living situation and similar experiences might lead to a strong identification with and compassion for clients and their struggles. In contrast to other displaced interpreters, A lives in the same or even worse conditions as their clients in Camp Samos and in Athens. As A lives in a precarious situation with multiple rejected asylum appeals and fear of deportation, emotional self-protection might be challenging when working with clients facing mutual challenges.

By being confronted with the personal stories of clients seeking asylum in Greece, displaced interpreters are exposed to constantly listening to and repeating incriminatory content which might add up to personal traumatic experiences; *it's a lot, you see/hear many stories; sometimes I can't even talk, even now.*

Traumatic events significantly result from systematic oppression and discrimination experienced in the country of origin, on the move to and in Europe, while enduring living conditions and bureaucratic systems to be granted asylum. In addition to this macro-level and somewhat obvious systems of oppression, discrimination and particularly racism in A's case, working as an interpreter leads to insight into less visible underlying oppressional structures on a micro level. The challenge in the depiction of power dynamics and oppression on a micro level is that it is not as clearly distinguishable as in openly suppressive structures in political 'migration management' that lead to structural violence, such as Coast Guard 'border monitoring' and classifying humans and their rights according to their 'legal status'. The emergence of suppressive structures at a micro level is particularly surprising and disconcerting when manifested within organisations or individuals from whom such behaviour is least anticipated. In Subsession 1, A intricately outlines unequal power dynamics, delving into narratives of micro-level discrimination and racism. This is exemplified by recounting experiences of a team member whose communication exhibited racist undertones, *the way she was talking, it's racist*. It is also depicted by the expression of concerns about the indifferent behaviour of team members who organised a farewell gathering at a café known for its discriminatory practices against people on the move, particularly against BIPOC.

Structural discrimination and racism are discussed in a distanced report modus and descriptive way of analysing oppressive power dynamics. In Subsession 2, however, severe violence resulting from structural and individual discrimination, particularly racism, is shared by A in detailed and emotional short narratives. The detailed evaluation of the interviewer's conduction of this interview with A and subsequent adaptations following critical reflection and literature research is outlined in this paper's methodological reflection.

One of the central experiences is receiving a rejected asylum appeal while working at the public hospital of Samos (Memo 92-93; 0:42:53 – 0:43:17). The experience of being personally confronted with an arbitrary life-changing decision despite doing everything possible to receive asylum status seems to mark a turning point of disillusion. At first glance,

everyday life seems to continue with A working as an interpreter and staying on Samos and in Athens. However, a closer look showcases that receiving this first rejection of their asylum appeal puts immense stress on A, not only emotionally. The lack of a residence permit forces A to leave Samos and their social circle and stay in Athens without documents and access to insurance or any form of governmental support. The (very realistic) fear of being retained by police and possibly deported out of Greece influences A's life on a day-to-day basis. When trying to organise an interview, accessible places were minimised, as A's movement around Athens was severely limited by police presence. When discussing Informed Consent, Data Protection Information and particularly Demographics, A hesitated and asked about strict anonymity. A started discussing their first rejection at the hospital of Samos during the first phone call before the interview. When in contact again in 2023, their rejected asylum appeals and subsequent difficulty in finding a permanent job were one of the central concerns. These severe impacts on A's current and future reality are hardly explicitly mentioned during the interview but are illustrated by A's disillusion with NGOs and European, mainly Greek, politics. The fragmented structure and sequence of the thematic orientations above showcase A relating their hardships to structural discrimination on an interpersonal as well as systematic level.

It's good and it's bad condenses the above-outlined contradiction considering the personal impact of interpreting work between enablement of agency and resistance on an individual and collective level and the experience of powerlessness by being exposed to intertwined oppressive systems with unclear and overburdening role expectations and responsibilities. This contradiction delineates the frame in which displaced interpreters have to navigate. In A's case, this frame seems particularly strained as A is confronted with harmful personal restrictions by oppressive structures monitoring access to residence and a strong internal urge to achieve agency for enhancing individual and collective life realities and perspectives.

On a general level, considering contrasts and similarities to other interviews, this contradiction seems not only to structure the life realities of displaced interpreters but holds vast similarities to the configuration of narratives of life realities fundamentally shaped by experiences of structural violence. Similar configurations have been described in Riemann's dissertation with interviewees in stationary psychiatry (Riemann, 1986, 1987) and in Rosenthal's biographic-narrative projects (1995a, 2012). Particularly, Rosenthal's

elaborations considering the life realities of Shoa survivors on a multigenerational level (Rosenthal, 1995b) and the methodological challenges of intercultural studies due to entangled figurations of personal and community narratives in the West Bank (Rosenthal, 2012) depict complex biographic-narrative structures similar to this analysis.

„I want to be like a symbol“

Case Description B

Field Notes

Before the interview

I obtained B's contact information at a community centre in Athens and asked whether she would be interested in participating in an interview. B suggested a face-to-face meeting at the community centre's children project during her working hours there. Following a discussion about the research project, B proposed interviewing on the 8th of June in the National Garden, as she had prior commitments on other dates. B expressed no queries after I sent her the Code of Conduct and Informed Consent files via WhatsApp. She also mentioned that some of her colleagues might be interested in participating in an interview. Additionally, she conveyed not being aware of any ongoing research in that field and expressed enthusiasm about involvement. During our initial meeting, B highlighted the significance of research in this field, citing a negative experience with an interpreter on Lesbos.

During the interview

We met on Wednesday, 8th of June 2022, in the National Garden. During the interview, B was very open and seemed to be in a good mood. As we met earlier as planned, I did not have a snack to offer but water, which she consumed at the end of the interview. We spent the interview on a bench in a quieter corner of the National Garden.

Subsession 1

B promptly began to share her thoughts openly, recounting a negative encounter with a Greek officials' interpreter upon her arrival on Lesbos. This incident marked B's narration of her journey into the role of an interpreter. Regrettably, the first Subsession encountered disruption at a sensitive point due to persistent inquiries from tourists seeking directions. This disruption coincided with B sharing the challenging circumstances faced by her family on Lesbos and later in Athens. Following that interruption, B continued discussing more general topics, detailing her family's challenges only later in Subsession 1 and upon a follow-up question in Subsession 2. The atmosphere was generally light, even though B mentioned challenging situations and the emotional impact on her. Overall, the interview resembled the atmosphere of an intimate conversation with a friend.

Break

While I was taking notes and deciding on the follow-up questions for Subsession 2, B was taking some rest on the bench.

Subsession 2

B provided thorough and detailed responses, incorporating rich narrative and descriptive elements to address follow-up questions. Remarkably, no question seemed to make B uncomfortable, and I found no necessity to avoid inquiries that might elicit emotional content. In Subsession 1, B concentrated on recounting her experiences as an interpreter in Greece. Subsequently, in Subsession 2, she began to delve into her life in Iran.

After the interview

After concluding the interview recording, B informed me about her earlier involvement in a group interview conducted by a psychologist and researcher in the morning, displaying a flyer outlining the research project. She expressed that this group interview had been very interesting and different from this one. According to B, the research group specifically inquired about their experiences working with NGOs, which they answered very honestly. Despite initial hesitation, B eventually opened up, recounting the following experiences with NGOs on Lesbos. One NGO in 'Moria Camp' she was working for was responsible for coordinating food distribution and storage there. However, when her working hours extended beyond the designated time for official food distribution, the organisation was reluctant to provide her with meals. When she talked with the manager(s) of the NGO, they decided they would make an exception for her, but she could not tell anyone. Also, B shared experiences with so-called 'international volunteers', a term describing volunteers from abroad working with NGOs in Greece. B stated feeling that many of them just came for holidays and did not know anything about the situation. She emphasised not blaming international volunteers personally for this situation but that it had been difficult for her to experience. In her community, she was used to being open and making friends with people, but B stated that you stop with bad experiences. She shared that one day, a girl she was working with told her about a trip with other 'international volunteers' where they went to a mountain, gathering around a bonfire and dancing. B was hurt, as she realised that her colleague did not even consider that B would have liked to be invited and interested in joining this trip. Further on,

B shared that she had planned to invite this colleague to her house but, after that experience, decided not to do it as *I did not want to break my heart again*.

We delved into similar experiences during our conversation, and I also recounted discrepancies I had encountered while working as an 'international volunteer' on Lesbos. Further, we reflected on the differentiation between 'international volunteers' and 'community volunteers' and its implications regarding training and financial compensation despite sharing similar roles, tasks and responsibilities. We both agreed that such a differentiation solely based on community belonging was very strange. We talked a bit about this topic until B stated but *what can we do? That is life*. While walking to the park entrance together, we continued to share some small talk unrelated to the topics mentioned in the interview.

Before leaving Athens, I briefly met again with B at the community centre she was working with, thanking her and saying goodbye.

Biographical Data Chronology

The biographical data below is disclosed from the information provided by B during interaction before the interview, during the interview itself and by the Demographic Data Sheet filled out by B subsequently to the interview.

1992 Being born in Iran

- Holding Afghan citizenship
- Growing up in a small village in a middle-class family that B describes as not poor, not wealthy
- Having excellent grades in school
- Moving to Teheran and staying with her sister to be able to attend high school in Teheran

2010 Graduating from school

- Unexpected death of her father
- Starting to work in a factory to earn money

2014 Starting to study chemistry

2019 Finishing with a bachelor's degree

2019 Leaving Iran

- Unclear duration and route

2019 Arriving on Lesbos in December

- Staying in Moria Camp with her sister and nieces
- Starting to work with NGOs in Moria Camp

2020 Sending the two oldest nieces to Athens

- B and her nieces are affected by threats from male* community members
- Due to the severity of the threats, B and her sister decide to send the two oldest nieces to Athens unauthorised as all of the family are still in the asylum process and officially not allowed to leave Lesvos

2020 Receiving asylum status on Lesvos

- Transferal of B, her sister and the youngest niece to PIKPA Camp on Lesvos upon B's request at UNHCR
- Receiving status assumably before the burn down of "Moria Camp" on 8th/9th September 2020 and the eviction of PIKPA Camp on the 30th of October 2020

2020 Moving to Athens

Content Note (CN): suicide

- Shortly after arrival in Athens, one niece of B attempts suicide in Athens
- B's sister and her youngest niece move to Athens without holding Asylum Status
- B and her sister are asking officials in Athens for support
- Officials report to Child Protection Services in Athens
- B's sister is threatened with losing custody of her three daughters

2020 Oldest nieces leave Greece unauthorised

- Sister of B and the youngest niece want to follow the two older nieces of B
- The sister of B and her youngest daughter get separated at the border

2020 The youngest niece is brought back to Athens

- Greek border police/officials drop the youngest niece at a public square in Athens
- Community members at the square recognise the child from Lesvos and contact B
- B is fighting to receive custody of her youngest niece, who is ten years old at that time
- B is staying one year at home and not working as an interpreter
- B is receiving custody of her youngest niece

2021 Starting to work with NGOs in Athens

- Working with an NGO supporting homeless people
- Working with an NGO supporting LGBTIQ
- Working with an NGO supporting single mothers

2022 Interview on 8th of June

- B is working at a community centre on a project for children
- She is taking care of her youngest teenage niece, whom she has custody of
- B and the youngest niece are living at the seaside in Athens

General biographical and demographic information

B is 30 years old at the interview on the 8th of June 2022, identifies as female*, and states to be single, not having any children and holding Greek asylum status. B shares that her country of origin is Afghanistan and that, therefore, she holds Afghan citizenship despite being born and living permanently in Iran until her departure in 2019. B's highest formal ed-

education is a bachelor's degree in applied chemistry, which she received in Iran. B describes her work experience as interpreting everything with NGOs. B's mother tongue is Farsi (speaking in Iranian dialect), and she has been interpreting English to Farsi for about two and a half years at the time of the interview.

Narrative Summary of the Biographical Data Analysis (BDA)

The following narrative summary stems from the Biographical Data Analysis (BDA, attached to this document) conducted in a panel with Zainab Rahimi. As Zainab Rahimi shares experiences and backgrounds similar to B, our analysis is profoundly based on Zainab Rahimi's vast knowledge of the sociopolitical situation for women* holding Afghan citizenship in Iran. Also, Zainab Rahimi shares the experiences of living in Moria Camp and working as an interpreter on Lesbos for Farsi-English. As I spent several months between 2019 and 2021 working with NGOs on Lesbos as a so-called 'international volunteer', our personal experiences have influenced the following interpretation and contextualisation.

B holds Afghan citizenship, being born in Iran in 1992, four years before the first Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in 1996. Due to its fast-paced political changes and frequent political and economic instability, moving processes have been a fundamental part of Afghan history. 1919, Afghanistan reached independence from British colonisation following the third Anglo-Afghan war and transformed into a constitutional monarchy with democratic elements. In 1973, a communist revolution established Afghanistan as a socialist state, leading to conflicts with resistance forces, also referred to as Mujahideen, and eventually led to the Soviet Afghan War from 1979 until 1989. Ongoing conflicts between various resistance forces led to the formation of the Taliban, which by 1996 controlled most of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan until the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Following the withdrawal of UN and international troops in 2021, the Taliban returned to power, overthrowing the Republic of Afghanistan and re-establishing the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (BBC News, 2023a).

Afghan citizens have moved to Iran for decades due to a better economic situation, higher living standards, similar language (Farsi–Dari), and related societal and cultural structures. According to UNHCR Data, about 4,5 million displaced people are staying in Iran, of which about 750,000 are "Afghan Refugee Card Holders", an estimated 500,000 are "Undoc-

umented", 267,000 are "Afghan Family Pass Holders", and 2,6 million are "Head Counted of Afghan Nationality" (UNHCR, 2024b).

Before the takeover of the Taliban in 1996, it was more accessible for Afghan citizens living in Iran to receive official residential status in Iran, which meant less restricted movement, more opportunities for employment, and better access to education and health care than at present. While being born in Iran before 1996 meant being born into a generally safer space with more prospects, it might still have been challenging to experience childhood in Iran but living in a family that does not identify as Iranian. Whereas most Afghan communities tend to live in urban areas in Iran, B grew up in a small village, describing her background as *middle class, not poor, not wealthy*. Living in a rural area might be an isolating experience as exchange with Afghan communities is far less accessible. We do not know which part of Iran B grew up, but it seems likely to be in a farming village in the north of Iran with some proximity to Teheran. The north of Iran holds fertile grounds for farming and building industries. We suspect that B's family might have stayed and worked for an Iranian family farm due to restrictions on Afghan citizens in the formal job market in Iran. Another option would be to work independently in a skilled job, but it seems unlikely due to the restriction of entrance into the formal job market in Iran. Growing up in a middle-class family in the Afghan community in Iran might have taught B to be flexible, adapt to changing circumstances, and be familiar with different living situations, wealth, and security. Growing up in a diaspora facing restricted prospects might have led to an early experience of systematic injustice and potential fear of stability and safety. B mentions that she had excellent grades when attending village school and eventually moved to Teheran to stay at her sister's place to attend high school there. These experiences might have motivated B to focus on education, developing a hard-working mentality and striving for independence due to less systematic and communal support options. The school system in Iran consists of six years of primary school (starting at the age of seven), three years of middle school, two years of high school and one year of pre-university class. Schools are gender separated, whereas universities are open to all genders (Hazari, 2015). We do not know much about the sister B stayed with, her job situation, financial security and family status. B was sixteen when she moved to Teheran, which significantly changed her life situation at a young age. B mentions that her grades went worse as she suffered from being away from her family, stating that she got depressed. Moving to Teheran might have been exciting due to offering alternative lifestyles

and more freedom, but it might have also felt more anonymous and lonely due to being away from her other family members and friends. While high school attendance in Teheran seemed to be a challenging experience, it might have also been a chance to grow and gain more independence. After graduating from high school, students wishing to attend universities must attend a one-year pre-university course and pass the Iranian University Entrance Exam (Konkour). In recent years, Afghan citizens' access to education systems, particularly the possibility of attending the Konkour exam, has been drastically limited.

B does not explicitly mention if she could attend the Konkour exam as an Afghan citizen then, but we assume so as she later studied applied chemistry in Iran. However, her father died of cancer at the time of her high school graduation, forcing B to start working in a factory for financial reasons. Despite the emotional stress and grief of losing a parental figure, B was also forced to become financially independent, which starkly contrasts the previous focus on education. As both the Iranian and Afghan political regimes are enforcing a patriarchal organised society, leading to stark limitations of rights for women*, losing the father figure might have led to financial and societal pressure. According to Zainab Rahimi, it might have been socially expected for B to marry for financial security as she is of age, has a high school diploma and has no financial possibility to continue her education. However, B does not get married or engaged but starts to work in a factory to earn money. Work in the industrial sector in Iran is connected with long working hours, high workloads, and low salaries, with notably harsher conditions for Afghan citizens, such as non-access to Iranian health insurance (Gholipour, 2021).

With her female* supervisor's help, B could eventually start studying chemistry and finish her bachelor's degree in two and a half years. We do not know whether and how much B continued to work at the factory and if she got some financial support during that time. Finishing this degree in less than three years might have meant that B had to study hard and could spend less time with her friends and family. However, at the same time, it also might have given her hope with the perspective of finding a better-paid job in this field and enhanced her resilience to overcome difficult life phases. We do not know much about the period after finishing the degree, as B left Iran in 2019 with her sister and nieces. B does not share reasons for leaving Iran. We assume that it was challenging to find long-term prospects regarding career opportunities and social life, but possibly also because of the intensi-

fied discrimination of the Afghan community in Iran, the growing influence of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the increasing suppression of Afghan citizens and women* by the Iranian regime. Leaving Iran marks a vital turning point in B's life, moving from life in Iran to Europe. By leaving in 2019, B was not directly exposed to the takeover of the Taliban of Afghanistan in 2021 and the extended resistance movements and enforced political suppression of women* in Iran following the death of Mahsa Jina Amini during police custody in September 2022.

It is uncertain whether B, her sister, and her sister's daughters obtained a travel visa from Iran to Turkey or if they were compelled to take a potentially even more dangerous and costly route from Iran. We do not know how long B and her family were on the move from Iran to Lesbos, where they arrived by boat in December 2019. Upon arrival on Lesbos and immediately seeking asylum in Greece, B and her family had to stay in 'Moria First Reception Center', referred to as 'Moria Camp' or 'Moria' by B. In December 2019, around 5000 people stayed inside the official Reception Center, officially equipped for about 2800 individuals. In the so-called 'jungle', an olive grove surrounding 'Camp Moria', another 14,000 people were staying in dire conditions (Wölfl, 2019). While B might have been relieved to arrive in Europe and be able to apply for asylum, at the same time, she must have been shocked by the severe conditions in Moria Camp. Living in Moria Camp meant living with inefficient nutrition in tents that were not protective against heat, cold, or wetness. The additional lack of sanitary facilities, health care and security structures severely impacts physical and mental health (Zick, 2020). These severe conditions in winter 2019/20 likely contributed to tensions among communities, Greek locals, and officials, leading to suppressed protests by the military and police. As tensions between Greek and Turkish officials intensified, local and international right-wing groups gathered on Lesbos, attacking people on the move, NGOs, and supportive locals (Zick, 2020).

Between all these pressures, people applying for asylum had to stay, on average, between one and three years in First Reception Centers without access to education or employment until receiving some form of residential status. After about one month in Moria Camp, B started to work as an interpreter for an NGO active in Moria Camp and continued to work as an interpreter with various organisations. One of the few occupational opportunities would be working for NGOs operating in and outside the camp, with little to no compensation. Instead of the often poor financial aspect, it would primarily serve as a way to stay oc-

cupied, serve the community, and be part of a social network, leading to more accessible legal aid and general support structures. Working as an interpreter in these challenging surroundings might have increased B's self-reliance and trust in community support. Also, it might have increased her access and chances for future employment opportunities due to fundamental work experiences and personal connections.

Additionally, it would most likely benefit B and her close circle, especially her sister and three nieces, due to a better connection to support structures. However, despite the assumed support through working as an interpreter, B and her sister decided to send their oldest nieces to Athens due to threats from male* community members in Moria Camp. This is a very drastic decision, so we assume the threats must have been severe. Sending their nieces unauthorised to Athens would be expensive and dangerous, as without residential status, leaving First Reception Centers is prohibited and severely restricted. Despite the danger and financial effort to organise the nieces' move to Athens, finding accommodation and accessing support structures without resident status is severely challenging in Greece. Also, we assume it must have been very stressful for the nieces to leave Lesbos without their family, whereas B and her sister might have been worried and stressed about being unable to accompany the two girls*. Without residential status, it is impossible to access governmental support, and registering at Camp Malakasa, close to Athens, to access documents might have led to severe challenges with officials. So, we assume the family might have planned to leave Greece and apply for asylum outside Greece.

Eventually, B received asylum status on Lesbos, which must have been a relief. However, there might have been feelings of ambivalence, as her sister and nieces did not receive asylum status and had to stay at "Moria Camp" and undocumented in Athens. Upon receiving asylum status, individuals must leave First Registration Centres and are obliged to move to the mainland, as beneficiaries of international protection can hardly access governmental support in Greece (Hellenic Republic Ministry of Migration and Asylum & UNHCR, 2023). Upon receiving asylum status, B had to travel to Thessaloniki or Athens to receive her passport in person. Due to her two oldest nieces already staying in Athens, it is understandable that B decided to stay in Athens. Living in Athens meant more freedom and opportunities but more isolation and less community support at the same time.

Content Note (CN): suicide attempt, family separation

Shortly after B moved to Athens, one of her oldest nieces staying in Athens attempted suicide. We assume this extremely difficult situation led to B's sister's decision to leave Lesbos unauthorised with her youngest daughter and to join B and her two oldest daughters in Athens. Upon arrival in Athens, B and her sister asked for support from officials. However, instead of receiving support, B's sister was reported to, assumingly, child protection services, inducing a lawsuit upon her custody; *they said she is a bad mother* (Subsession 2). After these events, the two eldest nieces left Greece, and B's sister and youngest niece followed suit.

This sequence of severely stressful events likely overwhelmed the whole family. While trying to get support from officials, this support was not offered; instead, B's sister was confronted with potentially losing custody of her daughters. Witnessing these events may have left B feeling helpless and conflicted, as she was the only family member with a secure asylum status and a relatively stable living situation. The responsibility for her sister and her nieces' wellbeing could have weighed heavily on her, leading to chronic stress exacerbated by denied institutional support. Given these circumstances and a lack of prospects to stay together in Greece, it appears likely that B was contemplating leaving Athens to reunite with her sister and nieces outside of Greece.

However, upon trying to cross the border line in Greece, B's sister and her niece got separated, with the niece being retained by Greek border police. After being separated at the border, the youngest niece was returned and left at a public square in Athens by officials. Community members at the square, recognising her, provided care and contacted B. Following an extended custody process, B eventually gained custody of her niece and became her primary caregiver. The change of events was likely highly stressful for B and her youngest niece, potentially impacting their wellbeing. Moreover, the family situation became somewhat complicated with B in Athens with the youngest niece while her sister stayed with the two eldest nieces outside Greece.

Additionally, there might have been financial pressure and difficulty finding employment while having custody and caretaking responsibility for her niece. B shared that following these events, she stayed for one year at home in a charity project in Athens. We assume that trying to receive custody and caring for her youngest niece and her other family members from afar might have taken many resources. Also, these events might have been emotionally stressful and demanded that B takes care of herself.

After a year at home and obtaining custody of her youngest niece, B engaged in meaningful work with multiple NGOs in Athens. She supported homeless individuals, assisted the LGBTIQ community, worked on a project aiding single mothers, and eventually joined a children-focused initiative. These projects share a common goal of supporting vulnerable populations facing discrimination. B's decision to engage in this work may stem from her enjoyment of such activities, combined with personal experiences of hardship and precarious situations, fostering sensitivity and open-mindedness. Following her year at home, B may have sought activities, community involvement, and self-actualisation through meaningful tasks. Additionally, helping others could serve as a coping mechanism for dealing with her own experiences of helplessness.

Additionally, B might have needed a financial income due to being dependent on external support when staying at home and having no access to governmental support. Also, staying at home as a phase of reorientation might have inspired B to follow a path of interpretation and social support, trying to gain work experience and maybe training. It might also reflect recovering from stressful events, gaining more resources, and improving overall wellbeing. Also, by gaining custody and caring for her youngest niece, B possibly wanted to focus on being a role model and building up financial resources to support her youngest niece.

At the time of the interview, B did not work in any field related to her bachelor's degree in chemistry. Maybe this could be a future wish when she achieves substantial financial and social security, or B's interests might have changed to a different path due to new orientations and easier accessibilities. Regarding her sister and elder nieces, B could plan to reunite with them and leave Greece or possibly try to build up a life in Greece with her youngest niece. At the time of the interview in June 2022, B worked with children in a community centre in Athens and had custody of her youngest niece, with whom she lived in a house close to the seaside in a quiet area of Athens far away from the refugee community. This situation seemed financially and socially stable and independent, with B trying to build up a structured everyday life for herself and her youngest niece. At the same time, B also seemed to focus on caring for herself and her niece and holding distance between her professional work with vulnerable individuals in the refugee community and her private life.

Turning Points and Phases of the Lived Life

While looking at the narrative summary of the analysed biographical data, the following turning points seem to structure B's life in seven distinguishable phases (Wengraf, 2001).

- 0-15 **Village life in Iran:** B is growing up in an *open family* and has *good grades* in the local village school.
- 15-18 **High School in Teheran:** Upon recommendations from her teachers, B is attending high school in Teheran, where B stays with her sister.
- 18 -24 **Working in a factory:** Unexpectedly, B's father dies when B is completing high school. Instead of continuing her education, B has to support herself financially and starts working in a factory.
- 24-27 **Studying chemistry:** Upon support from her female* supervisor at her workplace, B can continue her education and complete a bachelor's degree in applied chemistry.
- 27 **Leaving Iran:** In 2019, B leaves Iran with one of her sisters and her sisters' daughters.
- 27-28 **Life on Lesbos:** B, her sister, and her nieces are applying for asylum upon arriving on Lesbos. They have to stay in "Camp Moria" under dire conditions.
- 28-30 **Life in Athens:** Following receiving asylum, B joins her two oldest nieces in Athens. Several challenging events are happening to B, her sister and her nieces, leading B to have to stay at home for one year. In 2021, B started working as an interpreter in Athens again, holding custody of her youngest niece. Her sister and two oldest nieces are living outside of Greece.

Possible Narrative Orientations

Considering the biographical data analysed above, the following paragraphs should outline possible orientations of B narrating her life story.

- **Finding peace:** B might outline her story as "finding peace" by overcoming challenges and staying in a stable and fulfilling living situation in Athens.
- **Resistance to patriarchal societal structures:** Regarding B's commitment to gaining education even under challenging circumstances and working as an interpret-

er despite threats from her community, she might also portray her story as "Resistance to patriarchal societal structures".

- **Caring and supporting the family:** From having to be financially independent at a young age by working in a factory to gaining custody and becoming the caretaker of her youngest niece, B might outline a story of "Caring and supporting the family".
- **Life as a female* refugee:** Considering B's identification as female* and exposure to gender-based violence and discrimination, "Life as a female* refugee" might be the dominant narrative orientation.
- **Finding purpose in life:** B might also outline overcoming challenges as "Finding purpose in life", leading to focusing her work in the social field in Athens.
- **Systematic injustice:** Being the only family member gaining asylum status, not receiving support from officials and finding her young niece at a public square following a border separation might lead B to depict her story as one of systematic injustice.
- **Fighting for custody:** Trying to gain custody of her youngest niece might be one of the main narrative orientations.
- **Trying to serve as a role model for others:** B might focus her narration on finding strength when through supporting others, particularly in empowering women*.
- **Trying to find a positive outlook:** While B is facing multiple challenging living situations, she still seems not to give up and successfully manages to overcome these challenges. Possibly, this might lead to a narrative orientation of "Trying to find a positive outlook".
- **Advocate for others:** Working with NGOs supporting vulnerable groups and individuals faced with discrimination might shape her narrative orientation.
- **Gaining independence:** Regarding B's formal education and language skills and non-formal emotional and social skills, it becomes evident that B has experience in overcoming challenging situations and the necessary tools. Regarding her difficult situation when working in a factory in Iran and her stable living situation in Athens at the time of the interview, B might narrate her story as one of "Gaining independence".

Thematic Field Analysis of the Text Structure Sequentialisation

Overview of thematic fields

Subsession 1 starts with a rich narrative on a "negative experience with an interpreter" (0:00:58-0:02:14), followed by a descriptive sequence "Moria as a shock" (0:02:14 - 0:02:56), initiating contents outlined in more detail in following thematic fields. Next, a narrative follows B's initial working experience on Lesbos, "starting to work as an interpreter on Lesbos" (0:02:56-0:05:07). This sequence is developing towards the already initiated thematic field of "gender-based violence" (0:05:07-0:06:41), intertwining narrative and argumentative text sorts. Personal experiences of gender-based violence as a female* interpreter develop into the experience of her nieces being confronted with threats, condensed by the thematic field "struggle of the family" (0:06:41-0:07:45). At this point, the narration does not unfold due to an interruption of the interview, shifting the focus to the thematic field of "trying to get support from institutions" (0:07:45-0:08:58). This is followed by the thematic field "responsibility for others" (0:08:58-0:09:29) where B outlines in argumentative/evaluative text sorts working as an interpreter not only for finding purpose but also due to a feeling of commitment to her community. "Unclear identity/not belonging" (0:09:29-0:10:42) describes the thematic field of the following sequences, evolving from an evaluative and descriptive mode to a more detailed narrative approach, outlining the lack of institutional support in Iran due to her Afghan citizenship. This leads to B outlining in an evaluative and argumentative perspective facing discrimination in Iran as well as in Greece due to her refugee status in the thematic field "comparing life as a refugee in Iran to Moria" (0:10:42-0:11:54). This sequence evolves into an argumentative and evaluative depiction of B coping with these situations in the thematic field of "self-care" (0:11:54-0:12:49). Subsequently, B references in a Coda-like structure to her initial experience with an interpreter when arriving on Lesbos, outlined by the thematic field "back to the beginning of the narration" (0:12:49-0:13:46). However, B does not close the initial narration but shares a narration on requesting for an interpreter outside of Moria in the thematic field of "requesting a different interpreter" (0:13:46-0:14:42). Somewhat unexpectedly, B continues with outlining further details in the thematic field of "details on family struggles" (0:14:42-0:15:56) in a condensed report modus on the challenges of her family in Greece, sharing the suicide attempt of her niece in Athens. B stays in a condensed report modus when sharing her break from working as an interpreter in Athens in the thematic field of "staying one year at home" (0:15:56-0:17:19). The con-

densed report modus of the previous two thematic fields is followed by the thematic field of "interpretation in Athens" (0:17:19-0:18:15) describing starting to work again as an interpreter in a detailed descriptive and narrative mode. This field is continued by a focus on "positive aspects of working as an interpreter" (0:18:15-0:18:37), outlining B's motivation for starting to work in Athens. The following thematic field, "reflecting on stereotypes – LGBTIQ" (0:18:37-0:20:36), outlines experiences of working in an NGO for the Queer community in a narrative and descriptive mode. B continues to describe and evaluate her present workplace, a playroom for children, in the thematic field of "working with children" (0:20:36-0:21:02). B outlines her experiences with the children in the rich narration of "playing with S" (0:21:02-0:23:34), sharing her interactions with a child in a difficult family situation. This fluidly develops from a narrative into a more argumentative and descriptive outlining of "the emotional impact of interpretation" (0:23:34-0:25:40). B continues to evaluate the thematic field of "finding identity and purpose" (0:25:40-0:26:33) when reflecting upon these experiences. In the following thematic field of "empowering oneself and other women*" (0:26:33-0:31:07), B argues about her primary motivation for her work. This is followed by the thematic field of "importance of the interpreter" (0:31:07-0:32:35), where B describes and argues upon the relevance of the interpreting position. Subsequently, in the thematic field of "balancing caring for oneself and others" (0:32:35-0:33:32), self-care is evaluated as a fundamental requirement for fulfilling the responsibilities of an interpreter. B continues with a general evaluative reflection on learning from others and hoping that others could learn from her in the thematic field of "personal reflection" (0:33:32-0:34:20). This sequence is followed up by fade out of Subsession one, labelled as the thematic field of "coda/end of Subsession 1" (0:34:20).

Detailed analysis

- 1 [0:00:00] I: Okay, now it's working, yeah it's on now. If it's working for you? (.)
- 2 [0:00:11] P(B): Yeah it's ok.
- 3 [0:00:13] I: Perfect. (.) So (.) my first question is a very open one. Um (..) please, I would like to hear
 4 your story, um (..) how you ended up working as interpreter, in Greece (inc.) um (..). You can
 5 start, wherever you think your story started and also end, wherever you think your story
 6 ends. Um (..) and I will just listen, I will take some notes um (.) / Bless you/(..) From what you
 7 tell me, I will afterwards ask some more questions.
- 8 [0:00:54] P(B): Ok, ok.
- 9 [0:00:55] I: So, basically, everything you tell me, it's (.) the things we will be talking about (...) yeah (.)

The initial question is formulated close to Rosenthal's and Wengraf's conceptualisation regarding the openness and transparency of the interview process, focusing on the interviewees' life phase of working and interpreting in Greece. Compared to the somewhat insecure presentation of the initial question in the previous interview with A, the initial question seems to be presented here in a more condensed and comprehensive attitude. B directly starts into her initial narration with her arrival on Lesbos and does not take further time for reflection and structuring her narrative. As visible from the field notes above, B mentioned after the interview that she already had a group interview the same day with a psychologist where they talked about interpreting experiences. This has to be taken into consideration when analysing the following interview sequences.

Thematic Field 1 - Negative experience with interpreters (0:00:58-0:02:14)

- 10 [0:00:58] P(B): Okay (.) I will start from Lesbos because, eh (.) The first of the story start from there
 11 um because you know, I had a bad experience with the interpreter there (.) in the island (.),
 12 the first day I arrived in Lesbos, and ah because they couldn't um eh recognise eh/ there are
 13 no form/and just they said to me, because I couldn't speak eh Farsi - Dari, just I speak Farsi/
 14 And because (.) / maybe (.) more confusing for them (.) to recognize it. And also, I didn't have
 15 any document eh with myself (.) and I said, okay, I just (.) I said, „I'm from Afghanistan“ (.)
 16 and (..) just this and (.) yeah it was a bad experience, because (.) um the (.) the interpreter, it
 17 was like a, you know, he doubted me like, ok I'm liar (...). For the one hour or two hour, just,
 18 you know, they sent me to someone else, they said "she's liar, she's liar" or something like
 19 that. Because of this, yeah, it was a bad experience (..). And I didn't want to have interpreter
 20 anymore (.). And every time eh, I just try to be by myself and ah for a, you know/ because in

B states that she will start from Lesbos as the story started here because of a *bad experience* with the interpreter. Presumably, B carefully considers the interviewer's research question of *how you ended up working as interpreter in Greece*, outlined above. B displays a

clear relation between her negative experiences when needing interpretation and her motivation to work as an interpreter herself. Generally, B might outline personal experiences of suffering as motivation to take action in the following interview sequences. Taking action might form a resistance to the passive enduring of negative experiences. More particularly, when considering the field of interpretation, B might further evaluate differentiating between 'trustworthy' and 'untrustworthy' interpreters, outlining the aim of being a trustworthy interpreter others can rely on. In this first sequence, B also mentions two connected topics that might be relevant in future sequences. First, B mentions that she did not have any documents when arriving on Lesbos, indicating the difficulties in attaining the required residency status and bureaucratic fulfilments. Secondly, B explains that her identity was *doubted* as she could not speak Dari Farsi, which can be referred to as a dialect of Farsi and is one of the official languages in Afghanistan. B does not hold official documents, so she relies on the interpreter to confirm her nationality. Upon arriving on Lesbos, B has to indicate her nationality to be able to seek asylum. As she solely holds Afghan citizenship, B states, *I am from Afghanistan*. However, the interpreter doubts her, as B does not fulfil the interpreter's expectation of an Afghan citizen due to B's growing up in Iran and speaking the Iranian dialect. This leads to the question of interference between bureaucratic citizenship, nationality, cultural identity and authority on these subjects. Experience of familiar situations might also lead to a general orientation of not belonging and internal and external identity struggles.

However, B expresses no feelings of stress, anxiety, or impatience but instead empathy and rationalisation of the situation. Possibly, B might try to explain the situation and underlying reasons to the interviewer, who is *white* and does not have a refugee experience herself. While outlining the situation, it becomes apparent that B's interpreter in this narrative is confused as B does not show assumed characteristics of Afghan socialisation when speaking the Iranian dialect. While B shares the experience of a difficult situation with an interpreter in a hierarchical situation, the interpreter is also still part of B's community, and she might be afraid of supporting negative stereotypes and racism against her community when sharing personal negative experiences with her community members. This sequence might have been shared differently with an interviewer of the Iranian or Afghan community.

Also, B might generally show empathy and self-reflection even when facing discrimination, which might be depicted in future text sequences. After showing empathy, B repeats that she does not have any document proofing that she is from Afghanistan, which illus-

trates her powerlessness and dependency on this officials' interpreter's assessment of her identity. When narrating the situation, B inserts elements of direct speech and short narrations depicting officials not believing her, which might have led to feelings of embarrassment and humiliation.

The detailed account of B's experience, particularly highlighting it as the catalyst for her journey into interpreting, suggests a loss of trust in officials and interpreters linked to the system. Despite reacting with frustration, this experience likely motivated B to strive for independence from external support. This drive may have manifested in an assertive and disciplined pursuit of acquiring identity documents and language skills. The clarity of this starting point could have been influenced by a group interview B participated in on the day of our conversation, a detail she mentioned afterwards.

Thematic Field 2- Moria as a shock (0:02:14 - 0:02:56)

21 Moria it was like a (.) shock for me (.). I've, I've never thought I'd be somewhere like Moria
 22 (..) ah and I'm living in a camp (..). Just eh, for a few months, I was, I was be/ Just I was
 23 walking in, you know, in the camp and something like that, I didn't pay attention/I didn't pay
 24 attention about anything (s). After, we had some problems with eh (.) because I came in
 25 with my niece, my sister and my sister's daughters and (.) it was (.) we had a bad situation
 26 in Moria, especially with/ for women(..). And it was a tough situation (..). I/yes/ I/ And one

B initially claims that Moria was *like a (.) shock* and that she never expected to be somewhere like Moria. What it means to be somewhere *like Moria* is not exemplified but instead serves as a synonym for a place that does not need to be described or is even impossible to describe. This can also be depicted in medial and political discourse where *Moria* served and still serves as illustration for detainment and precarious living situations of people on the move in Europe. Particularly after the burning down of Moria, a widespread medial discourse and political reactions, such as Ylva Johansson's claim of 'No More Morias' (AFP, 2020), manifested the image of *Moria* as a symbol of disastrous living situations. While the new camp on Lesbos does not enhance living conditions and there are multiple other First Reception Centers following a similar lack of resources and substandard accommodation around Europe, *Moria* still holds a unique status. B expresses an experience of shock and having different expectations, presumably leading to feelings of disappointment, disillusion and hopelessness. The challenge of following one's expectations and goals in this environment might lead to feelings of passiveness and desperation. Also, B might express shame and anger about living situations in Moria in future thematic fields related to systematic

suppression and resistance. The sequence supports predictions of experiences of passiveness and desperation described above. At the end of the sequence, B outlines that living situations in Moria are even more difficult for women* but does not specify a particular situation. This sequence possibly alludes to experiences of gender-based violence, similar to the narrative approach in A's case study, where personal incidents of experiencing violence are not explicitly detailed but consistently implied. In the future sequences, B will share experiences of threats from male* community members and the consequences for herself and other family members.

Thematic Field 3 - Starting to work as an interpreter on Lesvos (0:02:56-0:05:07)

- 27 day, just I said, okay, for three months, I used to, you know, study English in (.) Iran (.) and I
 28 was thinking, I know/ at least I know the basic of eh English, and maybe I can sit here and
 29 work with other NGOs (.). And eh next to my tent it was eh X, it was an NGO from
 30 Netherland, I've been there, and I said to them, okay, "I can speak English, if you need me
 31 (.)" yeah (.) „Every time you can call me and ask me for the helping" (..) for helping and eh (.)
 32 the day after that day,(.) one of the person from X came and said "Ok we need you, if it is
 33 possible, come and help us" (.) And yeah, just, I did it, but it was SO difficult for me because
 34 just I knew the basic of English (.) and I didn't know anything, and when they were talking, I
 35 was like, "Okay, I'm done, I can't get anything". (.) But eh the most important thing about
 36 me, it was, you know, I have really self-confidence. Because if I say something, I HAVE to do.
 37 It's not like, just I say and I can ignore it and I didn't pay attention. No (.) No, it's still
 38 important for me to do it. (.) And also, it was kind of duty for me, because at least I could
 39 speak English (..). The other people, you know, maybe they couldn't find also the person
 40 who can just say "Hello" (..) or something like that.
- 41 [0:04:34] As/ I/ I thought, maybe, I have to use it (..). And, ok, I started to work with them. (...) Um
 42 therefore, because first, if I can, we have a (.) like a poem, (.) we say "if you can help

In this thematic field, B shares that one day, she remembers her English skills and reflects on how to use them, possibly when deciding to work as an interpreter with an NGO close to her. B shares direct speech and narrative elements when sharing her first encounter with introducing herself at an NGO close to herself. This vivid memory might indicate a vital experience and even a turning point in B's life. Possibly, B might show narrative text sorts when discussing interpreting work. Also, it might illustrate B's pride in taking the initiative, marking a characteristic of her identity of taking back control of her life through gaining independence and taking action.

B might have been insecure about whether the NGO would like to work with her and possibly be feeling happy but also nervous when they would eventually ask for her help. It might also reaffirm her trust in herself that the NGO requested her help and deemed her

capable of working as an interpreter. B vividly shares the challenging beginning but also that she motivated herself not to give up. Possibly, B might compare her initial interpretation skills with her current language skills. B continues to explain why she keeps on interpreting even though initially it seems very challenging. In this sequence, B depicts her self-confidence, a feeling of trusting herself but also of pride, and a self-image of adhering to promises and avoiding possibly disappointing others. As indicated above, B might show additional tendencies of discipline and orientation towards reaching goals. This assumption is also emphasised in B's mentioning that continuing to work as an interpreter felt *like a duty* to her, which seems to stem from feeling responsible for her community, particularly for vulnerable community members in urgent need of interpretation. This illustration of empathy possibly stems from one's own experiences of vulnerability, as B seems to be able to work as an interpreter by overcoming her own experiences and helping herself. This orientation might also distinguish her from others who cannot care for themselves, which would deem them incapable of supporting others. In B's words, *if you can't help yourself, you can't help others*. B might prioritise her stability, as illustrated in the following thematic field of 'Balancing caring for oneself and others'.

Thematic Field 4 - Working as a female* interpreter (0:05:07-0:06:41)

- 43 yourself, you can help other people" (.). And it was kind of this, I started from myself (.) to do
44 it (..) and yeah (.).
- 45 [0:05:00] For everything, every problem I had, just (..) eh I didn't (inc.) myself to do it, and also for
- 45 [0:05:00] For everything, every problem I had, just (..) eh I didn't (inc.) myself to do it, and also for
46 the other people (.). Especially with/ You know, I used to work at the top of the jungle, it was
47 the, you know, from the top of the mountain, it was the zone one, zone three, uhhhh (..) till
48 zone nine (.). I used to work in zone nine, top of the jungle and most of the people,
49 they/they have been living there, they were from Syria and the language it was Arabic, and I
50 couldn't communicate (.). I tried to do it, just I tried to communicate (.). Like eh, for example,
51 if I heard something Arabic, I tried to do music with English and Arabic, and say just, you
52 know, communicate with the other people (.) and they REALLY like me (..) (laughing).
- 53 [0:05:59] Yeah, because of this action (.). And, yeah, I didn't have any problem with Arabic people (.).
54 But eh mostly (..) eh I had a lot of problem with eh (..) people, especially the guy(s), from my
55 community (..). Yeah (.). Because it's/ for them, it's really (..) strange (.). For example, a girl
56 work(ing) with the other guys, especially from the other community (...)/ It was/ (..) maybe it
57 was difficult for them. Also, it was difficult for ME, because every time they treated me
58 about like "Okay, you have to stop". Yeah (..). But I didn't do that (.) because I didn't pay
59 attention (.). Just, I tried to ignore that (...). Yeah and, (.) at that time, I had a lot of problems

B does not speak Arabic, so she must find ways to communicate despite language barriers. B's cheerful and vivid sharing of these experiences through vivid narration and description might depict B's general narrational focus on creative and problem-solving-oriented approaches in interpretation. Also, B might outline her interest in connecting by making others feel comfortable, leading B to describe her interest in working with people, presumably in a social or intercultural field.

However, in contrast to outlining positive experiences above, B continues this sequence by sharing negative experiences with male* community members. As an interpreter, B assumes an authoritative role, potentially facing the challenge of being accepted. Her position might be perceived as not conforming to societal norms for female* community members. Patriarchal structures and, therefore, increased violence and power struggles might increase in chaotic surroundings such as Moria due to a lack of general structure, predictability, and protection for more vulnerable ones. However, similar to explaining possible reasons for the interpreter in the first sequence, B also tries to express an understanding of possible reasons for the male* community members' behaviour. At the same time, she does not excuse this behaviour but also depicts the consequences of this pressure: *It was also difficult for ME*. When sharing her experiences, B details verbal threats she got. Her vivid memory thereof might reflect the experience of anxiety and stress, supporting assumptions about exposure to gender-based violence. At the same time, B resists these threats by ignoring them and not taking them seriously; *I didn't pay attention*.

Thematic Field 5 - Struggle of family (0:06:41-0:07:20)

59 attention (.). Just, I tried to ignore that (...). Yeah and, (.) at that time, I had a lot of problems
60 eh (..) with, you know, my niece and my sister (.) because they threatened me, also they
61 threatened my niece (...). And (..) just we transferred two of my niece(s) to Athens illegally
62 (..). And eh (...). We tried to, you know, afford about the money, the food in Athens, just/(.).
63 Because (..) we were thinking it's a safe place for them (.). But (.) honestly, I think is worse
64 than (...) Moria.

Despite seemingly ignoring these threats and continuing to work as an interpreter, B and her sister are worried about B's eldest nieces' safety; *therefore, we transferred two of my niece(s) to Athens illegally*. These threats turn out to be more dangerous than expected, as it is a rather drastic decision considering the pending asylum status of the whole family and the risk of unauthorised travelling outside of Lesvos. Also, the family is forced to split up, which is emotionally and financially challenging. In this sequence, B seems to regret that

decision or maybe try to explain and legitimate this decision by explaining that they assumed Athens to be a safe place. However, B indicates this was not true; *honestly, I think is worse than (...) Moria*. Following this sequence, it is assumed that B would outline how her nieces arrived in Athens and what happened next.

Interruption of the interview/Record Stopping

- 65 (Interruption by tourists/Stopping of recording)
- 66 [0:07:20] I: Ah, now (.) Okay, sorry (laughing)
- 67 [0:07:26] P(B): Ah it's ok, don't worry (.). Yeah, and that/ just you know, we were eh/ been working
 68 with a lot of things at the same time (.). And yeah (.). Also, I couldn't trust any interpreter to
 69 do something for me (...).
- 70 [0:07:42] I: Mhmm|(.)

Unfortunately, at this sensitive point of narration, tourists interrupt the interview by asking for directions. After this interruption, B returns to a general topic and shares experiences of having to insist on receiving support from institutions and the chance to talk with a different interpreter.

Thematic Field 6 - Trying to get support from institutions (0:07:45-0:08:58)

- 71 [0:07:45] P(B): Yeah, I started to go to UNHCR (..) and also (..) maybe EASO (..) and just looking for
 72 someone/ (..) someone who can help me. And nobody has helped us (.). And, yeah, just I/ I
 73 remember I was/ I've been in UNHCR in the office, and I say to them "Okay, I'm gonna talk
 74 with the manager of UNHCR. I/if, if someone can't send me out, I'm going there, just I have
 75 to talk" (.). And I waited for a/ I think a few hours. And someone came and said "Okay, I'm
 76 gonna talk to you and the manager of the UNHCR office". And yeah, just uh, you know, I
 77 also/ I couldn't eh speak very well English and just I wrote everything what I want (.). And I
 78 said, to/ to him "Okay, this is my problem, what should I do? I don't know. I did a lot of
 79 things, but it didn't work". And/(..) but you know, eh, he really helped me, because he
 80 transferred us to PIKPA camp (...).
- 81 [0:08:57] I: Mhm

Instead of continuing the narration on sending the oldest two nieces to Athens, B now outlines asking for support at different institutions. It seems to have happened when B was still on Lesbos, but it is unclear whether this happened before or after sending her two oldest nieces to Athens. While B hopes to gain support, she outlines that nobody has helped them. However, B now starts a narrative sequence of persistently - and successfully - demanding to speak to the manager at the UNHCR office. This might illustrate a central experience of determination and finally getting support when transferred from Moria Camp to PIK-

PA Camp. PIKPA Camp was a self-organised autonomous space run by Lesvos Solidarity Network, which was forcefully closed in 2020 by authorities. The enhanced living situation at PIKPA Camp and assumingly protection from threats might have enforced B's orientation of not giving up and demanding her rights. The decision not to continue with the narration of sending her two oldest nieces to Athens might outline that B might not have felt comfortable enough to continue with this assumingly difficult narrative episode. Also, the interruption might have led to a general disturbance of the storytelling flow and forced B to a new structure and orientation by starting with this narrative sequence.

Thematic Field 7 - Responsibility for others (0:08:58-0:09:29)

- 82 [0:08:58] P(B): Yeah, and it was helpful for me and that time eh/Also before, I was thinking, it's like a
83 duty for me, I have to do it because eh (.) it's kind of purpose for my future (..). To do
- 84 something for the people, helping/ helping people eh (.) give me motivation (.) and also
85 encourages me for continuing (...). Yeah, it/it was/it's really good, I think. You know, I (.) I
86 used to do it in Iran. But honestly, in Iran, we have a lot of limitation for refugee(s). Because I

B states that it was *helpful* but also *like a duty* for her, which might support the abovementioned hypotheses regarding her empathetic approach and her feeling responsible for the wellbeing of her community while also experiencing it as helpful for herself. While evaluating her motivation to work as an interpreter, B points out that it motivated and encouraged her *for continuing*. What precisely is meant *to continue* is not exemplified. At first glance, it seems to be solely addressed to her work, to continue to work as an interpreter. When considering previous sequences, however, B might share here a broader and more significant meaning of continuing, one of upholding hope through finding purpose in supporting others in precarious living conditions. Gaining motivation might help tackle feelings of hopelessness and passiveness created by living in Moria Camp and having limited agency options.

Thematic Field 8 - Unclear identity, not belonging (0:09:29-0:10:42)

- 86 used to do it in Iran. But honestly, in Iran, we have a lot of limitation for refugee(s). Because I
87 was born in Iran, raised in Iran as a refugee (...).
- 88 [0:09:37] I: Mhm
- 89 [0:09:38] P(B): Yeah, I didn't have any idea, to be honest. If I said/ someone said (...) uh to me „Okay,
90 you are from?“ (at?) UNHCR, I said „What can I say, I'm originally from Afghanistan, but I was
91 born in Iran“. But honestly if I want to be honest (laughing): No, I don't know, where I'm
92 coming from.
- 93 [0:09:58] I: Mhm
- 94 [0:10:00] P(B): Because we didn't have any ideas if/for/ (.). I remember once, for, you know, some of
95 my diploma from university, I've been in Afghanistan (...). And just, I/ I asked him about the
96 helping. They said to me "Okay. You're from Iran, we can't help you about THIS". For
97 example, about the/ I wanted to stay for one night in Afghanistan and I didn't have any
98 place, I didn't have any family in Afghanistan (...). And just I said, "Okay, UNHCR can help
99 me". But when I've been there, they said to me, eh "No, because your passport is from
100 Afgh/, you know, we can't do anything for you".
- 101 [0:10:41] I: Mhm

B now clarifies that she was already involved in community support before arriving in Greece, as she *used to do it in Iran*. What B did in Iran is not precisely exemplified. She continues to emphasise that options are limited for individuals holding refugee status in Iran and refers to her own experiences.

The linkage between B's past experiences in Iran and her role as an interpreter in Greece provides support for the earlier suggested orientation of B's empathy, stemming from her personal encounters with vulnerability and limitations.

This introduces the thematic context of B's inquiry about her identity as an Afghan citizen raised in Iran, navigating a space that doesn't align with societal expectations of either Afghan or Iranian identity. The question of identity is condensed in the following remark: *But honestly, if I want to be honest (laughing), I don't know where I'm coming from.*

Instead of identifying herself by nationality or culture, B seems to hold more of an identity orientation on gaining independence and compassion. B continues to share a narrative episode depicting her experiences of being unable to attain support aimed at Iranian or Afghan citizens. B vividly reclaims that neither Iranian officials nor UNHCR responsible could support her in attaining necessary documents from Afghanistan.

Thematic Field 9 - Comparing life as a refugee in Iran to Moria (0:10:42-0:11:54)

102 [0:10:42] P(B) Yeah. And in Iran, also, they say to us, "You are from Afghanistan, we can't do
 103 anything for you". It was/it was really (..) difficult situation. And, you know, adopting myself
 104 with that (..). Maybe, environment in Moria, or also, the culture and (.) everything (.), maybe
 105 racist action, (.) we could, we could adopt ourselves with the situation, especially the people
 106 who come from (.) Iran (..). Because we know, we know the situation where, you know, for a
 107 refugee/ and also, we are refugee/ didn't change ANYTHING (.) And, yeah (..). But maybe, for
 108 the other people, it's not like that, especially with the people from Iran, or the people from
 109 Afghanistan, who came directly from Afghanistan (..). Yeah if/ it's a little/ I think it's a little
 110 difficult (.) or more than difficult. (0:11:40) Yeah, but for me, it was not like that. Just every
 111 time. I tried/ I tried to do everything by myself, (.) in Iran, in here. It was same (.) eh almost,
 112 it was same (..). Honestly, it was same and (..). Yeah, I have a lot of motivation and every time

Following the sequence above on unclear identity and not getting support from officials when staying in Iran, B evaluates that she is being used to not getting support from officials. B also briefly mentions being used to racism, which is not outlined in more detail but perceptible throughout the interview, for example, when mentioning *having a lot of limitation*. This could lead to a sequence of elaborating on generally negative experiences and particularly on being affected by racism. However, B continues to argue that these experiences have helped her adapt to life in Moria Camp. Trying to do everything herself is her strategy and advice for enduring these living situations. When assuming life in Moria to be even more challenging for people without refugee experience, B shows her empathetic approach and critical and self-reflective perception of her situation concerning others. While B states the intense discrimination and lack of support faced in Iran, she focuses on arguing to gain resilience by overcoming experiences of discrimination in Iran by gaining the ability *to adopt*. Instead of describing anger, sadness, and frustration, B focuses on overcoming discrimination and difficult circumstances as a learning moment to adapt to challenging future situations. This might lead to thematic fields focussing on B's experiences of overcoming difficult situations when sharing potentially stressful and traumatic experiences. It could also mirror internal and external community distinctions, particularly emphasising individual resilience in Iran and Greece.

Thematic Field 10 - Self-care (0:11:54-0:12:49)

- 112 it was same (.). Honestly, it was same and (...). Yeah, I have a lot of motivation and every time
 113 just I think "If I can't help myself, nobody can help me"(...). And, if, for example, I feel / I feel
 114 depression, I was/ I was thinking, "Okay, I have to do something for myself to/ maybe find a
 115 solution for that". And just, you know, I found in myself two things, it's really, really helpful
 116 for me. One: reading book (...). The other is eh (.) watching comedy movie. I never watched
 117 any, you know, drama movie, or something, that kind of movie like that.
- 118 [0:12:33] I: Yeah
- 119 [0:12:35] P(B): Because, yeah, if I/ if I see something like that, for a few days, I feel eh depression (...).
- 120 [0:12:47] I: Yeah, yeah.

B starts this sequence by emphasising that the situation in Iran was the same for her as in Greece; *honestly, it was same*. She then continues to share how she motivates herself and reacts to negative feelings or depression. B shares a saying she will repeat in this interview: *"If I can't help myself, nobody can help me"*. While this saying seems to act as a self-assurance note, it also might be something she would want others to consider by consistently sharing it throughout the interview. It also indicates an active contention with her emotional state, knowing what can help her to feel better and the willingness to prioritise these actions if necessary.

Interestingly, B then continues to share two activities that she deems very helpful for herself: *to read books* and *to watch comedy movies*. Both distraction and gaining different perspectives emerge as coping strategies for B as they are accessible even in precarious living conditions. B does not highlight shared activities or support from her social network or institutions as primary sources of help when feeling down. Therefore, it is suggested that B might not have reliable external support, leading her to focus on self-reliance for proper care. Additionally, it might not be comfortable for B to reveal her vulnerabilities to others in similar or worse situations, as it could affect their wellbeing. As an interpreter and a single individual without children, B's role in providing general care and support for others may hinder her from expressing her own struggles and seeking care and support for herself.

Thematic Field 11 - Back to the beginning of the Narration (0:12:49-0:13:46)

- 121 [0:12:49] P (B): Yeah (..) It was/ it was really difficult, and, yeah (...). Um (.), I don't know, how could I
 122 say, but (.) but I knew/ I know, a lot of eh people (.) is working as an interpreter in (.) Greece
 123 (...). Also, they have kind of a story like me, because (..) the/ I think the point, it's about/ they

- 124 didn't find any good interpreter, and they couldn't trust any. Because I/I remember about
 125 the/ eh Moria. It was like, if you, for example, if you say something to the interpreter,
 126 because it was like a small community and all the people, they knew each other (..), you
 127 couldn't trust. Because if you say something to this interpreter, they said to someone else,
 128 and after, it was/it's getting worse (..).
- 129 [0:13:41] I: Mhm
- 130 [0:13:42] P(B): Yeah, it will be/(.)

It seems that B has reached a Coda, likely leading to an end of the initial narration as she connects to the beginning of her story and compares it with others having similar experiences; they have kind of a story like me. B explains in detail why it was difficult for her and others *to trust interpreters*, but she does not share whether others trust her and what she deems essential to reach this trust as an interpreter. In this sequence, B does not seem to dissolve the contradiction of experiencing interpreters as untrustworthy and working as an interpreter as a duty for the community. Interestingly, B does not share a positive experience with another interpreter when needing interpretational support.

Thematic Field 12 - Requesting a different interpreter (0:13:46-0:14:42)

- 132 [0:13:46] P (B): Because of this, I remember, once I had been in X, and (..) I had to talk with the (.)
 133 gynaecologist. I said "Okay, I don't talk with any interpreter from here (..). If you have
 134 another interpreter, okay, I will do it. If you don't have it, I will do by myself." Yeah (.) and I
 135 remember, the doctor said, the doctor, she was from France, and she said to me "Okay, I will
 136 bring you another interpreter from eh (.) Italy."
- 137 [0:14:17] I: Mhm
- 138 [0:14:18] P (B): Yeah, she's, you know, she's a woman from Afghanistan, but she raised up in Italy
 139 and she doesn't know anything about here. I said "Okay, I will do. Just I trust this woman and
 140 if I wanted to talk about my problem (.) just I talk to/ (.) I talk to her (..).
- 141 [0:14:41] I: Mhm

Similar to the narrative episode before, when B insists on talking with the manager of the local UNHCR office, B insists in this sequence on talking with an interpreter who does not live in Moria Camp. Both narrations showcase B reaching her claims through persistence and determination to stand up for herself. As B recalls detailed direct speech, it seems an essential memory of successfully stepping up for herself. Considering the medical appointment with a gynaecologist and the necessity to discuss intimate content, being able to trust the entire team, particularly the interpreter, is of utmost importance. Particularly being already subjected to threats from male* community members, it is understandable that B is cautious

about keeping personal information such as sexual health private. Both the narrative on insisting on attaining support from UNHCR and this NGO might showcase B's orientation of having to depend on oneself to gain the support necessary. Also, it is a story of not giving up and standing up for herself and others.

Thematic Field 13 - Details on family struggles (0:14:42-0:15:56)

Content Note: mental health, suicide attempt

142 [0:14:42] P (B): And here also, you know, I used to work, after/after/after I get asylum, I had to leave
 143 Lesvos and I came/ I came to Athens, because also my niece(s), they were in Athens, and
 144 they were illegally in Athens/ (...). And also, one of them, she got suicide (suicidal?) and it was
 145 a tough situation for me, you know, to find a solution for everything (...). My sister, she had a
 146 lot of problem in Moria, with one of her daughters and two of them, of her daughter have
 147 been in Athens (...). Yeah, honestly, (.) it was really difficult to handle everything at the same
 148 time (...). Because my sister also, she used to use pill, and yeah (...). She didn't/she didn't have
 149 any control (...) of herself (...). And I did it. And also, after/ ehh (.) I think after one week, when
 150 I came in Athens, my sister, eh she said "Okay, I can't stay any longer in Lesvos/ umm (.) I
 151 have to leave". And they came illegally in Athens (...). Yeah, it was/it was really/it was really
 152 tough (...). And eh for/ I think almost one year (.) I didn't do anything, I didn't work with any

From the detailed and lively narration insisting on speaking with a different interpreter at the medical appointment, B somewhat unexpectedly jumps to a dense report modus. B summarises receiving asylum in Greece, leaving Lesvos and joining her nieces in Athens. B continues the already briefly mentioned situation of her nieces in Athens, which has been abrupted by an interruption of the interview earlier on. B shares memories of, assumingly, one of B's most challenging life experiences.

In the thematic field of "Family struggles", B has mentioned the sending of her two oldest nieces to Athens and hope for a better living situation but predicted that this was not fulfilled. B did not continue this topic and ended the previous narration by outlining why she does not trust other interpreters. It seems these events have lingered in B's mind to be shared in the interview. Maybe B needed more time to decide which details she would share in the interview.

In this sequence, B reveals that her family members in Greece, including her two nieces in Athens, and her sister with her youngest child in Moria, are faced with severe problems. B finds herself in the position of having to care for them, being the sole individual with asylum status and the most stable living conditions. Both her niece in Athens and her sister are struggling with severe mental health issues, with one of the nieces in Athens even attempting suicide. B discloses that her sister has made the decision to relocate to Athens with

her youngest daughter to join B and her two older daughters, as her sister could not manage to stay on Lesbos without B.

In Subsession 2, B will outline more details on this sequence and the following events, which are relevant for a deeper analysis of this situation depicted in the Case History and Structure.

Thematic Field 14 - Staying one year at home (0:15:56-0:17:19)

152 tough (...). And eh for/ I think almost one year (.) I didn't do anything, I didn't work with any
 153 NGOs, I just used to stay at home (...). Because I didn't feel (.) I could handle it. Because I
 154 thought (.) maybe staying at home, it's really helpful for me, because if/ you know/if you
 155 work as an interpreter you/ you are really, you know, struggling with a lot of different
 156 problems (.) And about me, it was little, it was nothing, but it was more difficult (.) to handle
 157 (.) MY problems (...), my sister problem(s), my niece (problem(s)) (...). And the other problem
 158 from the different people (...). And yeah, just for one year, ahh I said "OK, I'm done, and also
 159 (.) I take rest (.)". And for after one year (.), because (.) a lot of problem(s), a lot of, yeah, a lot
 160 of things happened to my family, my sister, my sister daughter (...). And I said, "Okay, I have

B continues her dense report modus in the thematic field of "Staying one year at home", supporting the assumptions above of generally mentioning negative experiences in a distanced and condensed report modus, possibly due to their emotional impact. This sequence covers B's year off work following the challenges of her family outlined above. She describes it as a need to rest for her and her family's wellbeing by reducing additional responsibilities as an interpreter: *I said "Ok, I'm done, and also (.) I take rest"*. In contrast to the previous focus on sharing the positive impacts and purpose of working as an interpreter, B now mentions its impact on mental health and emotional exhaustion. Despite her previous rich narrations that depict her motivation and self-determination, B now describes in a dense report modus a time of reduced responsibilities and activities due to challenging life circumstances. It is unclear whether she deems this time of her life less relevant to the interview, as she did not work as an interpreter that year, or whether she does not want to share more due to personal reasons. It is not mentioned how B and her family sustained themselves financially during that period. Maybe B does not share more details, as taking a year off from interpretation might also be impossible for others needing rest. Considering B's decision to take one year off working as an interpreter due to her wellbeing, the saying *"If you can't help yourself, you can help others"* might also act as a form of resistance to society's demands of

constant productivity. It might also depict B's awareness of her limits. This year at home might stem from a resistance to self-sacrifice and the courage to prioritise one's wellbeing.

Thematic Field 15 - Interpretation in Athens (0:17:19-0:18:15)

161 to do something!" (...). Just eh I/eh/I remember, I started to work with X (...). Yeah, and we
 162 were trying to help the homeless people (...). It was/ it was SO/ good for me, and give/ you
 163 know, it was so (...) how could I say (...). It give/gave me a lot of motivation about the people,
 164 about the humanity (...). Because, for example, if we gave something to the/the homeless

Following the narrative of her year spent at home, B begins to recount her initial experiences as an interpreter in Athens. B appears to delve more into the details of her work in Athens than on Lesbos, revealing her growing interest in the social sector and her employment as the foundation for her life in Athens. The process of self-discovery seems symbolised by the empowering experience of re-entering the workforce after a challenging year. B's encounter with working with individuals experiencing homelessness may have been instrumental in helping her navigate difficult times, providing a sense of community and belonging. This experience might also counter the theme of not belonging and having an unclear identity as B discovers purpose and connection through aiding those facing challenging living circumstances.

Thematic Field 16 - Positive aspects of working as an interpreter (0:18:15-0:18:37)

165 people, if/if, for example, he or she had something, they said "Oh, I have it. Please give it to
 166 someone". It was really good for me, when I see someone, who doesn't have (...) home, who
 167 doesn't have anything, (...) who doesn't have many, maybe right (...). Say something (...) to me
 168 (...) it was/ it was really (...) helpful (...) to see other people (...). And also, working as interpreter

168 (...) it was/ it was really (...) helpful (...) to see other people (...). And also, working as interprete
 169 it's (...), you know, on the other side, it's really good, you help the people, (...) on the other
 170 side it's really helpful, (...) because you learn a lot of things from the (...) different people (...)
 171 with different story (...), a different situation (...). Yeah, it was/ it was good (...). And after I

B shares that working as an interpreter is good for the people interpreted for and the interpreter themselves. B does not only share that helping others gave her purpose but also that she was interested in learning about them. Therefore, working as an interpreter might be a way of growing and learning as she might be curious about developing herself. There seems to be support for the idea that B sees her work in Athens as a way to grow and learn and less about surviving and gaining independence, as in Moria. The year at home might have given B time to reflect on her interests and strengths.

Thematic Field 17 - Reflecting on stereotypes – LGBTIQ (0:18:37-0:20:36)

171 with different story (.), a different situation (...). Yeah, it was/ it was good (...). And after I
 172 started to work with the/ I said, okay, I'm gonna start with another organisation, because I
 173 want to see different people (.). And I started to work with X and X is working eh/with/ for
 174 the (.) LGBTQs (.). But you know, (.) in/ about the Muslim people, (.) we, you know, we used
 175 to think (..) the LGBTQ (.) community, they are weird people (.). Maybe they were thinking
 176 they were from another universe (.). Yeah, because they/ because they learn us like this (...).
 177 And, when I started to work with them, it's, I remember to/ um/ (.). We had two interview(s)
 178 with two different eh trans* (.) And (..) it was really, really (.) emotional (...). Ehh after/ after/
 179 after I finish these two interviews, I was/ I was thinking a lot about, ok, why I used to think (.)
 180 they are the weird people? (.) But I never (searched?) it? And, I remember, also I was
 181 starting with eh family, I tried to get, you know, some information about the (inc.)/ And I
 182 said to them "Okay, every time we were thinking about it, like they are different people or
 183 maybe they are pretend to be different. But honestly, they are not. (..) They are not, just,
 184 you know, they, you know, they came to this universe with the different, maybe (..),
 185 different soul in different bodies". It's/ I could say just this (...). But, honestly, I'm really (...) in
 186 peace with myself. I've had (..) a lot of different experiences (.). And, also, after the X period,

B has now actively decided to change her work as she wants to see different people. This decision illustrates a turning point for focusing on gathering different (working) experiences. Working with diverse people with different vulnerabilities, often not obliging to society's norms, might reflect an orientation towards an openly lived individual lifestyle, which might not have been possible in Iran and Lesvos. It might also reflect that B is now in a more stable place with financial security and wellbeing, allowing her to reconsider her interests. Also, it might be more accessible now for B to choose between different job opportunities as she holds asylum status, has extended experience working as an interpreter, and improved English skills. In this sequence, B describes working with LGBTIQ as a significant experience in gaining awareness and challenging personal and societal stereotypes towards diverse sexual identities. Linguistically noticeable is B's switching between the personal pronouns **we** and **they** when describing her community's approach towards LGBTIQ. B starts a narrational sequence describing her attending an interview with two trans* persons and the emotional impact. B is critically reflecting on not challenging the stereotypes she was taught: *Why I used to think (.) they are the weird people? But I never (searched?) it*. Potentially, B might feel guilt or shame upon realising her stereotypes about diverse gender identities and never actually being in contact and informing herself. Upon realisation, B starts to inform herself and talk with her family. B does not share how her family reacts to her remarks, whether they show interest, indifference or even resistance.

Thematic Field 18 - Working with kids (0:20:36-0:21:02)

187 I used to work with X (...). With the/ now I'm working with X. It's really different because I've
 188 never, you know (...), never (...) been playing with eh (...) any kids. But it was enjoyable! It is (...)
 189 really good (...), enjoyable, yeah (...). You know, I start/ yeah, since the last week, I started to
 190 work with eh/X. And I used to work with the (...) kids. And the kids (...), some of them, they
 191 are really different. Especially, I remember one. The first day I was there, I saw a girl from

In the provided text, B briefly mentions her past involvement with an NGO and then discusses her current work involving activities with children. During the interview, she emphasises her lack of experience in this field while expressing genuine enjoyment, suggesting a deviation from her initial expectations. This unexpected enjoyment may be rooted in a disinterest in conforming to traditional family norms and assuming the role of a caregiver for children. Notably, despite living with her sister's daughters, B highlights her unfamiliarity with working with children. This might depict a nuanced perception of B, differentiating between professional caregiving and familial roles and considering them distinct with varying connotations. B views engagement in the pedagogical sector as a skill that requires intentional acquisition. Despite her experience in familial caregiving, she refrains from considering herself fully qualified, challenging the assumption of inherent qualification based solely on familial experiences.

Her disposition challenges stereotypical gender roles, as she does not automatically associate identifying as female* with an inherent enjoyment of childcare responsibilities. Despite initial expectations, the revelation of her enjoyment suggests a potential misalignment with her self-perceived role. Additionally, her doubts about her childcare aptitude may stem from her orientation towards setting high standards and a persistent commitment to continuous self-improvement and education.

Thematic Field 19 – Playing with S (0:21:02-0:23:34)

191 are really different. Especially, I remember one. The first day I was there, I saw a girl from
 192 Afghanistan (.), almost three or four years. Yeah, I think, I think so. Yeah, she/ she started to
 193 bite the other kids, hit the other kids. I was thinking, why she was really, you know/maybe
 194 angry or something like that. And she doesn't want to collab with the other kids. But, yeah,
 195 honestly, I/I didn't pay attention because I didn't have any experience like that (.). I thought,
 196 maybe it's eh kids, just/. And after, she came to me the other day, the second day when I
 197 saw her. I/I said to S., her name is S., "It's your day (.). It's your room (.). Nobody is here and
 198 (..) you can play with whatever you like, whatever you want to do, it's your room (.). Just
 199 play!". And she came to me after she was playing, after a few minutes, she came to me and
 200 said, "Where is your father?". I said, "My father, he is (.) in the sky" (.). And she said "My
 201 father is in Afghanistan" (.). And immediately, you know, eh she jumped to another thing,
 202 said to her mother "I said, my/ my father is in Afghanistan". She said "No, your father passed
 203 away". I see, okay, something is wrong with this family. And (..) and yeah, just, I didn't say
 204 anything, and again, I started to play with S., and she said to me "Do you like me?". Oh, my
 205 God (..). That was emotional, I wanted to cry. I/if she said something to me/ I said "YES, I
 206 really like you!" And she said "Okay, come down" (.). And just I, you know, ah I came, and
 207 she kissed me and said, "I like you". Oh, my god (...). It was/ it was SO emotional (...). Uh, so
 208 you know, for a few days, I couldn't (..) handle it. Just/ when I was thinking, you know, it
 209 broke really my heart, it was really, really tough to see a kid with this (.) kind of problem (..).

This sequence holds a very long and detailed narration, illustrating the emotional impact and vivid memory of B. Initially, B does not focus on the child's anger and deems it a usual part of a child's development. B details her experiences with the child when being alone and having time to pay attention. Like the challenging situations described above, B wonders why people behave the way they do and does not want to fall into stereotypes but tries to support them. B opens up a detailed narrative storytelling with direct speech. She shares that the child asks her about her father. It seems as if the child does connect and talk about her father with B. While the child states that her father is in Afghanistan, the mother intervenes that the child's father passed away, a situation that B seemingly finds rather unsettling, realising that something is wrong with this family. B focuses on the child, who asks B whether she likes her. By B's confirmation, the child reacts affectionately and kisses B, which leaves B very touched and emotional. B realises that the child is not doing well and worries when thinking about this family after work, which leads B to organise extra support on food provision, but it is unclear whether that will be sufficient. B openly shares that she experienced this situation as challenging, showing her empathetic focus, particularly among the most vulnerable ones. B might feel helpless in realising the amount of support the family would most likely need and the amount of support she can give. This narration might show a clear motivation to support others in achieving a more stable future and life from a compas-

sionate perspective, but at the same time, the emotional impact upon limited possibilities in offering this support.

Thematic Field 20 - Emotional impact of interpretation (0:23:34-0:25:40)

- 210 And yeah, just I/I was, you know, I talked with my colleague (..) because now I'm working
 211 with eh (.) X. Yeah, we (..) we are working uh for the single mothers, who have
 212 (resident/residency?) or who are in the process (..). So, I spoke to my colleague, I said,
 213 "Okay, I found uh/ a new woman". Because (..) honestly, we don't/ eh we don't work for the
 214 people from, for example Malakasa. Because they are far from us and can't come weekly
 215 and getting the groceries. And I said, „Okay, I found it/ a new person, you know, uhhh you
 216 know, she's living in Malakasa, but she REALLY needs help (..) about everything (..). Maybe (.)
 217 a/at least we can help them about the groceries (...). Um yeah, just, we could eh maybe, put
 218 her name on our list (...)" And it was (..)/ it was reall/ (...). Maybe, at least, it's a little help
 219 for them, but (...) I don't know (...). Because they are struggling with a lot of (..) problems (..),
 220 serious problems (...). Yeah, I have a lot of experience like that (..) Yeah (..), for me (..), you
 221 know (..). After, after (..) interview (..) after everything like that (..) I feel like depression (5s).
 222 But also (...), it gives me motivation (..) for the continuing (..) yeah (..).
- 223 [0:25:33] I: Yeah
- 224 [0:25:34] P(B): Yeah (..) it's difficult (..).

In this sequence, B sums up that she has had several experiences of working with people in challenging circumstances and that, on the one hand, it makes her *feel depression*, but on the other hand, *it gives her the motivation for the continuing*. This paragraph seems to support the hypotheses above on B describing the ambivalence on finding purpose and experiencing emotional exhaustion when working as an interpreter. Linguistically, B uses the same terms as in previous sequences, considering feeling *depression* and feeling *motivation (.) for the continuing*. B describes these contrasting feelings as simultaneous feelings evoked by the experience of working as an interpreter. In their core antagonistic terms, these are difficult to imagine appearing simultaneously. While the feeling of *depression* describes a state of losing hope and passiveness, the feeling of *motivation* describes a state of determination and activeness. Jumping between these two states describes a somewhat existential challenge. However, B does not exemplify what specific experiences when working as an interpreter evoke feelings of depression and what experiences evoke feelings of motivation.

Construction of the Case History

In the next step, the chronological Biographical Data and Thematic Fields structuring Subsession 1 are compared to evaluate in which ways events might have been experienced

in the past and to what kind of patterns of orientation, interpretation and self-presentation that could have led (Rosenthal, 2018; Wengraf, 2001).

Biographical Data Analysis Life phases	Thematic Field Analysis of the initial narrative (Subsession 1)
a. 0-15 Village life in Iran: B is growing up in an open family and has good grades in the local village school. b. 15-18 High School in Teheran: Upon recommendations from her teachers, B is attending high school in Teheran. Initially, B stayed with her sister in Teheran, but due to homesickness, B will move back to her parents' place and commute daily between Teheran and her village by bus. c. 18 -24 Working in a factory: Unexpectedly, B's father dies when B is completing high school. Instead of continuing her education, B has to support herself financially and starts working in a factory. d. 24-27 Studying chemistry: Upon support from her female* supervisor at her workplace, B can continue her education and complete a bachelor's degree in applied chemistry.	1). Negative experience with interpreters (0:00:58-0:02:14) 2). Moria as a shock (0:02:14 - 0:02:56) 3). Starting to work as an interpreter on Lesbos (0:02:56-0:05:07) 4). Working as a female* interpreter (0:05:07-0:06:41) 5). Struggle of family (0:06:41-0:07:45) 6). Trying to get support from institutions (0:07:45-0:08:58) 7). Responsibility for others (0:08:58-0:09:29) 8). Unclear identity, not belonging (0:09:29-0:10:42)

e. 27 Leaving Iran: In 2019, B leaves Iran with one of her sisters and her sisters' daughters. f. 27-28 Life on Lesbos: B, her sister, and her nieces are applying for asylum upon arriving on Lesbos. They have to stay in "Camp Moria" under dire conditions. g. 28-30 Life in Athens: Following receiving asylum, B joins her two oldest nieces in Athens. Several challenging events are happening to B, her sister and her nieces, leading B to have to stay at home for one year. In 2021, B started working as an interpreter in Athens again, holding custody of her youngest niece.	9). Comparing life as a refugee in Iran to life in Moria (0:10:42-0:11:54) 10). Self-care (0:11:54-0:12:49) 11). Back to the beginning of the story (0:12:49-0:13:46) 12). Requesting a different interpreter (0:13:46-0:14:42) 13). Details on family struggles (0:14:42-0:15:56) 14). Staying one year at home (0:15:56-0:17:19) 15). Interpretation in Athens (0:17:19-0:18:15) 16). Positive aspects of working as an interpreter (0:18:15-0:18:37) 17). Reflection on stereotypes of Queer Identity (0:18:37-0:20:36) 18). Working with children (0:20:36-0:21:02)
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	19). Playing with S (0:21:02-0:23:34) 20). Emotional impact of interpretation (0:23:34-0:25:40) 21). Finding identity and purpose (0:25:40-0:26:33) 22). Empowering oneself and other women* (0:26:33-0:31:07) 23). Interpreting Techniques (0:31:07-0:32:35) 24). Importance of self-care (0:32:35-0:33:32) 25). Personal reflection (0:33:32-0:34:20) 26). Coda/End of Subsession 1 (0:34:20)
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To construct the History of the Case, the contents of the Biographical Data Analysis and Thematic Field Analysis depicted in this chart are brought together. In the subsequent paragraph, possible narrative perspectives gathered exploratively above will be compared with the contents of the Thematic Field Analysis and Biographical Data Analysis.

- **Caring and supporting the family:** While B shares in Subsession 1 the pressure and challenges of her family in Greece, she only depicts details on her supportive role in Subsession 2

when B shares vast insight into her childhood and adult life in Iran, depicting the close family ties and familiar support. In Subsession 2, B outlines that her educational career was disrupted due to the unexpected death of her father, which forced her to work at a factory. B continues to share in Subsession 2 that she eventually got custody of her youngest niece in Athens. Both these very different experiences showcase the need for early independence to support herself and her family financially and emotionally. However, B does not centre these but only mentions it upon follow-up questions in Subsession 2. It seems to be somewhat apparent that she took over family responsibilities. Potentially, B might be shaped by expectations and social norms depicting caring for one's family as standard, and her emphasis on the relevance of caring for oneself might depict putting priority on one's wellbeing as somewhat unusual. This might especially consider the overarching societal expectations for women* to prioritise the wellbeing of others.

- **Life as a female* refugee:** B depicts the impact of one's wellbeing by experiencing gender-based violence considering her position as an interpreter. She shares the challenges of not being accepted by male* community members and gradually reveals that her oldest nieces had to leave Lesbos due to threats from male* community members. At the end of Subsession 1, B describes that many women* lack self-confidence due to the dominance of patriarchal social norms. Contrary to dominating social norms, B describes her family as being very open, which B connects with her self-confidence and motivation to not abide by patriarchal suppression. Therefore, the narrative perspective of "Life as a female* refugee" is in counteraction with the narrative perspective of "Fighting patriarchal societal structures" during Subsession 1.

- **Fighting patriarchal societal structures:** In Subsession 2, B shares details of her life in Iran and the support of her family in gaining an education. B also shares the support from her female* supervisor when working in the factory and the ability to study chemistry. In Subsession 2, B depicts her supervisor and the famous female* chemist Marie Curie as role models for herself, leading to the following narrative perspective.

- **Trying to serve as a role model:** This orientation somewhat depicts a finding of purpose in empowering women*. While B shows consistent interest in learning, she knows her unusual societal position and its possible effect on empowering other women*. Possibly, she might

look back on the effect of role models on herself and the motivation and self-consciousness they gave her.

- **Advocate for others:** Besides B's aim to be a supportive figure and role model for other women*, she is showing interest in getting to know and offer support to vulnerable groups and individuals discriminated against by society, such as LBTIQ, homeless, and single parents. In particular, she is interested in learning from diverse living situations and developing herself.

- **Systematic injustice:** B and her family are faced with multiple experiences of systematic injustice, such as the unequal receiving of asylum status, the experience of gender-based violence, pressure from officials in Athens, border separation and having to fight for custody. While outlining that these severe experiences have been challenging, B subsequently reflects on possible reasons behind these experiences by showing empathy and an interest in understanding possible motives for unjust behaviour.

- **Fighting for custody:** As outlined above, the fight for custody of her niece might be one of the main orientations when sharing the initial narrative. However, during Subsession 1, B does not mention the topic of custody at all. It is only mentioned in Subsession 2 when B shares the topic of "Family Struggles" in a further detailed report. The situation of the two nieces in Athens is told in a condensed report modus, pervaded by interruptions and with increased detailing. At the beginning of Subsession 1, B mentions the sending of the two eldest nieces to Athens due to threats from male* community members on Lesbos. This sequence is interrupted by tourists. Following various sequences, B continues the report on the situation of the nieces in Athens by sharing that one of the nieces attempted suicide shortly after B arrived in Athens. This situation is depicted as the start of B's year at home in Athens. In Subsession 2, B then mentions that she and her sister sought help from institutions in Athens, but instead of receiving support, her sister was at risk of losing custody of her daughters. The fragmentary and multiple recounting of these experiences showcases the severe emotional impact, difficulty of sharing, and possible insecurity to what detailed level to share these experiences.

- **Trying to find a positive outlook:** This seems to be one of B's main orientations. While sharing multiple excruciating experiences, they are always followed up by some self-

assurance and positive affirmation. When experiencing difficult life circumstances, B seems to focus on analysing situations and adapt this analysis to find a suitable problem-solving approach.

- **Gaining independence:** Considering her education and English skills and, therefore, the ability to work as an interpreter with NGOs, B's independence is depicted. On a broader level, overcoming challenges and receiving residential status and stable employment might be narrated as "finding peace" and "gaining independence". Particularly considering B's identity as female, gaining independence means independence from financial support and community or institutional control of her living situation. On a linguistic level, B emphasises that she is really self-conscious, which motivates her to overcome challenges and reach independence., such as depicted in the narration of her initial work as an interpreter on Lesbos.

- **Finding peace:** Biographically, finding peace might depict B being in a stable living situation following several challenges in Iran, on the move to Greece and when staying on Lesbos and in Athens. This narrative orientation is depicted linguistically by B sharing If you can't help yourself, you can't help anybody, followed by I really found peace in myself. B indicates that while she wants to be a role model for others, she can not take responsibility for helping them to find peace, stating they have to find for themselves.

- **Finding purpose in life:** As indicated above, a narrative orientation of "Being a role model for women*" seems to serve B's purpose. However, B also seems to find purpose generally by working with individuals faced with multiple discrimination, supporting them, learning from them and gaining new life experiences. Altogether, this narrative orientation could also be outlined as a journey in finding purpose, as purpose might change in different life circumstances. While B's purpose in Iran seemed to gain an education, on Lesbos, it seemed to find an activity helping to deal with the severe condition, whereas when staying at home, it seemed to mark a time of reflection. Upon starting to work with NGOs in Athens, B seems to be able to follow her inherent joys and interests.

In addition to these possible narrative orientations through analysis of connections with Thematic Field Analysis and Biographical Data Analysis, an additional possible narrative orientation developed.

- **Becoming the Caretaker of the Family:** While comparing exploratively gathered possible narrative orientations with the analysed biographical and textual contents, an additional possible narrative orientation evolves. Namely, B possibly becomes the "Caretaker of the Family" after her early father's death. We do not have information about B's family members since leaving Iran with her sister and nieces. Neither B nor her sister seem to be in a partnership but on their own with the caretaking responsibilities of her sister's daughters. Despite her father, no male* family members are mentioned throughout the interview, but multiple female* ones, namely B, her mother, sisters, and nieces. B has been financially independent since her high school diploma due to her father's death and could only later continue her education, a bachelor's degree in chemistry. At the time of the interview, B is 30 years old, has work experience as an interpreter in Greece, work experience in Iran, and an academic degree. She holds asylum status, has a place to live in Athens and does not have a traditional family on her own but custody of her youngest niece. B seems to take on the role of stability for her family members in Greece. Her sister is struggling with mental health; she used to take pills, she could not control herself, and her oldest niece attempted suicide shortly after B arrived in Athens. B seems to have the role of being a balanced person, taking care of her family members. Also, when gaining custody of her youngest niece, B takes over the role of a caretaker for the youngest family member in Greece due to the separation of her sister and her niece. Having to be financially independent from an early age might indicate her father's role as the "breadwinner" of the family due to her mother's assumed vast caretaking responsibilities and structural limitations for Afghan citizens in the Iranian job market. On Lesbos, B does not have the caretaking responsibilities of her sister, and due to her English skills, B can provide financial support by working as an interpreter. Due to receiving asylum status and work experience, B has enhanced options for receiving a paid position when working as an interpreter in Athens. This might cause B to take over the role of a "family breadwinner" by providing financial support and as a "family caretaker" by providing consistent emotional support. This double role leads to a vast responsibility with minimal room for support for B, which might have led to B's focus on self-care, stating if you can help yourself, you can help other people, and if you can't help yourself, nobody can help you throughout the interview.

Case Structure

While considering the analyses above, several structures of the case seemed to become visible. The most apparent ones are depicted below, namely, **If you can't help yourself, nobody can help you**, **Trying to understand**, and **Identity and Belonging – Gender and Community**.

If you can't help yourself, nobody can help you. From a feminist perspective, particularly regarding B's perspective, this statement is revolutionary as it initiates non-adherence to an implicit norm of female* sacrifice. It depicts the acknowledgement of one's limits and taking one's wellbeing as seriously as the wellbeing of others. This perception is indicated by B's emphasis on really having self-consciousness when explaining her motivation to continue working as an interpreter despite being faced with several challenges and pressure from her community. This intense trust in oneself and awareness of the importance of self-worth while being faced with multiple forms of discrimination due to her gender, origin and refugee status is supported by B's resistance out of a feministic perspective. This inherent feminist self-concept might explain B's focus on gaining independence through education and financial security, leading to the necessary framework of caring for oneself without being emotionally and or financially dependent on her family or possible male* partner. B relates her self-consciousness to growing up in an open family, which seemed to support her aim of gaining independence and possibly equipped her with strategies to deal with challenging life circumstances. Her family might have been sensitised to recognise and oppose gender-based discrimination due to personal experience of discrimination for Afghan citizens living in Iran. **If you can't help yourself, nobody can help you.** This statement might also reflect on B finding it challenging to trust others due to experiencing negative situations. This is exemplified by her losing trust in interpreters on Lesbos or the disappointment of a psychologist not listening when seeking psychological support (outlined in Subsession 2). These experiences might have intensified the experiences of discrimination in Iran and manifested the need to be able to care for herself and avoid being dependent on support from others. Following the death of her father, B might have taken over the role of a caretaker for the family, not allowing herself to show vulnerability and ask for support due to fears of destabilising the family system and the wellbeing of family members.

Trying to understand. Generally, the interview is marked by a mix of descriptive/argumentative, descriptive/narrative and descriptive/evaluative sequences showcasing detailed elaboration and consideration of the interviewer's understanding. When detailing negative experiences and mistreatment by others, B frequently follows up with an analytical consideration of the perspectives of others. This action seems to mirror vital self-reflective approaches when sharing the story of working as an interpreter in Greece. It might also reflect an interest and understanding of the motives and emotions of others, such as showcased by her interest in working with people in different fields. It might also be affected by gender-specific linguistic aspects, with women* being taught in societies not to openly voice anger or blame but rather show compassion and understanding.

Additionally, it could be rather a sign of distancing and emotional control through self-reflection and leading to an analytical, rational level following the emotional expression of the situation. Often, descriptions and narratives of experiences in the past tense are followed and intertwined with argumentations and evaluations in the present tense. This linguistic characteristic might somewhat show the fluid connections between experiences in the past and reflections on these experiences in the present.

This emphasis on reflecting experiences in Iran and Greece and the analytical process of identifying motives of individuals and collectives committing unjust behaviours might stem from trying to process these experiences on a rational level. Processing these experiences by identifying causes might stem from hope for finding ways of changing circumstances leading to discrimination on a structural and individual level. Also, it might be a way of trying to take back control of a situation that is characterised by losing control and being exposed to multifaceted suppression and violence. It is hardly bearable to process the experience of violence as a pure act of power abuse and overstepping of physical and psychological boundaries. While experiencing a total situation of losing control and being dependent on officials and faced with arbitrary violence on an individual and structural level, B might try to bring structure into this structurelessness and violence by adhering to reflection and compassion.

Identity and belonging – Gender and community. When talking about women*, B usually refers to we, which might showcase identification and a feeling of belonging with F(L)INTA generally or women* in the community more specifically. Primarily, it depicts the sharing not

of individual but collective experiences, particularly the heightened vulnerability in Moria Camp or Athens due to exposure to gender-based discrimination and violence. As the interviewer identifies herself as female* and is also perceived by B as female*, the use of *we* might also indicate the assumption of unspoken shared experiences or at least heightened awareness of gender-specific discrimination and violence. Possibly, experiences of sexual violence might have been shared differently if the interviewer had been perceived as male*. In contrast, B specifically uses *they*, when outlining fears and lack of confidence from women* due to experiencing gender-based violence. It might also depict B distancing herself from these fears, as B emphasises her self-confidence and active approach to commit to challenges. It also might serve to illustrate the drastic effects of maltreatment on the wellbeing of women*, the collective suffering of women and B's resistance to patriarchal societal restraints.

Furthermore, it might also depict B's attempt to explain to the interviewer the situation of women* in Iran and Afghanistan, as the interviewer is white and has never lived in Iran or Afghanistan. Due to the interviewer's different background, B might need to outline the societal and political restraints in Iran and Afghanistan and life realities for women*. The use of 'they' when discussing women* in B's community could be an intentional choice to draw attention to the disparities in life realities. This choice may reflect an effort to highlight the contrast between the experiences of most women* globally and of *white* women in a *white* society. This imbalance in feminist discourses, particularly in second-wave feminism, leads to less visibility and understanding of the diverse and varied experiences of women* from different backgrounds, including B's community. Using "*they*" could thus serve as a means to broaden the conversation and underscore the importance of acknowledging and addressing the intersectionality of women's* experiences globally.

At the same time, B is critically reviewing the societal structures of her community by contrasting growing up in an open family with growing up in a more traditional family adhering to societal norms. She states that her upbringing is somewhat of an exception and reflects on the effects of patriarchal societal norms on the self-perceptions of women* in her community. By sharing her personal story and stating that she has self-confidence, B is spreading strategies for empowering herself and others and simultaneously bringing resilience to societal norms. B reflects critically on the limits of empowering others and states that they must find for themselves.

Discussion

"What does it mean to face living conditions as a person on the move in Greece and holding the role and responsibilities as an interpreter for one's community?"

This project has focused on portraying the unique life worlds, experiences, and biographies from displaced interpreters' perspectives. The following sections outline a comparative approach to the life worlds of A and B, leading to conclusions, practical implications, further thoughts and limitations of this thesis.

Contrasts and commonalities

When discussing their living situation, A and B show contrastive perspectives. A conveys the challenges of residing in a precarious environment, compounded by the limitations and danger of deportation due to the lack of a recognised residence status. In contrast, B provides a more optimistic perspective, highlighting a stable legal situation through having refugee status in Greece. Additionally, B can access work opportunities and reside in her home, emphasising a more secure and positive living arrangement.

Upon detailed comparison of A's and B's analysis, it becomes evident that their depicted life worlds centre around complex intertwining of intersectionality and socio-political dynamics within the context of working as a displaced interpreter in Greece. The analysis of both interviews explores the multifaceted effects stemming from intersecting identities and the effects of the Greek and European asylum systems on the resulting substantial pressure placed on individuals and collectives.

Ambivalence of working as displaced interpreter

A and B express a general ambivalence marked by positive and negative experiences regarding the interpreter's role. For A, this ambivalence is encapsulated in the phrase: *it's good and at the same time it's bad*, suggesting a nuanced perspective that acknowledges both favourable and challenging aspects of their role as an interpreter.

Similarly, B articulates a complex emotional landscape, stating: *I feel depression, but at the same time, it gives me motivation*. This sentiment captures the intricate interplay between emotional challenges and mental health and the motivating factors for keeping engaged in the demanding field of community interpretation.

Both outline that despite the motivation and the general positive aspects of working as an interpreter, severe negative experiences impact general wellbeing and mental health. This ambivalence is illustrated by B repeatedly sharing that it was *really helpful – it was really difficult*, and *first you have to find peace for yourself*.

Motivation for working as an interpreter

B states that one of her primary motivations for working as an interpreter is to gain independence, as she had a bad experience with an interpreter upon arrival on Lesbos. A emphasises supporting their own community as their primary motivational factor for working as an interpreter. Both describe working as an interpreter as an opportunity to engage in a meaningful activity, regain agency in challenging situations, and enhance their language skills. Additionally, working as an interpreter provides the chance to familiarise themselves with official systems in Greece, thereby improving the likelihood of obtaining a residence permit and securing permanent employment.

Interviewee A draws strength from their *faith in God*, finding solace and inspiration in their religious beliefs. On the other hand, Interviewee B's primary source of finding strength lies in their aspiration to emulate female* figures who serve as feminist symbols, such as *Marie Curie*, and *reading a book and watching a comedy movie*.

Relation to NGOs

Brief narrative sequences and argumentative evaluations illustrate A's encounter with unequal power dynamics and racism in Greece, specifically within NGOs and official institutions. A emphasises the presence of structural discrimination, particularly racism, within NGOs, asserting that these organisations primarily prioritise financial gains. A places trust only in individuals they perceive as genuinely caring and self-reflective and harbours scepticism towards organisations, particularly NGOs. A recurrently expresses the intention of writing a book to document these experiences.

During the interview, B primarily recounts personal experiences working with NGOs in Lesbos and Athens. While B's narrative in Lesbos is dominated by the threats from male* community members related to her work with NGOs, the focus shifts to B's interests in this line of work and her growth and learning experiences. Interestingly, after concluding the recording, B shares negative experiences with an NGO on Lesbos and, generally, when working with 'international volunteers'. Furthermore, B mentions discussing her experiences with

NGOs honestly in a previous group interview, suggesting potential similarities in the experiences of discrimination within NGOs between A and B beyond what is evident from the verbatim material.

During Interview B, stories are shared about a colleague who failed to invite B to a weekend trip, not even considering including her. In Interview A, the narrative unfolds around a farewell party held in a venue with racist undertones, accentuating the theme of exclusion from friendly relationships and the distance experienced in life realities.

This discourse also highlights the challenges arising from unsuitable, overburdened, and often too-inexperienced NGO employees. In their interview, A criticises an exchange between an NGO and a French university sending young and inexperienced students. The impact of sending students under such circumstances is deemed by A to be more negatively affecting the students themselves rather than contributing positively to the situation.

Similarly, B raises concerns about a psychologist's lack of attention, questioning whether the psychologist was genuinely present for professional engagement or merely for educational purposes. This observation underscores the significance of genuine, focused attention in professional settings, particularly within the context of psychological support.

While A focuses on macro- and micro-level racism of NGOs during the interview, B shares those experiences mainly after the interview. Both outline experiences that seem to depict a structural *white* Saviour Industrial Complex in NGOs active in Greece.

Navigation through the process of asylum in Greece

Both narratives of A and B revolve around the asylum system, bureaucracy, and the ensuing consequences. A reflects on personal experiences, including facing rejection of their asylum appeal, while B emphasises the challenges related to navigating bureaucratic hurdles, citing documentation issues, and receiving custody of her niece. Furthermore, the conversation delves into the broader experiences of individuals for whom interpretation is provided, revealing a pattern of inequalities within the system. The cumulative impact of these disparities extends beyond mere procedural inconveniences, significantly affecting the overall wellbeing of those involved and necessitating unique coping strategies to deal with systemic challenges.

In a poignant example provided by B, seeking support from officials following the severe mental health situation of her niece results in the withdrawal of custody. This highlights

a complex situation where requested support from the system inadvertently led to adverse outcomes. In Subsession 2, B expresses a complete lack of trust in a psychologist, underscoring a profound scepticism towards the credibility and efficacy of mental health professionals. Additionally, B shares experiences of being used to not receiving external support due to her growing up in Iran as an Afghan citizen; *honestly, it's the same*.

A has received numerous rejections to their asylum appeal despite working as an interpreter in the hospital of Samos. This illustrates adaptation challenges within a system that falls short of anticipated support. In the case of A, a broader sense of mistrust is articulated, extending beyond individual professionals to encompass a general lack of faith in the institutions and systems within Greece. A's mistrust reflects a pervasive disillusionment with the broader societal structures.

Resistance

A explains the decision to resign from an NGO as a result of the mistreatment of their community; *I resigned because of the way they treated my community*. This action sheds light on the profound impact of ethical considerations on A's professional choices. B emphasises the importance of refraining from judgment and prioritising empathy instead; *I don't judge any person, the first important thing*. The themes of resilience and perseverance weave through both narratives, as the challenges encountered in their respective roles are met with a resilient attitude or, as B states, *but that's life*.

In the face of racist incidents and as a means of asserting their interests within bureaucratic systems, A recounts instances such as initiating a boycott of a team party at a racially discriminatory bar. A further details experiences such as organising the funeral of a camp resident who did not receive any support and the resignation at an NGO.

Meanwhile, B illustrates her proactive approach to dealing with bureaucratic challenges. This involves persistently demanding to speak to a superior at UNHCR, navigating the custody matters of her niece, consulting with a lawyer, and making a clear and assertive statement against a flatmate. These actions exemplify a determined effort to address and counter systemic issues and personal challenges.

Identity

When considering identity, A expresses having a clear sense of identity through their citizenship/nationality originating from Cameroon. Though identifying as part of the English-

speaking minority in Cameroon, A does not share any experiences of persecution in Cameroon or Athens from their community. Instead, A is confronted with structural racism in Greece.

In contrast, B continuously describes an unclear identity throughout the interview, finding herself not entirely accepted by Iranian or Afghan communities. Being born and growing up in Iran but holding Afghan citizenship leads to several bureaucratic challenges and misunderstandings depicting the struggles of lacking evident roots. Rather than identifying herself through citizenship, B identifies as a role model for other women*, trying to empower herself and others. B's experience in Greece is marked by the challenge of receiving residential status and building a network, underlining the complexities associated with an uncertain and fluid identity in a new and unfamiliar context.

Community (non) belonging

Both describe receiving general support and appreciation from those requiring their interpretation services, which brings a sense of responsibility and heightened expectations. A has a positive and involved relationship with their community, viewing themselves as a role model and representative. They actively fight for the rights of their community and are perceived as a 'father figure' with requests for support and acceptance as an authority by addressing the colonialist distribution of power and structural exploitation of BIPOC. A criticises structural racism within political and institutional spheres, including NGOs labelled as 'allies', expressing disappointment with the pervasive structural racism in Europe. This disappointment stems from unmet expectations of human rights standards, revealing a stark discrepancy between the EU's self-portrayal and actual actions. A wants to *write a book* documenting their experiences, specifically focusing on uncovering structural racism and advocating for structural resistance. A's perspective leans towards community advocacy, with limited options for improving their situation. Despite acknowledging inner communal discrimination, such as for women* and the LGBTIQ community, A rather evaluates than criticises inner communal forms of discrimination: *in our culture they don't like* (LGBTIQ). A reflects on the challenges of leading a positive life, citing numerous negative experiences, the absence of residence status, and a commitment to working for their community.

B's relationship with her community is ambivalent and of unclear affiliation to Iranian and Afghan communities. While B has positive experiences working with individuals from differ-

ent communities, especially vulnerable and marginalised groups such as people experiencing homelessness, LGBTIQ individuals, and women*, there are negative experiences with male* community members. B does not position herself as a representative for the entire community but rather for particularly vulnerable and marginalised individuals. She experiences marginalisation as a woman* and as a displaced person both in Iran and Greece. B critically examines patriarchal social structures within and outside the community, focusing on support and trustful accompaniment to achieve independence from systems and the community. B emphasises parallels in racism between Greece and Iran, critically examining discrimination in the LGBTIQ community as a socially learned behaviour *because they teach us like this*. B emphasises personal strategies for surviving in challenging environments and maintaining motivation over succumbing to depression, highlighting the belief that helping oneself is essential; *if you can't help yourself, nobody can help you*. B's aim and hope are to lead a self-determined life free from patriarchal constraints and discrimination.

Surviving multifactorial violence

In the face of the experience of powerlessness and multifactorial violence, A copes by fostering connections within their community. They find meaning and purpose in resisting and struggling for their community in an environment devoid of prospects. Confronted with oppression, A responds with a resilient reaction, viewing the experience of violence as a catalyst for motivation to engage in resistance and meaningful work, even to the point of self-abandonment.

On the other hand, B grapples with the challenging task of dealing with multifactorial violence by attempting to understand, reflect, and empathise. The arbitrariness and senselessness of violence prove challenging to comprehend and endure. Therefore, B tries to rationalise the violence to make it more bearable. Reflection and self-care become crucial strategies, serving as an attempt to escape the overwhelming feelings of hopelessness that accompany the experience of powerlessness and violence.

Conclusion

Experiences of displaced interpreters in Greece are profoundly influenced by several key factors such as the **experience of ambivalence, motivation for interpretation, relation to NGOs, navigation through the process of asylum in Greece, resistance, identity, community (non)belonging, and surviving multifactorial violence**.

The position within the 'own community' - whether one is accepted, supported, marginalised, or oppressed - fundamentally shapes one's stance and self-perception. Various elements come into play in the context of the 'other communities', including institutions and NGOs. These include residence status, language proficiency, alignment or deviation from inner and outer communal norms and values, existential security, appreciation, potential exploitation, and discrimination. At the same time, B's unclear communal identification depicts the concept of fluid identity by Hall (2015) in post-migration society (Siouti et al., 2022).

Personal factors such as self-concept, upbringing, the situation in the country of origin, and learned strategies significantly shape the interpreter's experiences. Applying or adapting these strategies to unpredictable circumstances when seeking asylum in Greece is dynamic. The coping mechanisms and strategies developed to deal with suffering are instrumental. The motivation to support others on an individual or personal level and address structural injustices is often rooted in these personal experiences.

The interpreter's responsibilities extend to care work, especially for particularly vulnerable community members such as children, single parents, and individuals experiencing inner communal discrimination, which adds another layer of complexity to the interpreter's role. Mental health and stress become inherent components of the interpreter's experience, reflecting the broader challenges and impacts of displacement and the increasing need for interpretation as well as cultural mediation.

Agency is to be particularly found when showing **resistance**, **surviving multifactorial violence** and upholding **motivation for interpretation**. A dominant structural restriction of agency is particularly apparent in the descriptions **of relation to NGOs, community (non) belonging** and **navigation through the asylum process in Greece**. The **experience of ambivalence** seems to illustrate a sensed tension between receiving increased agency as well as being exposed to extended structural restriction when working as a displaced interpreter in Greece. The question of **identity** marks the incongruence between the political administration of identity through citizenship and the complex reality of fluid identity.

Implications

The conclusion highlights the complex interdependencies and structural injustices underpinning displaced interpreters' agency and calls for heightened awareness and a critical examination of one's positioning considering the intersectionality of gender, sex, race,

class, sexuality, disability, age, religion, physical appearance, and other relevant socially constructed categories (Crenshaw, 2017). Moreover, it calls for a critical reflection of personal experiences of discrimination and privilege by belonging to overlapping both empowering and oppressing social identities. In research, this applies to a critical reflection regarding the analysis of life stories, as well as the positioning of theoretical frameworks, prominent authors and academic thinkers. Breaking down structural discrimination at various levels is necessary to ensure life perspectives and equal chances for all individuals in a post-migration society characterised by constant movement processes and diverse and fluid identities. This calls for the imperative of understanding the impact of intersectionality and Othering on a structural, institutional, interpersonal and intrapersonal level.

The role of narratives in self-perception and perception of others depicts narration as a tool for mutual understanding in post-migration society. In this thesis, linking academic tools for analysing narratives with narrated life realities of displaced interpreters calls for a multi-level critical reflection on individual and collective narratives. On a methodological level, the academic narratives on the topic of migration have been analysed based on theories in postcolonial (Fanon, 1961; Said, 1985) and cultural studies (Adichie, 2009; Hall, 2015) and the concept of resident foreigners (Cesare, 2020) in post-migration society (Siouti et al., 2022). On a societal level, the determination of community narratives on migration has been related to questions of identity and belonging, focusing on agency and structure (Bourdieu, 1977).

As depicted above, in humanitarian fields, often a prevalent narrative of the white Saviour Industrial Complex preserves historical forms of discrimination. Besides being aware and critically reflecting on the white Saviour Industrial Complex, further practical implementations are necessary to counteract inherent discrimination in humanitarian aid.

Bettina Völter (2015) has developed a narrative approach for reconstructive social work that will be depicted below as a means of critical reflection and action in the humanitarian field. Völter (2017) focuses on critical narrative approaches in social work as a 'profession of help' that entails reflection of interpersonal and intrapersonal community narratives. Personal conceptions of oneself and 'others' fundamentally affect everyday life and are foundational to narratives on structural and institutional levels. However, resources seem hardly available for raising awareness of personal narratives and fostering integration into everyday life. The collaborative efforts of the joint Israeli-Palestinian organisation, Parents

Circle's – Families Forum (PCFF), and its project known as 'The Parallel Narrative Experience' serve as an illustrative example. This initiative highlights the potential for accessible, community-based exploration of personal histories and their interconnectedness to ongoing societal conflicts. Through these endeavours and the insights into life realities of displaced interpreters in Greece depicted in this thesis potential adaptations are outlined.

Outlook on practises

Role of narratives in reconstructive social work

In the framework of reconstructive social work, the narrative interview holds particular significance. Völter (2017) elucidated that reconstructive social work is an action-guiding concept designed to comprehend others and oneself. This concept defines understanding as an approach that seeks to grasp subjective perspectives and navigate the intricacies of social processes. Bettina Völter (2015) outlines the essential responsibilities of reconstructive social work as facilitating understanding through accompaniment and supportive counselling. A particular focus is put on understanding the contextual factors of cases, including their social environments, and fostering a professional support process that evolves into obsolescence. Völter (2017) argues for adopting a cooperative dialogue with the recipient and a stance characterised by empathetic closeness while maintaining a professional and analytically distanced perspective. Lastly, it is deemed fundamental to continuously reflect critically on the contributions of the support system to constructing and perpetuating the case.

In the context of reconstructive social work, the narrative interview is used as a method of qualitative social research. This research procedure is followed by various methods of action, such as dialogue-based biographical work (Köttig & Retz, 2017), narrative-reflexive counselling (Schulze & Loch, 2010), narrative-biographical diagnostics (Fischer & Goblirsch, 2018) and biographic-narrative dialogue (Rosenthal, 2002a).

The Parents Circle – Families Forum

The Parents Circle – Families Forum (PCFF) is a cooperative Israeli-Palestinian organisation established in 1995 by Yitzhak Frankenthal and a community of Israeli families. The initial encounter between Palestinian and Israeli families occurred in 1998. At present, this joint organisation represents over 600 Palestinian and Israeli families who have lost an immediate family member to the persistent conflict (Parents Circle Families Forum, 2024a).

Emphasising the role of reconciliation between communities for sustainable peace, the PCFF focuses on educational resources, public forums, and media outreach to foster dialogue and understanding. Present projects include establishing dialogue meetings in schools and community centres where Israeli and Palestinian PCFF members meet with youth and adults, share their personal stories, and explain their decision to work through dialogue (Damelin, 2021). Further, projects include the annual organisation of a joint Israeli-Palestinian Memorial Day and joint visits to memorials. Another focus lies in organising The Parallel Narrative Experience, illustrated in more detail in the following text (Parents Circle Families Forum, 2024a).

The parallel narrative experience

The PCFF launched the first Parallel Narrative Experience group in 2010 and continues to bring groups of 15 Israelis and 15 Palestinians together for workshops and dialogue activities (Parents Circle Families Forum, 2024b). In its project description, PCFF aims to deepen understanding of the personal and national narratives of the 'other' as a crucial step towards reconciliation. USAID and the EU have been primary funders of the project Parallel Narrative Experience since their inception. In these collaborative sessions, participants engage in a learning experience that combines historical national information with the personal and familial stories of those involved. PCFF analyses, similar to Rosenthal (1993, 2002b) that particularly in societies inflicted with conflict, individuals' desires and aspirations are woven into the narrative of their community as it significantly influences a person's position and role. Born into these narratives, individuals often perceive their own community's story as 'the truth', and various factors work to maintain this one-sided perspective. The physical and emotional distance between conflicted communities hinders recognising and understanding the 'other'. The project seeks to create a journey through both sides' personal and national histories, fostering meaningful dialogue, respect, and understanding by recognising that each personal and national narrative has a truth. The 'Personal Narrative Experience' focuses on reconciliation at the interpersonal level, encouraging individuals to recognise the past and current situation and interpret their personal and historical narratives alongside those of the other side. Concrete contexts, such as the 'Yad Vashem' museum and the village Lifta, serve as sites to illustrate the complexity of the conflict and the interpretation of historical, personal, and national narratives. Due to the sensitive subjects discussed, facilitators

who are members of the Israeli or Palestinian community ensure a safe space for empathic and inclusive dialogue (Parents Circle Families Forum, 2024b).

Possible adoption considering life worlds of displaced interpreters in Greece

“Participants are exposed to messages of dialogue and reconciliation, emphasising the importance of recognising oneself and the other” (Parents Circle Families Forum, 2024b).

In which way could the theoretical and practical concept of the Parallel Narrative Experience be beneficially adapted considering life realities of displaced interpreters in Greece? Further participative explorations in the academic and practical field are fundamental to foster mutual understanding of life realities, challenges, wishes, and resources. Given the structural limitations of agency of displaced interpreters by national and international policies, a persistent imbalance in power remains on the side of international volunteers and particularly NGOs in the field. Therefore, it is essential to focus on the possibilities of working with narratives as a tool to visualise, critically reflect, and aim to dismantle forms of Othering and discrimination.

At an intra- and interpersonal level, the power of narratives is particularly visible in the work of displaced interpreters in the psychosocial context. Eurocentric stances in the social fields as medicine, pedagogy, psychology, and social work are particularly problematic due to the sensitivity of this field. For instance, in a psychosocial support project Zainab Rahimi and I were working with on Lesbos, a group session for parents was developed. The program for the parent group session was initially based on a manual developed by psychologists in the Netherlands. The manual followed an informational approach upon caregiving strategies. However, it soon became evident, that this approach was perceived as being out of touch or as one father stated, I know how to take care of my children. I don't need this, I need proper housing and the possibility for my children to go to school. In exchange with community facilitators the program was changed to become more open and focusing on the claimed wishes of parents such as relaxation exercises and a place to freely exchange frustration and fears. However, this was a somewhat improvised exchange and led to challenges for cultural mediators as well as international volunteers facilitating the groups. Detailed information and training focusing on community-based narrative approaches could enhance the ability to accompany and support the sharing of individual and collective experiences in a more empathetic and moderated manner. By providing group facilitators with

the necessary tools and understanding of narrative techniques, a better facilitation of meaningful conversations within communities might be achieved. This training could involve the creation of a safe and inclusive space for storytelling, emphasizing active listening, empathy and understanding. Additionally, identification and addressing power dynamics within storytelling settings are vital to ensure that all voices are heard and valued equally. Furthermore, the collective development of an adoption strategy tailored to the specific needs and dynamics of the community could be highly beneficial. Overall, by investing in comprehensive training and adopting a community-based approach to narrative sharing, organisations and facilitators might foster a more supportive and empathetic environment for individuals expressing their experiences and perspectives.

At an institutional level, within current NGO structures in Greece, there is a call to break through one-sided power hierarchies and limited exchange opportunities. This could be achieved through NGO-independent exchange projects based on community involvement, potentially providing safe spaces for people exposed to discrimination such as women*, children, minorities and LGBTQ+ individuals. Community facilitators might collaborate in pairs or small groups to facilitate personal encounters particularly between displaced interpreters and ‘international volunteers’ working together as well as for all communities residing in Greece. These open encounters might include Greek locals, community members and community volunteers as well as ‘international volunteers’ focusing on a compassionate and critical reflection on persisting power dynamics and Othering.

On a structural level, it seems fundamental to focus on narratives communicated to the public through media work, fundraising campaigns, research, and networking meetings. It is to be critically reflected whether these narratives adequately represent the communities talked about. Based on community and narrative approaches individuals from the community should be involved and adequately financially compensated for this work. Moreover, a critical adoption of narrative approaches necessitates a rigorous examination of the influence of international organisations. This entails engaging in a robust discourse that delves into the intricate power dynamics and interests at play, especially concerning critical aspects such as the recruitment, compensation, and workload allocation of displaced interpreters. These actions are paramount in ensuring equitable treatment and safeguarding the rights of displaced interpreters in the humanitarian field.

Further thoughts

The role of narratives in reconstructive social work and community-based projects such as the Parallel Narrative Experience outlined above are highlighted for creating mutual understanding and empathy by encouraging and reflecting on own biographical vulnerabilities. Recognising each other as individuals with unique histories, characters, and positions is a foundational step in building connections and understanding of the overarching impacts of intertwined forms of discrimination and exposition to violence on an individual and collective level.

However, it must not be misunderstood as a means of preserving systematic injustice and oppression. The role of narratives must not only be reflected considering NGOs as actors in the humanitarian field but even more out of a critical stance as depicted in postcolonial and cultural studies. This implies the conduction of fundamental changes in academic research, national and international jurisdiction and particularly socio-political governing. Reflection and deconstruction of prevailing narratives are particularly essential in positions of power and privilege.

On an intra- and interpersonal level, analysis of the shared life worlds of A and B depicts the need to challenge prevailing narratives to experience understanding and empathy. On an institutional and structural level, the life worlds of A and B indicate an urgent need for an understanding of migration not only as a human right but as an existential part of human life.

Limitations

Due to restricted resources and rather time-consuming analysis methods, analysing all twelve conducted interviews was not doable for this thesis. More interview analyses are recommended to gain a distinctive outlook on displaced interpreters' live realities. Also, it would be beneficial to combine narrative analyses with additional analytical approaches, such as discourse analysis, to explore agency as well as societal structure more comprehensively. Particularly, situational analysis (Clarke et al., 2017) might offer a comprehensive framework for combining methodological approaches focusing on the individual agency and the collective structure.

Additionally, Wengraf strongly recommends working with multiple panel partners of diverse backgrounds (Wengraf, 2001). However, due to limited resources, panel analyses in this thesis were solely conducted by Zainab Rahimi and myself. Therefore, the analytical process in this thesis is shaped by our experiences and perceptions.

Due to limited financial and personal resources, this thesis only contains preliminary forms of participatory research according to the stage model of participation (Wright et al., 2010). Particularly considering academic research on displacement and moving processes, increased encouragement of fully participative and self-managed research projects is of fundamental importance (Siouti et al., 2022).

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Acronyms

AMKA	Arithmos Mitróu Kinonikis Asfalisis (Greek Social Security Number)
AVRR	Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration
BDA	Biographic Data Analysis
BIPOC	Black Peoples, Indigenous Peoples, and People(s) of Colour
BNIM	Biographic Narrative Interview Method
CCAC	Closed Controlled Access Centers
CN	Content Note
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
EC	European Commission
EODY	Ethnikos Organismos Dimosias Ygias (Greek National Public Health Organisation)
EU	European Union
EuroPol	European Police
FRONTEX	European Border and Coast Guard Agency
GCR	Greek Council of Refugees
GD	Golden Dawn/ Chrysi Avgi (far-right ultranationalist criminal organisation and former Greek party)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GP	General Practitioner
HELIOS	Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection

IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LGBTIQA+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer, Asexual +
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAAYPA	Prosorinos Arithmos Asfalis ke Yyionomikis Perithalpsis Alodapu (Provisional Insurance and Health Care Numbers)
PASOK	Panelinio Sosialistiko Kinima (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)
RIC	Reception and Identification Centre
SYRIZA	Sinaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras (Coalition of the Radical Left)
TFA	Thematic Field Analysis
TFS	Thematic Field Sequentialisation
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organisation

Attachments

Informed Consent and Data Protection Information

Data protection information

I take the protection of your personal data as part of this survey very seriously. Therefore, your data are only collected and processed on the basis of legal provisions (section 2f, para. 5 of the Austrian research organisation act, Forschungsorganisationsgesetz, FOG).

This survey is part of a master's thesis at the University of Vienna. The data can be consulted by the supervisor of this thesis, for the purpose of performance assessment. In principle, it is permitted to store the collected data for an unlimited period of time according to article 89, para. 1 of the GDPR.

You have the right to be informed by the person responsible for this study about the personal data collected, the right to rectification, erasure, restriction of processing of data and the right to object to processing as well as the right to data portability.

If you have any questions regarding this survey, please contact the person responsible for this study: Judith PAMINGER, BSc (a01547877@unet.univie.ac.at), student in the master's degree programme in psychology at the University of Vienna, AUSTRIA.

For general legal questions regarding the GDPR/FOG and research conducted by students, please contact the Data Protection Officer of the University of Vienna, Daniel Stanonik (verarbeitungsverzeichnis@univie.ac.at). You also have the right to lodge a complaint with the Data Protection Authority (for example, via dsb@dsb.gv.at).

Office of the Studienpräses (buero.studienpraeses@univie.ac.at) Version: November 2018

Declaration of consent / data protection information

Thank you very much for being available for an interview as basis for a master's thesis at the University of Vienna.

According to the Austrian Data Protection Act (section 7, para. 2, sub-para. 2 of the Data Protection Act), you have to give your consent to this type of interview since your statements are used in the master's thesis.

The interview will be recorded and transcribed. If you wish, you receive the transcription for approval before it is being used. The interview transcript will be attached to the master thesis. An academic thesis must be published according to the Austrian Universities Act (by shelving it in the Austrian National Library and the Vienna University Library). It is usually also accessible online.

The transcripts of the interview will be anonymized, which means that your names will NOT appear in this master thesis. Only AFTER anonymization, transcripts will be shared with co-researchers and the supervisor of this study. However, the data can be consulted by the supervisor of this master thesis for the purpose of performance assessment. In principle, it is permitted to store the collected data for an unlimited period of time according to article 89, para. 1 of the GDPR.

The recordings, field notes, transcripts BEFORE anonymization and all communication before, during and after the interview process are confidential. It can only be shared with the supervisor and co-researchers AFTER anonymization. However, the data can be consulted by the supervisor of this master thesis for the purpose of performance assessment.

You can withdraw your consent to participation and the use of this interview at any time. However, any statements used in the academic paper until this date are in accordance with statutory requirements and do not have to be removed from the paper.

During the interview, you do not have to answer any question you do not feel comfortable with. You can end the interview at any time. You also have the right to be informed by the person responsible for this study about the personal data collected, the right to rectification, erasure, restriction of processing of data and the right to object to processing as well as the right to data portability.

If you have any questions regarding this survey, please contact the person responsible for this study: Judith PAMINGER, BSc (a01234567@unet.univie.ac.at), student in the master's degree programme in psychology at the University of Vienna, AUSTRIA.

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I hereby consent to the use of my personal data as part of the master thesis.

(Place, date, name)

Demographic Data

1. What is your full name (it will be anonymised)?
2. How old are you?
3. Do you identify with any sex/gender; e.g.: female, male, diverse, none?
4. What is your family status (single, married, widowed, other)?
5. Do you have children?
6. What is your country of origin?
7. When did you leave your country of origin?
8. When did you come to Greece?
9. What is your legal status in Greece (asylum, subsidiary protection, rejection, other)?
10. What is your highest education?
11. What is your work experience?
12. What is your mother tongue?
13. For which languages have you been interpreting?
14. How long have you been working as interpreter?

SHEOT Notepad (Wengraf, 2001)

Themes in the order mentioned and in the terms used by the interviewee	Relatively General terms about Situation, Time, Phase	More Particular terms about Incident, Happening, Occasion, Event „How it all came about“ „How all of that happened“	e.g. You said „XXX“ - can you tell me more about how all that happened?“ or - do you remember any particular incident or occasion when XXX?
Their keywords for your eventual return-to-narrative questions		Full versions of your eventual return-to-narrative questions	

Transcripts

Transcript A (0:00:00-0:12:02; Subsession 1)

- 1 [0:00:00] I: Okay. (.) Now/(..) and then I will also put it on the phone. (4) um (11) okay (.) So now the
 2 recording is on. (.) Perfect. (.) um (.) so (.) My first question (.) is quite open. yeah (.) um (.)
 3 It's about your story for yourself. How you started working as interpreter (.) um in Greece
 4 yeah. And you just mention all experiences or events where you think they are important for
 5 yourself. (.) um (.) you take the time you need. (.) You start where you think it's necessary.
 6 And and you end where you think it's necessary. And I will just listen yeah. (.) Um and I will
 7 (.) take notes. yeah. For afterwards. (.) Okay? (.) So. (.) If you're ready, um, you can tell me
 8 your (.) story. Yeah? (.)
- 9 [0:01:33] P(A): Okay. (...) Um, ah then (.) (this?) (.) (inc.) Yes I'm coming from Cameroon.
- 10 [0:01:42] I: Yeah. (..)
- 11 [0:01:45] P(A): I came in Greece (..) this been the (.) twenty-first of November in 2019 (.) yeah (.) I
 12 started working with eh (.) one NGO (.) X (anonym.)
- 13 [0:02:01] I: What's the name sorry?
- 14 [0:02:02] P(A): X (anonym.)(.)
- 15 [0:02:02] I: Ah in? (.)
- 16 [0:02:04] P: X (anonym.), (..) it's an American NGO (.) in Samos (.) as interpreter (....)
- 17 [0:02:07] I: Mhm
- 18 [0:02:07] P: Yes, I was working with (.) medical stuff medical (..) medical project for (..) refugees (.) in
 19 the camp of Samos. (..) I worked there almost three months because when I was working
 20 there like eh during three months in this camp you should know going into your country I
 21 was working yeah always working. I was working as a (.) interpreter, cultural mediator. You
 22 know with interpreter eh/ I'm coming from Cameroon, from Africa. We are in dialect (.)
- 23 [0:02:14] I: Hm
- 24 [0:02:16] P: Yeah. Many of them don't speaking English (.) they only speaking French, some French
 25 from Dialect (.) that I'm also speaking (...)
- 26 [0:02:44] I: Mhm
- 27 [0:02:45] P: Yeah (.) ahm when they are talking about cultural mediator, cultural mediator (.) is a
 28 person that/ you know, in Africa we are having our culture (.) It's different from the culture
 29 of European (.) and, you know ah (..) there are certain things that (.) you can't really (..) don't
 30 other suppose to acce/ (.) to some of our people in Africa/ but it's forbidden for us (...)
- 31 [0:03:27] I: Mhm (.) Mhm
- 32 [0:03:29] P: Yeah.(.) That's why I was working like when the doctors (.) after they ask the question
 33 of/ (.) you know, our culture is not (..) they are not accepted
- 35 [0:03:41] P: (.) Yeah. (.) Yeah, I was there/ I worked like interpreter (...) (inc.) started off with
 36 explaining to them (..) and when working (.) with the medical staff the medical (inc.) the

- 37 medical, you know, in the camp (.) Many people are sick. Many people are really (.) pff with
 38 a lot of problems (.) mentally, physically, a lot, a lot of/(.) Yeah. (.) No (.) just you know that
 39 (.) it's like (.) for me/ (...) you know, when you're working in that sector, it's quite difficult. (.)
 40 Very difficult because we are seeing a lot of things (.) a lot of things
- 41 [0:04:29] I: Yeah
- 42 [0:04:30] P: People that are sick (.) with/(.) maybe cancer (.) HIV. (4) Maybe they are ahh (.) like eh
 43 epilepsy (..) seizure (..) a lot, a lot of things (.)
- 44 [0:04:49] I: Yeah
- 45 [0:04:50] P: a lot (.) a lot (.) a lot of things. And what we are doing with patients (..) is like (.) it's also
 46 affecting me (..) it's also affecting me (.) Why, because you are seeing many things (.) And
 47 sometimes you are also affected by like supposed to see like a psychologist this that that (.)
 48 because you are (.) discussing many things with patients and discussing like (.) what they are
 49 having (..) No, you are like their father. (..)
- 51 [0:05:20] P: That's what makes me to be famous in Samos (.) You have access. I know/(.) everybody's
 52 kind of coming from far away (..) And, you know, (inc.) said, you know, (.) because of all the/
 53 because I was working with/ where they were (.) coming to the hospital many people, they
 54 were coming all of them to the hospital. That's why many people know me (.) for that. (..)
 55 But (.) as I remember I feel what it's like (.) it's good and at the same it's bad
- 56 [0:05:53] I: Mhm
- 57 [0:05:54] P: It's good and it's bad, really bad
- 58 [0:05:55] P: (...) because I've seen (.) I study the books (..) You know, when they are discussing with
 59 the people (.) you are with people (.) they are becoming like member of the family.
- 60 [0:06:09] I: Mhm
- 61 [0:06:10] P: (.) It's a community.
- 62 [0:06:11] I: Mhm
- 63 [0:06:12] P: They are (...) like your father. (.) Sometime I was thinking about people losing their
 64 father, child, parent. Because many people were coming out when they see me, even when I
 65 sleep in my tent: „Oh please, I'm sick I'm really bad“
- 66 [0:06:28] I: ohh
- 67 [0:06:29] P: I was like ok I was taking care of them. (.) Or like my children, you know, it's not easy (..) thinking about like my children and (..) I make it a really like family(.) I really make enough
 68 family there. (.) That's why people called me some „papi“ (inc.) that I even (.) even don't
 69 know. I really remember the (unclear) the (.) effect for many people. (.) Thousands and
 70 thousands and thousands of patients. (..) Somebody like even calling me/ I will just start
 71 repea/ "it's (war?) it's (war?)" (.) ah i cannot even remember any real. (.) It's no good they're
 72 sending you their (pictures ?). Yeah, I was yeah. This feeling is all refugees. (..) That's why for
 73
- 74 me/ that's why for me that was quite good to help people, try to help people. (.) Try to give
 75 them hope. (.) yeah (.) Try to (..) comfort them. Don't know (.) everything is possible. (.)
 76 Don't lose hope. Something is possible (.) Because sometimes I was thinking about how I
 77 (would be?) (..) I was telling them you see, I have three rejection. (.) But I'm still (after?)(.)
 78 and have the capacity to help you guys. (.) I'm working that I'm giving you guys (.) eh
 79 residency. You guys having residency but I'm still having rejection. (.) I still have the capacity
 80 to help you guys. If I have the capacity therefore to help you guys (.) also (.) don't loose hope
 81 (..)
- 82 [0:08:01] I: Yeah yeah
- 83 [0:08:03] P: That's why I was taking example with me, example all for (inc.) (..) But for me, for the

- 83 [0:08:03] P: That's why I was taking example with me, example all for (inc.) (..) But for me, for the
 84 bad things/ it's eh (.) it's a lot. It's a lot, it's a lot.(.) Sometimes I really don't want to think
 85 about (.) thinking about it (.) sometimes.(.) But for all of it (inc.) for (.) (inc.) for a really(..) for
 86 a good reason. (..) Because one day I want to write a book. (.)
- 87 [0:08:31] I: Yeah.
- 88 [0:08:32] P: I want to write a book about eh what i saw, what I was going through.(..) What I was
 89 going through (4) Because (.) you know, many people that are coming from different part,
 90 different part (..) different part, different country, different culture
- 91 [0:08:48] I: Mhm
- 92 [0:08:50.3] P: (..) You know, one by one, you are talking with people, you are talking with people. (.)
 93 They are talking with them. Many of them do come out, tell them their secret, many of them
 94 tell you what they are suffering of. (..) And you see/(.) I mean, it was a lot for me. (..) At one
 95 point I remember when my my boss told me I was supposed to see a psychologist (.) because
 96 it was really affecting me. So at one point/(.) Even now, even now, I'm talking (.) is not-it's
 97 (even?)(inc.) (.) it's certain things that that/ (..) I was working with/ eh when I came in (.) in
 97 (even?)(inc.) (.) it's certain things that that/ (..) I was working with/ eh when I came in (.) in
 98 Athen(s)I was working with one NGO here. (.) The way I saw them (.) How they were working
 99 (..) I resigned. Because I don't want to see those guys, I don't want to see it (.) any more (.)
 100 because anyone who is treating another human is like (.)
- 101 [0:09:43] I: Yeah
- 102 [0:09:44] P: They asked me "why?(inc.) the reason?" I was "don't know (inc.)"
- 103 [0:09:45] //Yeah?
- 104 [0:09:46] P: You doing that? I know. (..)
- 105 [0:09:46] //I: Yeah. (.)
- 106 [0:09:50] P: I have what they call value. (...) I have what they call the dignity of the world, I have/
 107 trying to understand (...) That's what/that's my (inc.) (.) that to respect or see people the
 108 way/ (inc.) ecause I don't know what the guys are doing here.
- 109 [0:10:13] I: Mhm
- 110 [0:10:14] P: (..) My job is to come work here for my community, for my African community, that's my
 111 job. But when I'm seeing how we are treating them, I'm not happy. (.) I don't know them. (.)
 112 But in the way that I (command?) are human beings first. (.) Certain individuals are coming
 113 from my community in Africa. (.) I don't like that/ that it's not like that/ (.) I resign (.) (inc.) (..)
 114 I better work (.) for volunteers somewhere (.) than to work this (inc.) (.)
- 115 [0:10:44] I: Mhm
- 116 [0:10:46] P: I continue what I (..) what I got in Samos. (.) When I'm telling you I was like/ I saw many
 117 things (.) that really affect me. (.) That's why I decided to write a book (..) (inc.) (.) to write a
 118 book for that (.) because (..) after that (.) many information, many things that are going on (.)
 119 with people (.) with Greek (.) with eh um. (4) Every day in the asylum (..) was quite like/ quite
 120 bad. (.) (inc.) When someone is coming to the hospital, the person is sick/(.) the person that
 121 tell you for (.) "I'm having fever" The doctor said "Ah, okay, you are having fever, you can
 122 take this or that" But somebody like me, I know (.) apart the fever, there's one other thing (.)
 123 because some of them, they are/ they are afraid to talk (.) and they are even ashamed to talk
 124 to say what (.) they have been going through. (..) I'm the one „doctor, apart the fever there is
 125 something else, try to (.) I will try to talk to him to make him talk“

Transcript B.1 (0:00:00-0:25:34; Subsession 1)

- 1 [0:00:00] I: Okay, now it's working, yeah it's on now. If it's working for you? (.)
- 2 [0:00:11] P(B): Yeah it's ok.
- 3 [0:00:13] I: Perfect. (.) So (.) my first question is a very open one. Um (..) please, I would like to hear
- 4 your story, um (.) how you ended up working as interpreter, in Greece (inc.) um (..). You can
- 5 start, wherever you think your story started and also end, wherever you think your story
- 6 ends. Um (..) and I will just listen, I will take some notes um (.) / Bless you/(..) From what you
- 7 tell me, I will afterwards ask some more questions.
- 8 [0:00:54] P(B): Ok, ok.
- 9 [0:00:55] I: So, basically, everything you tell me, it's (.) the things we will be talking about (...) yeah (.)
- 10 [0:00:58] P(B): Okay (.) I will start from Lesbos because, eh (..). The first of the story start from there
- 11 um because you know, I had a bad experience with the interpreter there (.) in the island (.),
- 12 the first day I arrived in Lesbos, and ah because they couldn't um eh recognise eh/ there are
- 13 no form/and just they said to me, because I couldn't speak eh Farsi - Dari, just I speak Farsi/
- 14 And because (.) / maybe (.) more confusing for them (.) to recognize it. And also, I didn't have
- 15 any document eh with myself (.) and I said, okay, I just (.) I said, „I'm from Afghanistan“ (.)
- 16 and (..) just this and (.) yeah it was a bad experience, because (.) um the (.) the interpreter, it
- 17 was like a, you know, he doubted me like, ok I'm liar (...). For the one hour or two hour, just,
- 18 you know, they sent me to someone else, they said "she's liar, she's liar" or something like
- 19 that. Because of this, yeah, it was a bad experience (..). And I didn't want to have interpreter
- 20 anymore (..). And every time eh, I just try to be by myself and ah for a, you know/ because in
- 21 Moria it was like a (.) shock for me (..). I've, I've never thought I'd be somewhere like Moria
- 22 (..) ah and I'm living in a camp (..). Just eh, for a few months, I was, I was be/ Just I was
- 23 walking in, you know, in the camp and something like that, I didn't pay attention/ I didn't pay
- 24 attention about anything (s). After, we had some problems with eh (.) / because I came in
- 25 with my niece, my sister and my sister's daughters and (.) it was (.) / we had a bad situation
- 26 in Moria, especially with/ for women(..). And it was a tough situation (..). I/yes/ I/ And one
- 27 day, just I said, okay, for three months, I used to, you know, study English in (.) Iran (.) and I
- 28 was thinking, I know/ at least I know the basic of eh English, and maybe I can sit here and
- 29 work with other NGOs (..). And eh next to my tent it was eh X, it was an NGO from
- 30 Netherland, I've been there, and I said to them, okay, "I can speak English, if you need me
- 31 (.)" yeah (.) „Every time you can call me and ask me for the helping" (..) for helping and eh (.)
- 32 the day after that day,(.) one of the person from X came and said "Ok we need you, if it is
- 33 possible, come and help us" (..). And yeah, just, I did it, but it was SO difficult for me because
- 34 just I knew the basic of English (.) and I didn't know anything, and when they were talking, I
- 35 was like, "Okay, I'm done, I can't get anything". (.) But eh the most important thing about
- 36 me, it was, you know, I have really self-confidence. Because if I say something, I HAVE to do.
- 37 It's not like, just I say and I can ignore it and I didn't pay attention. No (.) No, it's still
- 38 important for me to do it. (.) And also, it was kind of duty for me, because at least I could
- 39 speak English (..). The other people, you know, maybe they couldn't find also the person
- 40 who can just say "Hello" (..) or something like that.
- 41 [0:04:34] As/ I/ I thought, maybe, I have to use it (..). And, ok, I started to work with them. (...) Um
- 42 therefore, because first, if I can, we have a (.) like a poem, (.) we say "if you can help

43 yourself, you can help other people" (.). And it was kind of this, I started from myself (.). to do
44 it (..) and yeah (.).

45 [0:05:00] For everything, every problem I had, just (..) eh I didn't (inc.) myself to do it, and also for
45 [0:05:00] For everything, every problem I had, just (..) eh I didn't (inc.) myself to do it, and also for
46 the other people (.). Especially with/ You know, I used to work at the top of the jungle, it was
47 the, you know, from the top of the mountain, it was the zone one, zone three, uhhhh (..) till
48 zone nine (.). I used to work in zone nine, top of the jungle and most of the people,
49 they/they have been living there, they were from Syria and the language it was Arabic, and I
50 couldn't communicate (.). I tried to do it, just I tried to communicate (.). Like eh, for example,
51 if I heard something Arabic, I tried to do music with English and Arabic, and say just, you
52 know, communicate with the other people (.). and they REALLY like me (..) (laughing).

53 [0:05:59] Yeah, because of this action (.). And, yeah, I didn't have any problem with Arabic people (.).
54 But eh mostly (..) eh I had a lot of problem with eh (..) people, especially the guy(s), from my
55 community (..). Yeah (.). Because it's/ for them, it's really (..) strange (.). For example, a girl
56 work(ing) with the other guys, especially from the other community (...)/ It was/ (..) maybe it
57 was difficult for them. Also, it was difficult for ME, because every time they treated me
58 about like "Okay, you have to stop". Yeah (...). But I didn't do that (.). because I didn't pay
59 attention (.). Just, I tried to ignore that (...). Yeah and, (..) at that time, I had a lot of problems
59 attention (.). Just, I tried to ignore that (...). Yeah and, (..) at that time, I had a lot of problems
60 eh (..) with, you know, my niece and my sister (..)/ because they threatened me, also they
61 threatened my niece (...). And (..) just we transferred two of my niece(s) to Athens illegally
62 (...). And eh (...). We tried to, you know, afford about the money, the food in Athens, just/(..).
63 Because (..) we were thinking it's|a safe place for them (.). But (..) honestly, I think is worse
64 than (...) Moria.

65 (Interruption by tourists/Stopping of recording)

66 [0:07:20] I: Ah, now (..) Okay, sorry (laughing)

67 [0:07:26] P(B): Ah it's ok, don't worry (.). Yeah, and that/ just you know, we were eh/ been working
68 with a lot of things at the same time (.). And yeah (.). Also, I couldn't trust any interpreter to
69 do something for me (...).

70 [0:07:42] I: Mhmm|(.)

71 [0:07:45] P(B): Yeah, I started to go to UNHCR (..) and also (..) maybe EASO (..) and just looking for
72 someone/ (..) someone who can help me. And nobody has helped us (.). And, yeah, just I/ I
73 remember I was/ I've been in UNHCR in the office, and I say to them "Okay, I'm gonna talk
74 with the manager of UNHCR. I/if, if someone can't send me out, I'm going there, just I have
75 to talk" (.). And I waited for a/ I think a few hours. And someone came and said "Okay, I'm
76 gonna talk to you and the manager of the UNHCR office". And yeah, just uh, you know, I
77 also/ I couldn't eh speak very well English and just I wrote everything what I want (.). And I
78 said, to/ to him "Okay, this is my problem, what should I do? I don't know. I did a lot of
79 things, but it didn't work". And/(..) but you know, eh, he really helped me, because he
80 transferred us to PIKPA camp (..).

81 [0:08:57] I: Mhm

82 [0:08:58] P(B): Yeah, and it was helpful for me and that time eh/Also before, I was thinking, it's like a
83 duty for me, I have to do it because eh (..) it's kind of purpose for my future (..). To do
84 something for the people, helping/ helping people eh (..) give me motivation (..) and also
85 encourages me for continuing (..). Yeah, it/it was/it's really good, I think. You know, I (..) I
86 used to do it in Iran. But honestly, in Iran, we have a lot of limitation for refugee(s). Because I

- 86 used to do it in Iran. But honestly, in Iran, we have a lot of limitation for refugee(s). Because I
87 was born in Iran, raised in Iran as a refugee (..).
- 88 [0:09:37] I: Mhm
- 89 [0:09:38] P(B): Yeah, I didn't have any idea, to be honest. If I said/ someone said (..) uh to me „Okay,
90 you are from?“ (at?) UNHCR, I said „What can I say, I'm originally from Afghanistan, but I was
91 born in Iran“. But honestly if I want to be honest (laughing): No, I don't know, where I'm
92 coming from.
- 93 [0:09:58] I: Mhm
- 94 [0:10:00] P(B): Because we didn't have any ideas if/for/ (.). I remember once, for, you know, some of
95 my diploma from university, I've been in Afghanistan (..). And just, I/ I asked him about the
96 helping. They said to me "Okay. You're from Iran, we can't help you about THIS". For
97 example, about the/ I wanted to stay for one night in Afghanistan and I didn't have any
98 place, I didn't have any family in Afghanistan (..). And just I said, "Okay, UNHCR can help
99 me". But when I've been there, they said to me, eh "No, because your passport is from
100 Afgh/, you know, we can't do anything for you".
- 101 [0:10:41] I: Mhm
- 102 [0:10:42] P(B) Yeah. And in Iran, also, they say to us, "You are from Afghanistan, we can't do
103 anything for you". It was/it was really (..) difficult situation. And, you know, adopting myself
104 with that (..). Maybe, environment in Moria, or also, the culture and (..) everything (..), maybe
105 racist action, (..) we could, we could adopt ourselves with the situation, especially the people
106 who come from (..) Iran (..). Because we know, we know the situation where, you know, for a
107 refugee/ and also, we are refugee/ didn't change ANYTHING (..) And, yeah (..). But maybe, for
108 the other people, it's not like that, especially with the people from Iran, or the people from
109 Afghanistan, who came directly from Afghanistan (..). Yeah if/ it's a little/ I think it's a little
110 difficult (..) or more than difficult. (0:11:40) Yeah, but for me, it was not like that. Just every
111 time. I tried/ I tried to do everything by myself, (..) in Iran, in here. It was same (..) eh almost,
112 it was same (..). Honestly, it was same and (..). Yeah, I have a lot of motivation and every time
112 it was same (..). Honestly, it was same and (..). Yeah, I have a lot of motivation and every time
113 just I think "If I can't help myself, nobody can help me"(..). And, if, for example, I feel / I feel
114 depression, I was/ I was thinking, "Okay, I have to do something for myself to/ maybe find a
115 solution for that". And just, you know, I found in myself two things, it's really, really helpful
116 for me. One: reading book (..). The other is eh (..) watching comedy movie. I never watched
117 any, you know, drama movie, or something, that kind of movie like that.
- 118 [0:12:33] I: Yeah
- 119 [0:12:35] P(B): Because, yeah, if I/ if I see something like that, for a few days, I feel eh depression (..).
- 120 [0:12:47] I: Yeah, yeah.
- 121 [0:12:49] P (B): Yeah (..) It was/ it was really difficult, and, yeah (..). Um (..), I don't know, how could I
122 say, but (..) but I knew/ I know, a lot of eh people (..) is working as an interpreter in (..) Greece
123 (..). Also, they have kind of a story like me, because (..) the/ I think the point, it's about/ they
124 didn't find any good interpreter, and they couldn't trust any. Because I/I remember about
125 the/ eh Moria. It was like, if you, for example, if you say something to the interpreter,
126 because it was like a small community and all the people, they knew each other (..), you
127 couldn't trust. Because if you say something to this interpreter, they said to someone else,
128 and after, it was/it's getting worse (..).
- 129 [0:13:41] I: Mhm
- 130 [0:13:42] P(B): Yeah, it will be/(..)

132 [0:13:46] P (B): Because of this, I remember, once I had been in X, and (..) I had to talk with the (.)
 133 gynaecologist. I said "Okay, I don't talk with any interpreter from here (..). If you have
 134 another interpreter, okay, I will do it. If you don't have it, I will do by myself." Yeah (.) and I
 135 remember, the doctor said, the doctor, she was from France, and she said to me "Okay, I will
 136 bring you another interpreter from eh (.) Italy."

137 [0:14:17] I: Mhm

138 [0:14:18] P (B): Yeah, she's, you know, she's a woman from Afghanistan, but she raised up in Italy
 139 and she doesn't know anything about here. I said "Okay, I will do. Just I trust this woman and
 140 if I wanted to talk about my problem (.) just I talk to/ (.) I talk to her (..).

141 [0:14:41] I: Mhm

142 [0:14:42] P (B): And here also, you know, I used to work, after/after/after I get asylum, I had to leave
 143 Lesvos and I came/ I came to Athens, because also my niece(s), they were in Athens, and
 144 they were illegally in Athens/ (..). And also, one of them, she got suicide (suicidal?) and it was
 145 a tough situation for me, you know, to find a solution for everything (..). My sister, she had a
 146 lot of problem in Moria, with one of her daughters and two of them, of her daughter have
 147 been in Athens (..). Yeah, honestly, (.) it was really difficult to handle everything at the same
 148 time (..). Because my sister also, she used to use pill, and yeah (..). She didn't/she didn't have
 149 any control (..) of herself (..). And I did it. And also, after/ eh (.) I think after one week, when
 150 I came in Athens, my sister, eh she said "Okay, I can't stay any longer in Lesvos/ umm (.) I
 151 have to leave". And they came illegally in Athens (...). Yeah, it was/it was really/it was really
 152 tough (..). And eh for/ I think almost one year (.) I didn't do anything, I didn't work with any
 152 tough (..). And eh for/ I think almost one year (.) I didn't do anything, I didn't work with any
 153 NGOs, I just used to stay at home (...). Because I didn't feel (.) I could handle it. Because I
 154 thought (.) maybe staying at home, it's really helpful for me, because if/ you know/if you
 155 work as an interpreter you/ you are really, you know, struggling with a lot of different
 156 problems (.) And about me, it was little, it was nothing, but it was more difficult (.) to handle
 157 (.) MY problems (..), my sister problem(s), my niece (problem(s)) (..). And the other problem
 158 from the different people (...). And yeah, just for one year, ahh I said "OK, I'm done, and also
 159 (.) I take rest (..). And for after one year (..), because (.) a lot of problem(s), a lot of, yeah, a lot
 160 of things happened to my family, my sister, my sister daughter (..). And I said, "Okay, I have
 161 to do something!" (...). Just eh I/eh/I remember, I started to work with X (..). Yeah, and we
 162 were trying to help the homeless people (..). It was/ it was SO/ good for me, and give/ you
 163 know, it was so (..) how could I say (..). It give/gave me a lot of motivation about the people,
 164 about the humanity (..). Because, for example, if we gave something to the/the homeless
 165 people, if/if, for example, he or she had something, they said "Oh, I have it. Please give it to
 166 someone". It was really good for me, when I see someone, who doesn't have (..) home, who
 167 doesn't have anything, (.) who doesn't have many, maybe right (...). Say something (.) to me
 168 (.) it was/ it was really (...) helpful (..) to see other people (..). And also, working as interpreter
 168 (.) it was/ it was really (...) helpful (..) to see other people (..). And also, working as interpreter
 169 it's (...), you know, on the other side, it's really good, you help the people, (.) on the other
 170 side it's really helpful, (.) because you learn a lot of things from the (.) different people (.)
 171 with different story (..), a different situation (...). Yeah, it was/ it was good (..). And after I

171 with different story (.), a different situation (...). Yeah, it was/ it was good (...). And after I
 172 started to work with the/ I said, okay, I'm gonna start with another organisation, because I
 173 want to see different people (.). And I started to work with X and X is working eh/with/ for
 174 the (.) LGBTQs (.). But you know, (.) in/ about the Muslim people, (.) we, you know, we used
 175 to think (..) the LGBTQ (..) community, they are weird people (.). Maybe they were thinking
 176 they were from another universe (.). Yeah, because they/ because they learn us like this (...).
 177 And, when I started to work with them, it's, I remember to/ um/ (.). We had two interview(s)
 178 with two different eh trans* (.). And (..) it was really, really (..) emotional (...). Ehh after/ after/
 179 after I finish these two interviews, I was/ I was thinking a lot about, ok, why I used to think (.)
 180 they are the weird people? (.). But I never (searched?) it? And, I remember, also I was
 181 starting with eh family, I tried to get, you know, some information about the (inc.)/ And I
 182 said to them "Okay, every time we were thinking about it, like they are different people or
 183 maybe they are pretend to be different. But honestly, they are not. (...) They are not, just,
 184 you know, they, you know, they came to this universe with the different, maybe (...),
 185 different soul in different bodies". It's/ I could say just this (...). But, honestly, I'm really (...) in
 186 peace with myself. I've had (...) a lot of different experiences (.). And, also, after the X period,
 187 I used to work with X (...). With the/ now I'm working with X. It's really different because I've
 188 never, you know (.), never (.) been playing with eh (..) any kids. But it was enjoyable! It is (.)
 189 really good (...), enjoyable, yeah (.). You know, I start/ yeah, since the last week, I started to
 190 work with eh/X. And I used to work with the (..) kids. And the kids (...), some of them, they
 191 are really different. Especially, I remember one. The first day I was there, I saw a girl from
 192 Afghanistan (.), almost three or four years. Yeah, I think, I think so. Yeah, she/ she started to
 193 bite the other kids, hit the other kids. I was thinking, why she was really, you know/maybe
 194 angry or something like that. And she doesn't want to collab with the other kids. But, yeah,
 195 honestly, I/I didn't pay attention because I didn't have any experience like that (.). I thought,
 196 maybe it's eh kids, just/. And after, she came to me the other day, the second day when I
 197 saw her. I/I said to S., her name is S., "It's your day (.). It's your room (.). Nobody is here and
 198 (..) you can play with whatever you like, whatever you want to do, it's your room (.). Just
 199 play!". And she came to me after she was playing, after a few minutes, she came to me and
 200 said, "Where is your father?". I said, "My father, he is (.) in the sky" (.). And she said "My
 201 father is in Afghanistan" (.). And immediately, you know, eh she jumped to another thing,
 202 said to her mother "I said, my/ my father is in Afghanistan". She said "No, your father passed
 203 away". I see, okay, something is wrong with this family. And (..) and yeah, just, I didn't say
 204 anything, and again, I started to play with S., and she said to me "Do you like me?". Oh, my
 205 God (...). That was emotional, I wanted to cry. I/if she said something to me/ I said "YES, I
 206 really like you!" And she said "Okay, come down" (.). And just I, you know, ah I came, and
 207 she kissed me and said, "I like you". Oh, my god (...). It was/ it was SO emotional (...). Uh, so
 208 you know, for a few days, I couldn't (..) handle it. Just/ when I was thinking, you know, it
 209 broke really my heart, it was really, really tough to see a kid with this (.) kind of problem (...).
 210 And yeah, just I/I was, you know, I talked with my colleague (..) because now I'm working
 211 with eh (.) X. Yeah, we (..) we are working uh for the single mothers, who have
 212 (resident/residency?) or who are in the process (...). So, I spoke to my colleague, I said,
 213 "Okay, I found uh/ a new woman". Because (..) honestly, we don't/ eh we don't work for the
 214 people from, for example Malakasa. Because they are far from us and can't come weekly
 215 and getting the groceries. And I said, „Okay, I found it/ a new person, you know, uhhh you
 216 know, she's living in Malakasa, but she REALLY needs help (..) about everything (...). Maybe (.)
 217 a/at least we can help them about the groceries (...). Um yeah, just, we could eh maybe, put
 218 her name on our list (...).“ And it was (..)/ it was reall/ (...). Maybe, at least, it's a little help
 219 for them, but (...) I don't know (...). Because they are struggling with a lot of (..) problems (...),
 220 serious problems (...). Yeah, I have a lot of experience like that (..) Yeah (...), for me (...), you
 221 know (.). After, after (.) interview (.) after everything like that (..) I feel like depression (5s).
 222 But also (...), it gives me motivation (.) for the continuing (..) yeah (.).

223 [0:25:33] I: Yeah

224 [0:25:34] P(B): Yeah (..) it's difficult (...).

Transcript B.2 (01:33:00-01:42:05; Subsession 2; Transcript for BDA)

[01:33:00] I: Um (6s) you said (...) You want to be one of the woman who can be symbol for other people? Do you remember the situation when you decided to graduate in Chemistry?

[1:33:18] P(B): Yeah Yeah (..) yeah, every time (.) i try to (.) follow the people who is helping the (.) poor people or the people who need help (.) And they are kind of symbol for me. Especially, the Marie Curie, yeah, because, yeah she graduated in Chemistry. And it was one of the symbols (.) I graduated in Applied Chemistry. Yeah. Just (.) I wanted to be one of this symbol (.) because I follow and someone else (.) maybe follow me (.) It is like (.) we are connected with each other(.) It's (ring?)

[01:33:97] I: Yeah (...) Do you remember the situation when you decided to graduate in Chemistry (.) because of Marie Curie?

[01:34:25] P(B): Yeah you know I used to work in a factory (.) and that time (.) just I finished high school because eh (.) and I couldn't continue (.) my father was (.) because my father was (.) eh sick and he had cancer that time and he passed away. And because of this, I couldn't continue (.) and to go to university. And then, I started to work in the factory for eh almost four years. And I remember eh her saying, she was, she was kind of leader in the factory and eh she was a woman and ALL the men had to follow her. It was, it was really good. And she, she really liked me (laughing) because, you know, eh, every time just I started to learn something new, and also, eh (.) I was kind of assistant for her in the factory. Just, we were two, and all had to follow what, yeah, what we are saying. But, also I remember I wanted to continue and she said, "If you want, also I want to continue again, we can start the bachelor (.) together. Yeah. And it was one of the best thing for me to do it. And also because uh (.) honestly, in high school, I was good in chemistry, but I didn't really want to continue in chemistry, just I used to (.) maybe nursing (.) to do and I was thinking maybe nurse and after they/ but the rest of the people, they can (.) Yes. And yeah, she was/ she gave me this motivation in this time (..) and (.) yeah (.) just (.) I went to university, and I passed the exam. And I've been to the university I said "Okay, I'm gonna continue in chemistry (.) And just (.) I did it (.) Yeah and I remember, I have to finish in four years and I finished in three and half years.

[1:36:83] I: Wow

[1:36:98] P(B): Yeah (..)

[1:36:86] I: That's really good

[1:36:98] P(B): Yeah (...) (laughing). Yeah, it was really good (.) Every time I remember this, you know, engineer (..). Because she was the best person (..) at that time. Yeah. And you know, I never had any gift of any, any person. And that time, she gave me a book. Because/ every time I used to say to her, I love to read a book and watch a movie. And she/ she bought me a novel (...). That novel, it was the best one (.) Yeah, I, uh, you know, I have this book in my house and also, every time I downloaded again, after a few months, I read it again.

[1:37:82] I: Wow

[1:37:86] P(B): Yeah. I want to be (.) kind of symbol for someone else.

[1:38:03] I: Hmmm yeah, yeah (..) Um (..) you also said that your family always encouraged you?

[1:38:45] P(B): Yeah(..) you know (.), about my family, my father really wanted to (.)you know (.) just continue and finish my graduation, my education. But honestly, because my father passed away (..) I couldn't continue (..). But the main thing, it was about the high school, you know, eh, I used to live in the village (.) in Iran. And for the village/in the village, nobody can study (..) just the rich, the highest (.) they could (..). But for us, we were in the middle we were not poor, not the highest (..). But/ My fam// I remember (.) because all of my grades was perfect and all my teacher talked with my father and my mother and said about okay, we want to B to continue and finish her education. Because (..) she can. The/ I remember, eh/ we tried to find a solution because the high school it was far from my house and I have/ maybe/ to find a taxi for going there or something like that. And was expensive for me and I could not afford it. And eh my sister (.) eh (.) she was living in the (.) Teheran and just she went to the high school next to (.) her house and said "I will talk to them and also, I've sent my (.) eh (..) all my document and they said "okay, yeah, we can accept her, yeah she can continue (.) just for three years (..). Yeah, for three years (.) I've been there. But (..) it was a good situation but (.) you know (.) because I've never been far from my parents (..) I got sick, depression (..) and all of my grades it was less/ it was down/(.). And I/ I remember it was a (?) time. Yeah (..) but after (.) finish the high school, I came back, because of my father (..). Yeah (.) and after three years, I started again and my mother (.) the first time (.) it's not her fault (.) because (.) she learned it (.) what they say to her (..). And every time they say about getting married and something like that (.) honestly, I wasn't for this (.) kind of thing and (..) just I said okay I/I want to continue (.) if it's possible, help me (..). Eh I remember going to university it was almost one hour or two hours going and/ yeah/ came back. But (..) my mother (.) every time we didn't have money to get a taxi or going by bus and every time I tried to go free and every time (.) she was (..) you know (.) with me (.) and tried to help me about the (.) going and yeah (.) come back (..). Yeah, honestly, I had a great opportunity about my parents (..). Yeah and also about my sibling (..). (...) most about my sister (..). [1:42:05]

Transcription by Dresing, Pehl & Schmiederer (2015)

Basic transcription rules

1. Transcribe literally; do not summarize or transcribe phonetically. Dialects are to be accurately translated into standard language. If there is no suitable translation for a word or expression, the dialect is retained.
2. Informal contractions are not to be transcribed but approximated to written standard language. E. g. "gonna" becomes "going to" in the transcript. Sentence structure is retained despite possible syntactic errors.
3. Discontinuations of words or sentences as well as stutters are omitted; word doublings are only transcribed if they are used for emphasis ("This is very, very important to me.") Half sentences are recorded and indicated by a slash /.
4. Punctuation is smoothed in favor of legibility. Thus, short drops of voice or ambiguous intonations are preferably indicated by periods rather than commas. Units of meaning have to remain intact.
5. Pauses are indicated by suspension marks in parentheses (...).
6. Affirmative utterances by the interviewer, like "uh-huh, yes, right" etc. are not transcribed. EXCEPTION: monosyllabic answers are always transcribed. Add an interpretation, e.g. "Mhm (affirmative)" or "Mhm (negative)".
7. Words with a special emphasis are CAPITALIZED.
8. Every contribution by a speaker receives its own paragraph. In between speakers there is a blank line. Short interjections also get their own paragraph. At a minimum, time stamps are inserted at the end of a paragraph.
9. Emotional non-verbal utterances of all parties involved that support or elucidate statements (laughter, sighs) are transcribed in brackets.
10. Incomprehensible words are indicated as follows (inc.). For unintelligible passages indicate the reason: (inc., cell phone ringing) or (inc., microphone rustling). If you assume a certain word but are not sure, put the word in brackets with a question mark, e.g. (Xylomentazoline?). Generally, all inaudible or incomprehensible passages are marked with a time stamp if there isn't one within a minute.
11. The interviewer is marked by "I:", the interviewed person by "P:" (for participant). If there are several speakers, e.g. in group discussions, a number or a name is added to "P" (e.g. "P1:", "Peter:").
12. The transcript is saved in rich text format (.rtf file). Name the file according to the audio file name. E. g. interview_04022011.rtf or interview_smith.rtf.

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Additional rules

1. Discontinuations are marked by /: “I was worri/ concerned.” Word doublings are always transcribed.
2. Pauses are indicated by suspension marks in parentheses, corresponding to the pause length from one second (.) to three seconds (...), and the (number) of seconds for longer pauses.
3. Affirmative noises und fillers (“uh-huh, um, yeah”) are transcribed. All the participant’s utterances, including fillers, are transcribed.
4. Speech overlaps are marked by //. At the start of an interjection, // follows. The simultaneous speech is within // and the person’s interjection is in a separate line, also marked by //.
5. Dialects are written as they are spoken.

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Abstract

The master's thesis explores the lived experiences of displaced interpreters working with non-governmental organisations in Greece. The research interest was pursued within a post-migration and cultural psychological paradigmatic framework. The thesis aims to shed light on the realities faced by displaced interpreters, considering their dual roles as people on the move seeking asylum in Greece and as essential contributors to community support. Through a qualitative methodological approach of biographical-narrative interviews, Grounded Theory and participative research, the thesis seeks to capture the nuanced narratives and complexities of displaced interpreters' lives. Participative analysis of two biographic-narrative interviews reconstructed life realities of displaced interpreters as intertwined configurations of the 'experience of ambivalence', 'motivation for interpretation', 'relation to NGOs', 'navigation through the process of asylum in Greece', 'resistance', 'identity', 'community (non)belonging', and 'surviving multifactorial violence'. By examining the socio-political dynamics shaping the experiences of displaced interpreters, the thesis contributes to a deeper understanding and development of potential implications for a community-based approach in the humanitarian field, focusing on the role of narratives.

Keywords: displaced interpreters, intersectional discrimination, post-migration, identity, community

Kurzzusammenfassung

Die Masterarbeit befasst sich mit den Erfahrungen von *displaced interpreters*, die für Nichtregierungsorganisationen in Griechenland arbeiten. Das Forschungsinteresse wurde innerhalb eines paradigmatischen Rahmens der Postmigration und Kulturpsychologie verfolgt. Die vorliegende Arbeit zielt darauf ab, die Realitäten zu beleuchten, mit denen *displaced interpreters* konfrontiert sind, indem ihre doppelte Rolle als nach Griechenland geflüchtete Menschen und als Unterstützer*innen ihrer Gemeinschaft betrachtet wird. Anhand eines qualitativen methodischen Ansatzes basierend auf biografisch-narrativen Interviews, Grounded Theory und partizipativer Forschung versucht die Arbeit, die nuancierten Erzählungen und die Komplexität des Lebens von *displaced interpreters* zu erfassen. Die partizipative Analyse von zwei biographisch-narrativen Interviews rekonstruiert die Lebensrealitäten von *displaced interpreters* als verflochtene Konfigurationen der "Erfahrung von Ambivalenz", der "Motivation für das Übersetzen", der "Beziehung zu NGOs", der "Navigation durch den Asylprozess in Griechenland", des "Widerstands", der "Identität", der "(Nicht)Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gemeinschaft" und des "Überlebens multifaktorieller Gewalt". Durch die Untersuchung der sozio-politischen Dynamik, die die Erfahrungen von *displaced interpreters* prägt, trägt die Arbeit zu einem tieferen Verständnis und zur Entwicklung möglicher Implikationen für einen gemeinschaftsbasierten Ansatz im humanitären Bereich bei, mit einem Schwerpunkt auf der Rolle von Narrativen.

Schlüsselwörter: displaced interpreters, intersektionale Diskriminierung, Postmigration, Identität, Gemeinschaft