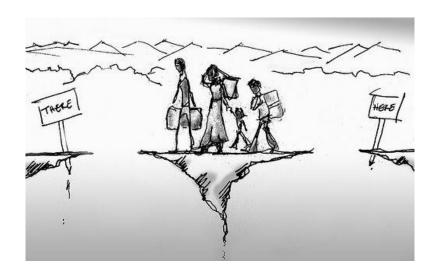**National and Kapodistrian University of Athens**

Department of English Language and Literature

MA Programme "Linguistics: Theory and Applications"

'No one puts their children in a boat unless the water is safer than the land': Exploring the refugee identity through media and narrative discourses

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8/2/2019

Declaration

This submission is my own work. Any quotation from, or description of, the work of others is acknowledged herein by reference to the sources, whether published or unpublished.

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Abstract

The present study was motivated by a personal interest in the global issue of the current refugee crisis, as well as by Hatoss's (2012: 66) study, which stressed the need for further research in order to explore how ethnic groups (in our case, refugees) position themselves and are positioned by others in their host countries. A comparative study between Greek newspaper articles and refugees' personal narratives was conducted with the aid of CDA, in order to explore how the refugee identity was represented in each medium. A selection of literature was collected, regarding identity, previous research concerning refugees, media discourse and narratives. The data were analysed in terms of semantic fields, and grammatical categorisation, while figurative language, and transitivity, with particular reference to agency were also examined. There were no crucial differences in dealing with the refugee crisis between the two Greek politically opposed newspapers that were chosen, as they employed a similar humanitarian and sympathetic attitude. However, given the fact that two different genres were under scrutiny, i.e. newspaper discourse and narratives, inevitably there were certain differences. For example, the passive voice and refugees' portrayal as objects of verbs were mainly used in newspaper data, whereas they were positioned as active agents in narratives, by talking in first person to describe their own views and personal experiences. The originality of this study lies in its focus on examining texts in the Greek language which are aimed for the Greek audience, as our aim is to see how ideologies are affected and shaped in society. Finally, the present study provides a new perspective on the representation of refugees in discourse, which could also function as motivation for further research concerning the way certain discourses affect and shape ideologies in societies.

Keywords: refugee identity, CDA, media discourse, narratives, refugee crisis

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Acknowledgements

The present MA dissertation is the result of much time and effort. There has certainly been a sense of relief and achievement in writing this, and all this would never have been possible without the constant moral support of my beloved parents, brother and grandparents, my dearest and closest friends, my wonderful MA colleagues, my amazing dance teacher/mentor, my lovely 'Worthing family', and most certainly the valuable help, advice and suggestions made by the best supervisor one could ask for, Associate Professor Angeliki Tzanne.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The migration and refugee crisis that Europe is currently facing has been a result of the ongoing civil war in Syria, which began in 2011 and has caused millions of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced people to flee their countries (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016: 265). It has been reported that more than one million irregular migrants and refugees crossed into Europe in 2015 (Kirkwood, 2017). Statements as well as plans on the refugees' reception have been made by European leaders, until the worldwide circulation of the photograph of a 3-year-old Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, lying dead on a Greek beach. This created a massive impact and raised global awareness concerning the results of the refugee crisis, while sympathy, mobilisation and measure-taking have become more organised and collective since then.

The quote in the title of this thesis is from a poem by W. Shire (2015) entitled *Home* (Warsan Shire, "Home," Seekershub.org, 2 September 2015, accessed 6 February 2019). The present study, initially motivated by the author's personal interest concerning the current refugee crisis and its great impact on our country, Greece, responds to Hatoss (2012: 66), who expresses the need for further research in order to explore how ethnic groups (in our case, refugees) position themselves and are positioned by others in their host countries. Our main aims are to show how people in power represent the refugee identity, and compare this with the way refugees negotiate their own identities in their own words, thus shedding light on a crucial issue of our era.

In pursuit of our aims, firstly we collected and analysed articles from online versions of Greek newspapers, in order to investigate how this topic was treated by the media, which have enough power to shape and manipulate people's perceptions and ideologies about certain minority groups through their discourse (Van Dijk, 1996/2000; Fowler, 1991; Baker et al., 2008). In this light, we decided on two newspapers; 'Efimerida ton Sintakton' which has a leftist approach, and 'Kathimerini' with a more conservative attitude, with the aim of exploring the image of refugees, as emerging from news reports, and examining whether there would be any opposing treatment or views concerning the refugee crisis. Moreover, in order to study the construction of the refugee identity in discourse, extracts from refugees' interviews in the book 'Από τα 3 σημεία του ορίζοντα: Ιστορίες ζωής προσφύγων και μεταναστών' (From the 3 corners of the Earth: Life stories of refugees and immigrants, Σαλβάνου, 2016) were collected and compared to Greek media discourse. The originality of this study lies in its focus on texts in the Greek language, as it analyses and discusses Greek newspaper articles and a book with refugees' narratives translated in Greek, texts addressed to Greek readers. As our aim is to see how ideologies are affected and shaped in society, it is deemed highly significant to examine discourses aimed for the Greek public.

In order to delve into the discourses examined, it was decided to use CDA for data analysis, a form of critical social research that systematically and explicitly analyses various structures and strategies of different levels of text and talk (Van Dijk, 2008). According to Van Dijk (2001: 353-355), CDA does not have one strict theoretical framework, as it basically deals with "How do (more) powerful groups control public discourse" and "How does such discourse control the mind and action of (less) powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control, such

as social inequality?". Furthermore, CDA is influenced by social theory, and views discursive and linguistic data as a social practice, which reflects and produces ideologies in society. CDA researchers are mainly interested in analysing structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control, as they are manifested in language (Baker et al., 2008: 280). As Baker et al. (2008: 280) claim, for CDA, language is powerful only when it is used in a certain way by those who have access to language means and public fora. As a result, that is why ethnic prejudices and ideologies are often socially acquired through the discursive expression of certain elitist views (Van Dijk, 1993). Therefore, in our study, a methodology utilising CDA is necessary, as one aim is to investigate whether dominant or biased discourses were employed in the media to the detriment of refugees, thus encouraging racist or hostile attitudes towards these minority groups.

The section that follows presents a literature review of significant relevant past research on refugees' representation in media, as well as through narratives. Moreover, it offers additional analysis of relevant concepts, such as identity, othering and positioning, and draws parallels on our data analysis. In Section 3, the methodology of the study is presented, followed by data analysis and discussion (Section 4) and the conclusions drawn from the research (Section 5).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Identity

Given the fact that this study concerns the refugee identity, it is important to begin with a definition for identity. As is stated in Jenkins (2008), identity is seen by various studies not as something fixed, but as fluid and multiple, something that people 'do', a process, constructed in society through discourse (Hatoss 2012: 49). Having as its roots the Latin term 'idem' (the same), there seems to be a comparative nature in it, as well as inclusion and exclusion dynamics, as La Barbera (2015) states. As is argued by Stump and Dixit (2013: 7), identity is an 'ongoing contextually dependent process that is established and reestablished in relation to difference'. Thus, the Self is only understood in how it is not like the Other. Therefore, identity is an ongoing process where 'individuals and groups consider, construct, and position themselves in relation to others according to social categories such as gender, sexuality, culture, race, nation, age, class and occupation' (La Barbera, 2015: 9). As will be shown in later sections of the study, through their own narratives included in our data, refugees identify themselves mostly in terms of country of origin, occupation, family status and religion.

According to Spencer-Oatey (2007: 641), in psychological theories of identity there is a distinction between individual identity, which refers to the definition of self as a unique individual, and collective identity, which views the self as a group member. This happens as individuals often adopting characteristics of a specific group are finally included into this group when their belonging is recognised by outsiders (Jenkins, 2008). As a result, as Simon (2004: 66–67) states, identity has several

functions such as providing people with a sense of distinctiveness as well as a sense of belonging. It also aids people in locating themselves socially and having a sense of 'place', thus, enhancing their self-respect and self-esteem (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 642). In our study, it will be examined whether refugees in Greece express their need to become accepted in their adopted country, in order to have a sense of home, not feel unwanted anymore, and start over their new lives.

2.2 Us vs. Others

Given the complexity of societies nowadays, membership and belonging to a group are neither fixed, nor straightforward, while also the ideas of 'the Other' and 'the Self' are not always stable. As La Barbera (2015: 4) maintains, belonging comes from a complex process of appropriation and (re)interpretation of social boundaries and it depends on whether those who are on the other side of the boundary may accept or reject the minority group. As is shown in her work (2015: 3), migrants themselves perceive their identity as fluid and multiple. In the literature concerning the media's representation of refugees, the concept of 'othering' is often present. As Tileagă (2006; as cited in Kirkwood, 2017: 116) suggests, 'othering' involves portraying people as being outside the 'moral order', thus creating an 'us and them' dichotomy. 'Dehumanisation' is a related process whereby people are portrayed as lacking human qualities, as Haslam and Loughnan (2014) state, yet this can also involve 'infrahumanisation', when people are attributed inferior qualities (Pickering, 2001). At the other end of the spectrum lies the process of humanisation of refugees and asylum seekers in printed media. As an asylum seeker stated (Kirkwood, Goodman, McVittie & McKinlay, 2015: 176) 'I'm an asylum-seeker [...] what difference

between me and refugee? only a one word […] and what is label of an asylum-seeker? we are human'. Such statements depict the refugees' vulnerability and need for help, while also highlighting the power of language and labels to define people's rights and, consequently, life chances (Kirkwood, 2017: 117).

One public domain where the construction and manipulation of social identities occur through discourse is the media, where one can detect the underlying dominant ideologies with the aid of discourse analysis. As defined by Duszak (2002: 7), ideologies are mental representations that organise beliefs and define certain groups. As speakers construct their social identities and that of their listeners through discourse, we develop a certain way of viewing people and we adopt a certain attitude of social solidarity or detachment towards them (2002: 8). Values, beliefs, experiences and way of living affect our feelings of social inclusion or exclusion, as we often compare ourselves with the others and try to find similarities and differences or signs of proximity and distance, such as gender, age, religion, language etc. Indeed, as is stated (Duszak, 2002: 1), discourse is the fundamental tool for constructing and conveying social identities by employing various linguistic mechanisms and strategies. Social identity (Tajfel, Forgas & Turner, 1981,1986) depends on markers such as ethnicity, nationality, professional status, gender, age, ideology etc., and is explained as the part of an individual's self-concept that is created from their sense of belonging into a social group. This creates a sense of solidarity, safety, support and comfort of sharing things with others. People can also belong into several groups, as each person adopts many roles in society during their lives (Duszak, 2002: 2).

However, from the comparison with others comes the distinction and the generation of 'otherness', as we are who we are because we are unlike the other (Duszak, 2002: 2). As a result, we often detach ourselves from others, and feelings of

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anxiety or distance can be created towards them. In addition, this unfamiliarity with the other can often create hostile or racist attitudes, as some refugees reported in our narrative data. According to Dervin (2016: 45), the notions of *other* and *otherness* are interdisciplinary concepts that have been studied in fields such as psychology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, and linguistics as well as theology, archaeology, history, and gender studies. Othering is referred by Jensen (2011: 65) as a discursive process by which powerful groups define subordinate/minority groups as inferior or problematic and dehumanised. In this way, the powerful class reaffirms its position, social status and superiority. As a result, it is common in discourse for those who are 'othered' not to appear as active subjects/agents (Jensen, 2011: 66), which is also the case in our data coming from online newspaper articles (see section 4.1 of Data Analysis). An example of othering is the structure and organisation of the nation-state which "created a myth of cultural homogeneity" (Tseëlon, 2001: 5) and became a source of identity and exclusion (insiders/outsiders) due to the existence of its borders-boundaries (Dervin, 2016: 44).

2.3 Refugee Identity

One of the aims of the present research is to explore the concept of 'refugee'. As defined by the UN, a refugee is a person who

> owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country…

> (Buchanan & Grillo, 2004: 6).

According to Philips and Hardy (1997: 1), the refugee identity includes two aspects; the idealised concept of what a refugee is, as well as the individual matter of

who is and who is not a refugee. Yet, as is stated (Philips & Hardy, 1997), a 'refugee' could be a changing concept as more discourses are still being added. By discourses, Philips and Hardy (1997: 6) mean the wide range of texts including government reports and statements, news reports, cartoons, editorials, and demonstrations, through which the concept of the refugee is produced. However, discourses do not seem to mirror reality, as they simply create ways of understanding the world, and provide concepts, objects and subject positions. By concepts, Philips and Hardy (1997: 7) mean categories, relationships, and theories through which we understand the world and relate to one another. Concepts are fundamentally ideas that arise through texts, are culturally and historically situated and change through time as more discourses are added (1997: 7). The concept of 'refugee' is close to the idealised sense of the word as defined by international agreements, and it includes the rights and protections for which refugees qualify as well as the obligations of countries to provide them. At the other end of the spectrum, objects actually exist in the material world, for example a refugee in an immigration office, yet are influenced by the concept's meaning in how people perceive them (1997: 8). Finally, a subject is not just created through discourse, it is also given rights and has an active participation in discourse in order to create its own identity (1997: 9). As the data of the present study indicate, refugees are more often than not represented as objects in the media, at the receiving end of actions made by anonymous others who hold power. However, there are several cases where they are depicted as active subjects who either travel or fight for their rights and their survival in a new country, as will be discussed further in the data analysis section (see section 4.2 of Data Analysis).

As Voyvodic Casabó states (2016: 2), identity has a significant role in the construction of security and insecurity, as we feel threatened by something that is

unknown to us. Furthermore, security gives us a sense of what is right and what feels wrong or different. As a result, nations define their citizens as included, whereas they mark those outside their borders as dangerous, foreigners, or others (Alvarez 2006: 74). This can be inferred from the extreme measures some states take to prevent refugees' entry to their country, something that highlights the sense of exclusion and control (Voyvodic Casabó, 2016: 6).

As La Barbera (2015) states, even though migrants regard their ethnicity and religion as identity markers, their arrival to a new receiving country can act as a transitive phase and can lead to the reconstruction of their identity, as they do not have their house, job, social status, friends and family any more. As a result, they feel lost, alone, excluded, 'others' in a foreign land, and it is very hard for them to start over a new life. Even though they may want to become integrated, they often face attitudes of hostility and exclusion. In addition, they view their country of origin with nostalgia, even though they cannot live there anymore. Thus, they become people in between, in-transit, i.e. living and belonging neither here, nor there (La Barbera, 2015: 3). Therefore, they are bound to stay in camps, which are characterised by terrible living conditions, and are referred to as 'jungles' (e.g. the Jungle of Calais), which implies a chaotic situation and something that is fit for animals and not humans (Voyvodic Casabó, 2016: 6). The above will be further supported and demonstrated through the findings coming from the refugees' narratives which we analysed for the purposes of this study.

2.4 Media discourse and previous research on refugees

For the purposes of this study, discourses coming from digital newspaper articles were analysed and compared to refugees' narratives. As is known, the media influence societies greatly, as they inform, spread knowledge and shape ideologies (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). As Fairclough (1989: 54) observes:

> The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of… power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth.

In this sense, journalists influence their readers by producing their own discourses or helping to reshape existing ones (Baker & McEnery, 2005: 199). As is often the case, news and other print media do not contain texts where refugees negotiate their own identities or function as agents. Rather, they have their identities constructed for them by those who hold power (Leudar et al. 2008). Consequently, refugees and other minority groups do not have control over what is said about them and how they are represented in political discourse (Van Dijk, 1996: 91).

Previous research, such as Van Dijk's (2000), showed that in representing and interpreting the 'others', the media were reproducing stereotypes, prejudices and racist views, while Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) also reported negative representations of refugees and asylum seekers. Similarly, Santa Ana (1999) noticed that immigrants were presented as animals, debased persons, weeds or disease through examining metaphors in the Los Angeles Times, while Erjavec (2003) highlighted that the media in Slovenia promoted 'moral panic'. Moreover, Leudar et al. (2008: 204) investigated how British newspapers used a set of hostility themes in representing refugees. Simultaneously, he placed those in contrast to refugee

narratives, which had certain prominent topics discussed, such as their socio-economic standing in the country of origin and the reasons behind leaving, self-presentation and current problems they face. In our case, the most striking topics discussed in refugee narratives are their past lives, their current hardships and struggles, their journey, their feelings, and future dreams. Another study conducted by Lea and Lynn (2003), on the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK media, through the analysis of letters from the public considering the asylum debate, found that refugees were mainly shown in a negative way, as outsiders in society (Parker, 2015: 3). This was in line with O'Doherty and Lecouteur's (2007) findings after analysing Australian newspaper articles, which demonstrated certain marginalising practices.

At the other end of the spectrum lies the process of humanisation, or portraying others in ways that encourage empathy and legitimise support (Kirkwood, 2017: 117), which is more in line with our findings from media discourse analysis, where regardless some portrayals of refugees as floods, flows or weight, a more positive perspective was adopted (see section 4.1 of Data Analysis). Despite the results mentioned previously, discourses focusing on refugees' problems were more prominent in the data collected by Baker and McEnery (2005: 215). This suggested a growing awareness and sensitivity in public talk concerning immigration in the UK, as well as in Greece, as our data also focused on refugees' living conditions and current problems.

Chapter 3: Methodology

For the purposes of this study, a collection of data from various sources was necessary, in order to present both refugees' own discourses and others' discourses concerning refugees, and make comparisons between them. As far as the refugees' discourses are concerned, extracts from written interviews where refugees talk about themselves were collected from the book 'Από τα 3 σημεία του ορίζοντα: Ιστορίες ζωής προσφύγων και μεταναστών' (From the 3 corners of the Earth: Life stories of refugees and immigrants, Σαλβάνου, 2016). These extracts were then translated in English by the author of this study, in order to illustrate with examples our findings, while also making it easier for a wider audience to read and comprehend. Those texts were analysed in order to draw some conclusions, while they were also compared and contrasted to articles taken from the online versions of the Greek newspapers 'Efimerida ton Sintakton' (retrieved in www.efsyn.gr), which has a leftist approach, and 'Kathimerini' (retrieved in www.kathimerini.gr), which adopts a more conservative approach. Those articles were selected by typing the key word 'refugees' into the newspaper website search tools and the most relevant articles were chosen. Articles describing events, life stories or breaking news were favoured, in contrast to articles with politicians' statements about future strategies or summit meetings, which were excluded from the analysis, as their focus was not primarily refugees themselves. More specifically, approximately 120 articles were selected from each website through a span of 3 months (1st July 2018 to 5th October 2018) according to relevance to the topic under scrutiny, and were included in the data. Summer months were chosen as the period in which to collect data, as due to favorable weather conditions and calm sea more crossings occur from war-stricken countries towards

Greece. It should also be noted that the data are all in Greek, as our aim is to show how the 'refugee' image is imprinted in the minds and ideologies of the Greek audience, which is where the originality of this study lies.

Within the context of an interview, the refugee-narrator is able to construct their identity and present their own self through long monologues, since what is normally the case is their representation by third parties, i.e. the media (De Fina, 2003: 18). In this way, they are offered ground in order to be heard by their out-groups as well, and they interact with the interviewer in order to make sense of the world and social reality. Narratives occurring in interviews display an orderliness coming from the involvement of another person eliciting answers and editing them in order to make sense of the story. In contrast, stories told in naturally occurring conversations may not seem whole and complete, as there can be interruptions, questions and comments (Mishler, 2006: 44). That is why most researchers depend on the ending in order to make sense of the whole story (2006: 47). Our choice of investigating identity through narratives from interviews is a conscious one, as refugees seemed to have sufficient space to develop their own stories there. However, due to time-related limitations and the level of difficulty in directly interviewing and collecting refugees' experiences, I decided against interviewing refugees themselves, and use the testimonies and statements that were found in the resources and platforms stated above.

In analysing the data, several strategies were employed. First, the relevant texts were coded on the basis of semantic fields, and categorised accordingly. Then, another codification was done according to grammatical categories of transitivity, verb agency and syntax. In addition, metaphors were selected and analysed separately, and were compared to the use of lexical items pertaining to the semantic field

indicating 'humanisation'. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on examining attributes and descriptors connected to refugees, while numbers and percentages were expected to be found, as was the case in previous research (Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti, 2016). As the definition of narratives would indicate, lexical items showing time, space or disorientation were selected and analysed, as well as lexis (mainly verbs) expressing refugees' feelings and emotions.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis & Discussion

The first aim of this study is to shed light on how the printed media portray refugees' identity, and whether there would be any significant differences between the leftist newspaper 'Efimerida ton Syntakton' and the more conservative 'Kathimerini', both of which were under scrutiny for the collection of the present data. Much to our surprise, there are no glaring differences between the two, as they both cover almost the same issues and events occurring daily. The only differences lied in cases of articles with quoted words by certain politicians. For example, 'Kathimerini' included more articles with what the leader of the opposition party would say, as an attack to the Greek government's strategies of dealing with the refugee crisis. Yet, those articles are not included in our data, as their concern was not primarily refugees and their identity.

Another general observation is that the articles examined do not demonstrate any sort of bias against refugees. In contrast, the authors of the articles are showing a favourable stance towards migrants coming to Europe, and they defend their human rights, which are currently in danger due to European leaders' strict policies. In support of this, there are several instances where there is strong critique towards certain European strategies and policies, something which will be further discussed in the section below. However, this result could potentially be explained due to the fact that the media have now taken a common approach in covering the subject with more humanity, while there has been a significant decrease in hate speech, as Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016: 276) found in their corpus linguistics and discourse analysis research on Greek, German and British press concerning the refugee crisis in Europe.

4.1 Newspaper Data

Beginning with the newspapers' discourses on the European refugee crisis, a preliminary qualitative analysis has identified certain topics and patterns. First of all, linguistic means that characterise and describe refugees were collected and will be presented here. Refugees in the online press are represented and described as 'refugees', 'asylum seekers', 'migrants', thus showing that journalists use mainly the established terminology concerning international affairs. Furthermore, certain attributes and qualities often accompany the nouns 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers', some of which are:

Table 1. Attributive and nominal adjectives presented according to semantic field.

SEA	trapped at sea, sea beaten/ storm tossed
CAPTIVITY	held hostages, confined, locked in prisons, packed, hungry
GRIEF	devastated, desperate, protesting, bereaved/ grieving
IN-TRANSIT	displaced, unwanted in the two countries, rootless and chased

Refugees are represented here via attributive adjectives (trapped, devastated, hungry, desperate) or nominal adjectives (sea beaten, displaced). These adjectives indicate the feelings refugees might go through, the horrible conditions of confinement they live in (i.e. not enough space and food) and even captivity. In addition, the sense of not belonging and not feeling welcome in their new countries is shown in the phrases "unwanted in the two countries" and "rootless and chased". This further highlights the sense of belonging 'neither here, nor there' and living in-transit (La Barbera, 2015).

Nevertheless, it is important to note here that these attributes and descriptors are appropriate for humans, whereas there are other cases of de-humanisation and depiction of refugees as inanimate objects in the data. This occurs through the use of metaphorical expressions, which are often thought of as belonging to the fields of literature and poetry, yet are also used in politics or journalism (Bleasdale, 2008: 6). This may be due to the fact that metaphors have a significant role there too and help shape our understanding of the world, as they use one already familiar concept to explain a more complex one (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 61). In the corpora analysed by Radanović Felberg and Šarić (2017: 238), it was found that the migrant crisis was conceptualised as a flood, and people's movements as rivers and waves. These indicate a broader water metaphor, where receiving countries are containers, movement of people is dangerous water, and liquids are not easily stopped (2017: 238). In our study, such examples are "ball tossed between countries", "continuous flows" and "migration flow from Turkey", where we can see that refugees are either illustrated through a small, unimportant object which can be tossed between people with no consequences (just as the responsibility of human lives between European countries), or as a liquid mass, which arrives chaotically to a country and cannot be organised nor dealt with. This is in line with past research (Bleasdale, 2008) which has shown that in the case of the UK, in public discourses there are often several inaccurate and biased statements about asylum seekers being a threat to natives. Moreover, action verbs in our data such as 'toss' and 'flow' indicate movement, which is attributed to refugees, since they necessarily have to move from one country to another.

'Dehumanisation' is also a relevant process whereby people are portrayed as lacking human qualities, as Haslam and Loughnan (2014) state. Thus, people can be

portrayed as threatening insects or animals that need to be defended against or 'dirt' that needs to be removed (Kirkwood, 2017: 116). Yet this process can also involve 'infrahumanisation', i.e. people attributed with inferior qualities (Pickering, 2001). As Parker (2015: 15) stated, such findings indicate that the media influence the public opinion greatly and can affect migrants' integration and sense of belonging in society. As research has shown (Bleasdale, 2008: 7), metaphors can position migrants as threatening and dangerous, by using metaphoric expressions such as 'waves', 'floods' and 'flow' to describe their arrival to a country. These liquid metaphors create powerful imagery of the inevitable, chaotic mass that will overflow the country, thus eliminating the human aspect of each individual asylum seeker (2008: 7). Similar to these is the instance 'the storm of asylum forms continues', which is in line with the uncontrolled water element. Ironically in one of the articles in our data, the journalist is also quick to create another water-metaphor, this time with the Greek government "sailing literally in unchartered waters", thus turning the metaphor on its head and causing the incompetent Greek politicians to get 'swept' by this human 'flow', as called by themselves. In order to explain all this, Refaie (2001: 366; as cited in Baker & McEnery, 2005) argues that water metaphors have become 'naturalised', as not only politicians, journalists and editors use them to talk about refugees, but the UNHCR as well, and is a practice rarely challenged. In this line, boats carrying refugees are also presented figuratively through metaphors in our data, yet are almost always presented as an insufficient and unsafe means of transport, e.g. in the instances of 'an *old wrecked* ship' (originally 'καράβι παλιό σαπιοκάραβο' from a Greek song) and 'a *nutshell* carrying 12 Iraqis'. Furthermore, refugees are also depicted as 'weight' in a couple of articles, a 'weight that is not shared fairly between countries', with Greece 'continuing to lift the great weight of the refugee-immigration problem'.

In this way, Greece and the other countries of Southern Europe become personalised and carry the weight, or responsibility of caring for human lives, even though the facilities and resources are limited and not destined for such great numbers of people arriving daily.

In our media data, refugees are almost always referred to as 'humans' and 'people', thus foregrounding their human aspect. This could be due to the fact that after the recent events during the last years many countries in Europe have empathised with the situation of refugees who are more and more often humanised in press, thus highlighting their similarity to us and not their differences to the peoples of Europe. Instances of humanisation are presented in italics on the table below:

Table 2. Lexical items related to humanisation.

9.000 and more *souls*	trafficking network of *human lives*
death or captivity of thousands of *people*	saving *human lives*
camps made for 3.000 *people*	*human* lives and *human* pain
people who have been harmed and raped, who have lost their families, who seek for international protection in Europe	We are not in the market. We are talking about *humans*, not carpets.
people with mental health problems	it's a pity for this *young man* to stop living freely
displaced *people*	this *man* wants to stay here
Where will those *people* live?	
the humanitarian crisis that strikes Afghanistan has developed in such a way that the return and resettlement of *people* there is not allowed	

Here we can see direct references to 'humans', as well as human qualities. For example, by using the expression 'people' and not 'refugees', the authors here probably aim to highlight these people's similarities to us, as they too have needs and feelings and experience emotions like every human being. The emotive expression 'human lives' is thus used quite often, in order to draw attention to the vulnerability of these people, while also the mention of a young refugee who wants to remain in Greece and recreate his life from scratch, aims at raising awareness concerning these people's rights and needs. As a result, refugees are portrayed in a way that encourages empathy and legitimises support. These constitute the opposite of 'othering', i.e. humanisation in 'discursively constructing people as belonging to a common moral community, acting in ways that are understandable and deserving support', as Kirkwood (2017: 117) maintains. Similarly, in their corpus linguistics and discourse analysis research on Greek, German and British press concerning the refugee crisis in Europe, Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016: 276) found that the media have recently taken a common approach in covering the subject with more humanity and with the help of numbers, while there has been a significant decrease in hate speech due to public concern. Therefore, refugees were portrayed as helpless and desperate victims of war in Syria (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016: 276). As Kirkwood found in his data, describing refugees' past as 'horror' (or in our data's case 'hell') emphasises the necessity of fleeing their countries, thus rendering them as 'genuine' and in need of safety (Kirkwood et al., 2015). In addition, presenting asylum seekers as living alongside locals has a positive effect, as it supports their rights, while at the same time it implies that they need to be treated equally (Kirkwood, 2017: 117).

Another issue that emerged from the analysis was the regular use of language that makes an invocation to emotion, as within the data there were references to

vulnerable groups, such as children, young people, unaccompanied minors etc., as in the following cases (marked in italics):

Table 3. Lexical items belonging to the semantic field of vulnerability.

grave incidents that had as a result the injury of a *young refugee*
unacceptable suing against *children refugees* in Chios
women and girls are the most vulnerable amongst migrants and refugees
seven *families* and three *children*
a *5-year-old* left his last breath
two young *children* from Yemen with asthma
people *amputated, blind, deaf, suffering* from PTSD
organised attack against the registration of *children refugees* at school
innocent *children* of an inferior God
Children receive the worst possible care, even though they come from a war.
Other *minors* show selective mute, panic attacks, anxiety, sudden aggression and constant nightmares
Having already painful war experiences, loss of relatives…

In the extracts above, there are mentions of vulnerable groups of people, such as women, children and minors, or people with disabilities, which are often accompanied by negatively charged expressions, such as grave incidents, death, suing, illnesses or symptoms and inadequate health care. This use of language is often used in order to elicit certain feelings to the public and make them empathise with the hardships that refugees face, thus bringing them closer and eliminating the popular view that they are 'others' who do not deserve our hospitality. One particularly strong example utilising personalisation is "[i]n a slope near Vathi, Samos, lies all the sadness of the world", which invokes strong emotions and implies the living conditions in a refugee camp without directly referring to the situation. At the other end of the spectrum,

some articles show positive images of 'children refugees playing, fighting, gathering, crying, laughing with their classmates… like children' and praise the teachers in certain Greek schools who come up with 'incredibly imaginative and efficient ways for the education and inclusion of children refugees in the educational system'.

As regards the problems these people face in their everyday lives in their host country, many instances in the online press express hardships and struggle:

Table 4. Problems refugees face.

LIVING CONDITIONS	are under geographical restriction;
	experience a slow and torturous death;
	in the Moria camp there are strong winds, the camp is overcrowded, the facilities are lacking, and as a result there are aggressive behaviours;
	drains do not work properly and dirty waters pass through tents with children's mattresses;
	more than 1.500 people lack accommodation or enough food, while their access to health services is limited;
	the nightmarish reality refugees live;
	shocking accusation of food deprivation to refugees;
	the results of war and poverty
ACCOMMODATION ISSUES	there is no space even for the new ones;
	are exposed to rain;
	if they go to Athens, they don't have where to stay;
	lack of space;
	people live piled up in tents
SITUATION AT SEA	recurrent shipwrecks with many dead;
	waiting desperately for help;
	after a small 'Odyssey';
	with the tragic outcome of one dead and seven injured;

	more than 80 have lost their lives
ATTITUDES TOWARDS REFUGEES	violence victims;
	beating and robbing refugees in Croatian borders;
	police violence against refugees;
	were victims of violence or harassment;
	discrimination and problems for women
HEALTH ISSUES	show psychotic symptoms, such as illusions, panic, confusion and disorientation;
	children are forced to live in an environment where their medical problems and mental health deteriorate

Through various newspaper articles, it is made clear that refugees face difficulties early on from their journeys, which resemble the epic 'Odyssey', with many people losing their lives at this stage. After that, refugees then face the trials of living in disorganised, understaffed camps in Greece, where organisations declare a state of emergency, as there is rarely enough help and infrastructure. During their stay, living conditions are adverse and there are many accommodation and space issues, as well as health issues caused precisely by the aforementioned state. Finally, these minority groups are forced to face hostile and racist attitudes and behaviours towards them by locals, due to their difference in religion, nationality or gender.

In the extracts concerning refugees' living conditions, there are numerous attributive adjectives which describe the situation as 'unacceptable, shocking and atrocious, adverse, inhumane, awful, shameful, inappropriate and dangerous, third-world like, out of control, desperate and saddening'. As is obvious, journalists seem to unite in order to report the situation in which refugees live, which is made explicit through several descriptions. Therefore, in these cases the writers' attitude and feelings of shame and sadness are manifested through discourse.

Apart from "hell", the camps of Greece are also resembled to a "boiling cauldron", as they are so full with horrible conditions that they look as they might burst. The Moria camp in particular is metaphorically referred to as a 'sanitary minefield'! In addition, refugees' lives are also compared to that of Ulysses, who went through numerous adventures in order to finally arrive to his destination, thus drawing on our cultural mythology to explain a recent phenomenon. Another strong metaphor is used when the island of Lesvos is compared to 'the island of the cursed' in an article's title, highlighting the misfortune of those arriving and living in camps there. The semantic field of "security" is also present in the data, as the "lack of guards", and the sense of "abandonment", as well as the uncertainty of local's attitudes towards refugees intensify the insecurity they feel in an unknown country. As is stated, 'many women and children do not dare to use the bathroom at night'. What is more, there are indications of suffocation in the data, as we see the words "to give some breathing space", which in Greek translates more literally to "to give a breath", thus viewing the Moria camp as a living organism that faces difficulties and "deals with the weight of triple the number of its capacities" and needs to 'breathe' in order to work properly. As a result, this along with the 'refugees-as-weight' metaphor imply that refugees are some kind of 'virus' or 'parasite' that lives at the expense of an unfortunate country-living organism (here Greece), rendering it incapable of functioning properly.

Another aspect that is often recurrent in the data is the portrayal of the refugee crisis in numbers, a common practice in journalism abroad as well as in Greece.

Table 5. Percentages and numbers in media discourse concerning refugees.

the number of migrants has increased this year
the number of missing people in the Mediterranean waters has reached 277 people
47 refugees are now safe
The number of refugees that might be deported from Germany to Greece by the end of 2018
flows were reduced by 95%-96%
continuous flows that have increased the number of residents by 500 people
made for 3.000 people, while the number of those living there is triple that
under 10.000 asylum seekers
2.000 have been returned
35.000 have been transferred
the mass exodus of 440 refugees
230 more refugees of different nationalities are departing
Aquarius has hosted 29.523 refugees
come from Syria (30%), Iraq (24%) and Afghanistan (16%)

By including numbers in their articles, newspapers make their content more credible, accurate and well-informed, as well as illustrate the grand scale of the issue to the readers. However, by showing numbers of cases, refugees are not portrayed as unique individuals, each one with their own life story and journey, but they become dehumanised; another number in many, lacking their human aspects. Yet another water-metaphor exists in the data to indicate quantity, i.e. 'refugees' return by the (water) dropper', again comparing refugees to water, and showing that they are not all allowed to return to their homelands at once and that very few people are able to do so.

In addition, refugees' agency has been investigated extensively through linguistic devices that are used, such as action verbs (De Fina, 2006: 353), and draws one's attention during the data analysis, while the use of passive constructions is also noted.

Table 6. Victimisation of refugees through verb agency.

PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	REFUGEES AS RECEIVERS (AFFECTED PARTICIPANTS)
were banished	refugees' *rescue by…*
more than 800.000 *will be displaced*	*transfer of* asylum seekers belonging to vulnerable groups
65 refugees *were salvaged* safely near Pilos	the *detection and rescue of* refugees
Afghan refugees *have been deported* to their homeland	forced *them*
was released but detained	*the police brought* more refugees
were arrested and tried	threatens *to send them* packed to Libya
were deported	*treated them* with extreme violence
to be returned	the authorities *did not accept them*
were separated from family	*do not permit them* to seek asylum
are forced to abandon their homes	*boarded them* by force into a boat and returned them
illegal immigrants *will be differentiated and returned*	political strategies that *trap extremely vulnerable people* in Libya or *let them* die at sea
will under no circumstances *be accepted* in Italy	send *them*
one of the refugees *was collected* unconscious	led *them*
they are often *not recorded*	threatened *them*
are forced to pay huge amounts of money	arrested *them*

As we can see on the table above, most of the actions are expressed through verbs that indicate material transactive processes, whereby one participant does something to another (e.g. the police *boarded* them by force into a boat). Interestingly, several verbs belong to the semantic field of violence or force, as in the cases of 'forced, banished, collected, not accepted, returned, deported, arrested, detained, and separated'. In these cases, refugees are constantly linguistically placed as the affected participants, i.e. the receivers of actions, thus showing another instance of their victimisation and their portrayal as powerless and helpless (e.g. strategies that *trap extremely vulnerable* people… or *let them die* at sea). By using passive voice, the media show refugees on the foreground as the objects-victims that are delivered/ transported/ carried/ captured/ trapped/ exiled/ arrested/ sent, and have no control over their own movement and transportation, as De Fina accurately stated (2003: 379). Therefore, apart from being described as a force that cannot be dealt with (water), refugees here are also constructed in terms of metaphors and verbs, which depict them as transported (illegal) goods. As Baker and McEnery (2005: 206) maintained, this process highlights again their dehumanisation. Yet what is missing from these extracts is the agent of the actions, who is hidden behind the indefinite subject 'they'. Therefore, one could say that the media conceal the authorities when they function as agents of violent and inhuman actions, probably in an attempt to assert and reaffirm their constant power and dominance.

As regards agency, migrants are active in a limited way, for example when travelling, yet they lack agency when they are perceived as numbers or objects to be transported and placed (Radanović Felberg & Šarić, 2017: 239). According to Radanović Felberg and Šarić (2017: 240), the frequent use of transport and placement

verbs dehumanises migrants, as it renders them objects, while those with power (politicians, police, organisations etc.) are regarded as the agents of such actions. Baker and McEnery (2005: 215) found that there are many cases of unclear agency and examples of 'forced returns' with no apparent agent, a form of impersonalisation (Van Leeuwen, 1996), as was the case with many instances in our data. However, there are also cases where the active voice is used, thus rendering refugees in the position of the subject that takes action and constructs their own identity.

Table 7. Representation of refugees as active agents.

REFUGEES AS ACTIVE AGENTS	
	SEMANTIC FIELD OF TRAVELLING
Syrians *use* technology extensively to *get* information about traffickers	1.000 more asylum seekers will *depart*
protest as for months they have not taken the financial help they deserve	*left* Turkey trying to come to Europe to escape war and extreme poverty
refugees *riot* in Thessaloniki	new *arrivals* of Syrian refugees
struggles with many ways to become integrated to the local community and the job market	asylum seekers now *follow* the Mediterranean route to Italy
Syrian refugees are *becoming* a part of the economy	*refused* to *return* to his homeland, *seeking* for asylum in a third country- tried without success to board a plane, *surviving* in the airport thanks to the charity of airline crews
helps other refugees as well	arrived/ came to Greece
capable of *participating* in managing and organising a living space	*walk, hide, face*
wait to be *integrated*, to show their papers, tell their story, get some answers	try to *escape*
searching for ways to have a better and safer life	try to *catch* our attention, to *stand out* from the crowd, in order to be saved
wait to do the first interview, *feel* like they are nearing the end of their long	*begin* from Greece or Serbia to *arrive* in

wait	Germany
	have as their *destination*
	continue their journey
	aim to *arrive* in Italy
	enter Greece illegally through Evros and continue their journey towards central Europe without being identified first
doesn't *want* to be a target, only wants to *make it* with dignity	try to find other ways to *leave* towards other countries of Europe

As is visible on the left column of the table, the majority of verbs associated with refugees are of actional processes, such as use, get, protest, take, struggle, riot, becoming, help, participate, be integrated, search, while refugees here are the agents/actors of such actions. Therefore, readers perceive refugees as active participants in actions and events, as they are presented in organising riots and protesting in defense of their rights, thus showing their frustration and anger towards the current state of affairs. Moreover, we see them as actors who search for more information, knowledge and ways to improve their lives, and people who are willing to help others who suffer as well. However, verbs such as 'wait' and 'struggle' show the state of in-between where they are still placed, as they are not completely excluded, yet they are not integrated as much as they would like to be, even though they have the necessary skills. As the present continuous tense illustrates in the extract 'Syrian refugees are becoming a part of the economy', the process of integrating and being an indispensable part of their new society is a slow and time-consuming process. Looking at the right column of the table, most actional processes verbs come from the semantic field of 'travelling', such as depart, left, arrive, walk, return, follow, and continue, and indicate movement, which, as we have shown, is deeply associated with the refugee identity.

In the data, we also experience the foregrounding of individual cases of refugees, as in the example of a man who was a "British translator in Afghanistan and became a homeless person in Athens", and a tragic figure of a father who "managed to grab only his son" from the boat. There are also others who "dream to translate Greek poetry into their native languages", "young people who want to live and not just survive in Greece". Focusing on individuals in journalism increases the empathy of the public and shows sympathy towards these people who have faced such tragic events. The instances above illustrate the actions taken by refugees who choose their own path through Europe, struggling to find their way to their destinations, aiming to become integrated, protesting for their own rights, people who have dreams and hopes for their future and their families, who show faith and determination. In other words, refugees are now seen as 'social agents who dynamically create transnational networks across host and home countries, shaping new cartographies of space and identity' (De Fina, 2016: 164–165). As a result, according to Leudar et al. (2008: 130), the dominant ideologies of the modern nation-state, homogeneity, and the principle of 'one-language-one-nation' are being challenged with the aid of transnationalism and globalisation.

One final theme that occurs in both newspapers, even though it is more often in the leftist 'Efimerida ton Sintakton', is the case of several journalists directly criticising the European leaders and their strategies towards the refugee crisis. By using strong language, they express their disappointment towards the European ideal. To get their message across, they use lexical items showing failure, bad management, opposing ideologies and criminality, all of which have a negative sense. Drawing our attention to the last extract (vi), we can see a relational process ('this is an organised crime'), which relates the negative attribute "organised crime" to Europe's migration

policy. As a result, through this linguistic choice, the journalist here expresses their ideological stance by associating political leaders and countries to criminality.

(i) the 28 leaders *completely failed*, continuing their display of power

(ii) in an effort of *political capitalisation/exploitation* of this tragic event

(iii) *Dis-agreements* (word-play: 'symphonia' in Greek= both symphony and agreement; symphony used here, as the summit had taken place in Austria, Mozart's birthplace)

(iv) the Italian government… showing their *xenophobic* reflexes

(v) couldn't care less about the agreement

(vi) This is not a migration policy; this is an *organised crime*.

The use of metaphors could not be omitted here, as they are more interesting for the public to read and the writer to use, expressing their views through easily understood language. In example (vii) below, the journalist uses the 'dustbin' to show politicians' inhuman lack of interest and care towards a humanitarian crisis that has many implications for the European continent as well. In the next extract (viii), the lexical item 'dead end' indicates an impediment and inability in finding a viable solution to the problem. Finally, yet another water metaphor is present in extract (ix), as the descriptor 'stagnant' is mainly used to describe water that does not move and often has a bad odour. In this case, it is used figuratively to describe the lack of progress concerning the highly important matter of the refugee crisis.

(vii) the proposal of penalisation to countries that do not accept the said reallocation, is thrown in the *dustbin*

(viii) the crisis is at a huge *dead end* in the EU

(ix) the whole issue is *stagnant*

The journalists on several articles also criticise indirectly in writing about politicians, by often employing an ironic tone with the use of quotation marks or ellipsis, thus indicating that their opinion is the exact opposite from the one stated. Through these means, Greek journalists take a clear humanitarian stance and probably aim to represent refugees in public discourses that will reach a large audience.

> (x) speaking of the agreement as a *'proof of the European solidarity'*. Such hypocrisy!
>
> (xi) *'host'* refugees
>
> (xii) refugees as *'collateral damage'* of such policies
>
> (xiii) the European *solution…*

All in all, there were no glaring differences between the two newspapers, as they both covered almost the same issues and events occurring daily, and they showed a favourable stance towards refugees' rights, thus adopting a more humanitarian approach, as was the case in Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016: 276). After closely examining this data set, it was found that the standard terminology is used to refer to refugees, yet journalists are free to add their own attributes and qualities associated with them. Furthermore, there has been extensive mention of refugees as humans, while also many extracts were dedicated to vulnerable groups or to the atrocious conditions refugees coped with during their stay in Greece. Finally, as was expected the use of numbers was recurrent in the data, while the agency of action verbs stimulated an extended discussion. All in all, the refugee identity was shaped as the image of a wearied person that has arrived in Greece in large numbers and is in need of care and support in order to get over their tragic story and move on to create a new life in their adopted country.

4.2 Narrative Data

According to Labov and Waletzky (1967), narrative is considered as the technique for recounting past experience in a temporal sequence. However, there are often times when there are different levels of time and there is no strict sequence, as the plot defines which events will be recounted in order, often according to memory, not time (Ricoeur, 1980). Turning points are striking examples of what goes on all the time, which help the process of reconstructing our past experiences and identity. Identity is also influenced and shaped by the relations we have with others and by multiple simultaneous events (Mishler, 2006: 41). In our data, there are several instances where time is marked by specific events in one's life, such as 'My wife left on 29 October 2014. Again illegally. We had no money to leave together', 'I came to Greece in 2005 with my child. Then, he was 1 year and 11 months old. He was born in 2003', and 'those things happened when I was 6, in 2003'. As is obvious, many refugees mark the time in their journeys according to their loved ones' lives i.e. if their wife leaves the country, or if a child is born. These important events function as milestones according to which refugees can calculate previous or later events. There is also some vague knowledge of time elapsing between certain events in 'We stayed in Turkey for a month. At a hotel. The traffickers would tell us 'this week', 'next week…'' and 'the journey lasted for 2 weeks'.

As De Fina (2003: 370) states, orientation in narratives can be either controlled and stated by the narrator in order to help the listener, or it can function as a background to the main events of the story. Furthermore, it can also function as common ground for narrator and audience in order to comprehend the experiences discussed (2003: 372). Contrariwise, disorientation in the story is problematic for time and space in the organisation of the narratives. As is the case in our data, orientation is

often negotiated between the interlocutors, as narrators do not always remember the temporal order in which events occurred, and may have stored them in memory according to importance (De Fina, 2003: 373). In our data, narrators do not always remember the dates of events in their lives or the time elapsed between events. Such is the case in the following example 'October, cold night, winter. I don't remember. And everyone drowned. It happened in 2005', where the narrator is not certain of the date and only recalls the year and weather conditions of his journey, possibly due to the shock he faced when many people in his boat drowned, his mother included. Moreover, at the time of these events, the narrators themselves probably felt lost and were unable to state in detail the place and time they were in, which could be inferred from several vague expressions used in discourse, in order to describe places of arrival, as well as the use of certain places (e.g. Smyrni) for orientation (De Fina, 2003: 385).

> (1) "I *don't remember how we left*. (interviewer: you went from Alexandroupoli to Athens) Yes, but I *don't know how we came*."
>
> (2) "From Smyrni, I *don't remember* in *which island* I arrived."
>
> (3) "from Iraq I went to Iran, but I don't remember anything from there. In Turkey a couple of images, I *can't remember many things…*From Greece *I remember everything*. When I came to Greece I was five years old."

As a result, there is a loss of control, as narrators are not in charge of their own movement and displacement (2003: 379). This is also evident by the use of the indefinite subject 'they', as narrators are not necessarily aware of the agent that is responsible for moving them to another camp/to the border etc., similarly to what we found in our data from newspaper articles. In addition, as is often the case, there can be common expressions, such as "the border" or "Evros river", which displaced groups use in order to place themselves in new spaces (De Fina, 2003: 380). These

particular examples show images of lines that need to be crossed or reached, and function as reference points for refugees in any country. Yet, surprisingly, most refugees in our data seemed to know where they were at each point in time, while also expressed opinions on living in certain countries. For example, Denmark where it is thought that 'a residence permit is easier to get and the process of family reunification is faster', Germany is believed to have 'better job opportunities and life prospects' for refugees and their children, whereas Greece is not so positively depicted, as refugees 'are aware of the situation' and would not opt to stay there permanently. However, as one refugee states, most of them do not mind the place they live in, as long as they can start over and succeed in life.

Recently, there has been a great interest in the formation, negotiation, and development of identities. This is probably due to the fact that mass migrations and globalisation have led to more communities of people coming in contact with each other (De Fina et al., 2006: 351). Thus, the sense of belonging into a community and the social practices one engages in are now complex issues. People position themselves in a narrative according to the social roles they have, thus producing social beings (Bamberg, 1997: 336). As a result, in the narrated events, one will have the role of agent that is in control of one action, or the object that is passive and receives the consequences of others' actions. Moreover, we see how they represent themselves and others and the discourse that is employed according to the narration of the story. De Fina et al. (2006) researched how group identity is represented and negotiated in narratives, as narrators create their own story-worlds and represent themselves and the others in terms of members of certain groups or categories. However, there are instances where narrators also discuss how others perceive and categorise them, by

looking at themselves in the way those outside their group would (2006: 357). One such example is the following

> (4) "I love Greece as my country, I would like to be Greek, but if the people don't want to consider you Greek, you cannot say 'I'm Greek'. I myself want it."

where one immigrant expresses his wish to be considered Greek, yet knows that the local majority needs to accept him as such first. In addition, narratives are significant in the diffusion and strengthening of social prejudice, according to Van Dijk (1987), as in-groups and out-groups images are created by the narrators, who stress similarities or differences (De Fina, 2003: 13), such as in the extract below, where the human aspect of both people is in focus, while the religion and nationality are overlooked;

> (5) "I met a woman and she was good. She came from Romania. She was Christian, I was Muslim. But it doesn't matter, we're all humans."

Furthermore, by saying 'We were rich in Syria… Most of us own our home and shops. Like the Greeks. Few people are renting', a refugee, who has clearly understood some things concerning Greek properties, probably aims to illustrate how the two people have more things in common that different, and show how Syrian people who have pride and dignity would not go to Greece in order to rob houses and jobs or beg, as might be the stereotypical views of some locals.

Connected to belonging and identity, Zetter's (1991: 59) concept of 'labelling', i.e. a significant practice in public policy making and its languages, establishes the asymmetrical relationship between power and powerlessness, inclusion and exclusion, stereotyping and control. By labelling, or, as Lynn and Lea (2003: 428) state, assigning the specific 'status' of refugee, asylum-seeker or 'illegal', we eliminate the possibility for subjects to act otherwise than the stereotypical role that

has been assigned to them. As a result, through the powerful means of discourse, discrimination against specific minority groups is 'facilitated and maintained' (Fowler, 1991: 94; as cited in Lynn & Lea, 2003). In our data, many people call themselves 'refugees' and are mainly focused on that aspect of their lives (see examples below). However, that could be explained due to the fact that they went through a significant, life-changing experience which will be forever in their memory and will define their lives. The first extract is quite interesting, as the interviewee here seems to have associated being a refugee with the sense of 'bad', as he states that everything was good, but for the fact that he was a refugee. This shows that he possibly had to face several difficulties, not only in terms of his rights and needs, but also in terms of identity, as he chooses to place himself both in terms of his parents' origin (third generation refugee) and his own place of birth (born in Syria). Undoubtedly, war is also dissociated from the concept of 'good life', as after such a grave event, their lives alter and become more unstable and uncertain, while even the basic needs are not taken for granted anymore (as another refugee states further down in our data "the prices of milk had risen and many people could not afford it").

> (6) "I was born in 1977 in Homs, Syria, in a refugee camp. I was a *Palestinian refugee in Syria*. Third generation refugee. My life was good. I was working. I had two children and a wife. *Everything was good, besides me being a refugee*. We had a *good life before the war*."

> (7) "Now I am a *refugee*. I have claimed political asylum since last year."

> (8) "I didn't receive asylum. So, I was *illegal* and I had to go."

Nevertheless, actors who use discourse to depict their own identity, secure their right to be heard, as well as challenge power relations in society (Potter & Weatherell, 1987; as cited in Philips & Hardy, 1997: 10). As was found, many refugees called themselves 'humans', thus willing to highlight their similarities to

locals as opposed to their differences in colour or religion. It is important to note here that this was the case in our newspaper articles data as well, where the majority of reporters would avoid hostile expressions and call refugees 'humans' as well. Finally, another common practice in society is the exploring of identity processes in discourse through the useful tool of 'positioning' (Davies & Harré, 1990), which is distinguished between interactive positioning, in which what one speaker says positions the other; and reflexive positioning, in which one positions oneself (Hatoss, 2012: 50). In our case, interactive positioning was examined through discourses in media concerning refugees, whereas reflexive positioning was examined through the refugees' own narratives.

In examining how refugees talk about themselves, we can see identity expressed through their country of origin, occupation, family and religion. In the first example below (9), the narrator states their country and place of origin in introducing themselves, while they also discuss their educational career in relation to the historical events taking place at the time, in order to state the timeline of the narration. This shows that what was happening in their country also defined them, due to proximity and relativity of those events in their life.

> (9) "I came from Afghanistan, from a town near the border with Iran […] I was at school studying until the Taliban came. The Mujahedin were beaten by the Taliban in 1996 or 1995. I was on the last class of high school and finished 3 years after they seized power."

As regards the second extract (10), the same refugee states their change in religion after studying about religions at the time of war. While recounting his life story and his constant moving between countries, he had also decided on a more radical change, which was also a topic of discussion amongst friends and could be a possible reason for his fleeing these countries for a safer life in Europe. As a result, here we can see

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how identity is not fixed through time, but it changes and evolves according to the events and experiences of one's life.

> (10) "In 2011…then I changed my religion from a Muslim I became a Christian, while I was in Afghanistan. When we went to Iran for the second time, I had the experience of the Taliban and the Mujahedin and I started reading about Islam. So, when I returned to Afghanistan I really was no longer a Muslim. My friends were asking me what happened, why am I changing."

Language also appears to be a significant factor, as a mother claims that due to her difficulty in understanding Greek "she cannot understand her children when they speak Greek" and they make fun of her, as they have learnt properly through school, while she was not given the chance. The same woman also expresses her African black identity, as she warns her children "not to force themselves on others, wait for the other children to approach them and if they want to be friends, then okay". In this way, she positions herself as the 'other' threatening the white majority/supremacy and passes this view to her children, in order for them to have as normal and stable a social life as possible.

As Fairclough (1989) has stated, narrative is seen as a discursive practice, i.e. as a form of social practice centered on discourse that both reflects social beliefs and relationships and contributes to negotiate and modify them. We should also keep in mind that narratives are situated in specific social and historical circumstances (Wertsch, 1991). Contributing to the definition of narratives as representations of past events, Bamberg (1997: 335) also highlights the way these events affect the narrator. As a result, we see the story unfolding before us, as well as the feelings and thoughts of the narrator during the events, as is also the case in our data analysis of refugee narratives. Firstly, fear is expressed in the utterance 'What will they do? Will they arrest me? What if my daughter says something from the Bible at school?', showing a

father's fear for his change of religion not to be revealed. Moreover, there are feelings of regret and loneliness, as refugees leave their friends and family behind and enter a new social life. Another quite significant finding was instances of tiredness and despair. As one refugee reflects 'Nobody calls me, I'm tired. I just want to work, get a stable job. I am not young; I will grow old. I am smart. I learned all these languages on my own.', showing his concerns, as well as his willingness to find a job and get an income in order to start anew and make a living in his newly adopted country. When asked where he imagines himself in five years' time, he becomes pessimistic, stating 'I do not imagine I will be living in 5 years. If you don't go through what I did, you cannot understand.', thus indicating that the experience he went through was so tragic and defining that he feels hopeless.

Nevertheless, there are also cases of refugees who are willing to get over everything they experienced in order to have a better future. As a father states '…war was difficult, but we need to forget in order to move forward.', while a mother wishes for her children 'to see humans as humans, despite of their religion, colour, nationality', helping them in this way to adopt a humanitarian approach of perceiving other people. Yet, all of them feel nostalgic towards their countries, families ('I tell them stories of our relatives, to remember them. More about the people than the place.') and traditions ('I tell stories to my children, the ones my mother used to tell me'), while some of them wish they could visit their countries even for a short period of time without the danger of getting captured ('I cannot go now, I am a refugee, they will take my passport. I cannot go to my homeland not even for a while.'). However, one refugee also shows signs of guilt for escaping her country's war and in her frustration to help improve the situation there, she even wishes for her children to 'return back home and help change things' in the future.

Another semantic field which was discussed in our literature review section is the sense of feeling in-transit, i.e. refugees feeling in between their previous and their current state, belonging neither in their home countries nor in their adopted ones. Some of their statements are stated below. As we can see, there are manifest feelings of uncertainty about their future, instability concerning their lives and entrapment in a place where they don't want to stay. Moreover, they also experience an identity crisis, as when they cannot relate to their past or present country, they consider themselves unwanted foreigners and intruders.

(11) "War destabilised my life. I have a feeling *I am in a transitional phase*. I don't know how my life will be in 5 years. *I cannot make plans…*"

(12) "I was tired. We *have been waiting for 3 years*. And life was hard in Greece. There is no social support, no Greek language learning program… Nothing. You have to survive on your own."

(13) "Yes, sometimes we feel like *we won't be welcome in our country*, because we're Christians, and *we are not welcome here*, because we're Afghani."

(14) "I am trapped in Greece. I cannot go to Iraq because my children have grown up here and they don't speak Arabic…. In Greece, *I am an immigrant* and if I return to Iraq, *I will be an immigrant too. I am a foreigner* (xenos)."

According to Ochs and Capps (2001: 173), the story is the prototype of a narrative, as it contains the setting, an unexpected event, the characters' psychological responses, an object/state change, an unplanned action and an attempt. Stories can be told to enjoy, inform, argue, and express feelings, and they seem to convey a sense of suspense or surprise and a closure in the end, as well as the narrator's interpretation and view on characters (Labov, 1972). In De Fina (2003: 4), the term 'tellability' of a story is often present and indicates the story which has dramatic events and unexpected developments. In our case, through interviews refugees are given the

chance to recount their life stories, their journey to Greece and difficulties they face now, and finally have a closure by expressing their dreams and plans for the future.

As refugees narrate their story, there is almost always a part dedicated to the journey they made in order to arrive in Greece, which is a traumatic experience they wish to forget, yet has been graven into their memory. The extracts below demonstrate the hardships through which refugees had to survive in their travels to Europe, the great effort it needed and the lack of choices they had upon deciding to leave their home countries. As can be seen, the process is more or less the same; refugees leave their countries often through Turkey, then by giving human traffickers huge amounts of money, they travel either at sea and arrive at Greek islands (usually on dangerously overcrowded small boats, while many of them do not know how to swim), or through land by crossing the Evros river in northern Greece. They also try to describe the scenery and the weather conditions, the means of transport they used, the dangers they faced in taking the decision to come to Europe, the paperwork needed and the time spent travelling. Finally, as extract 16 indicates, it is often the case that in arriving at certain countries, refugees face closed borders and police violence, and cannot continue their journey towards their destination.

(15) "It took us seven months to leave since we decided on it. We were trying to arrange our finances. And the journey cost a lot…because everything is illegal you need to pay many people. We left on 18 May 2014. My wife, our two children and I. I was worried about them. I had heard stories of those that made it and those who didn't. I feared for the children, but there was no other choice."

(16) "The second time, we didn't come through the sea, we were scared. We walked from Alexandroupoli. In 2009, I left. I wanted to go to Italy, but I didn't make it and came back. I left on foot… […] I was not allowed to pass the borders between Hungary and Austria. They didn't arrest us, they took us back by force, with violence and guns."

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(17) "I remember the journey. We left at 3 in the morning. We wanted to arrive to the sea. We went to Turkey by bus and from there we crossed to Greece by ship."

(18) "We left in 2011. Then the borders in Evros were open. We didn't cross the big sea, we crossed the river. But it was still an illegal journey. The police were looking for us. Evros was small but dangerous. Deep and steep. And we were on a boat doing circles in the middle of the river."

In examining the first extract (15) more closely, we encounter several verbs from the semantic field of effort, such as 'it took us, trying, arrange, made it', through which the narrator explains how long and difficult the procedure was in order to leave your country. The refugee here uses first person narration in singular, in order to state his personal feelings and thoughts through verbs that express transactive mental processes (worried, feared, heard), and first person plural in order to express collective decisions and actions taken by him and his family. It is important to highlight also how in such a small utterance, he manages to express concern for his children twice explicitly, thus gaining the sympathy of the reader, who perceives him as a troubled parent who fears more for his children's life than his own. In addition, the narrator here remembers the date they left in detail, while he also uses a strong expression to emphasise on the necessity of fleeing their country due to the war, in saying that 'there was no other choice'. We can conclude from the above, as well as the example below, that refugees often got into a hectic narration with several action verbs one after the other, thus showing the urge and agony in which they were trying to escape their war-stricken countries and arrive to a more peaceful and safe environment, where they would start living a better life.

(19) "There was a mountain, we were going up, going down, there were some people from the army. They told us, we went, we took photos and I got the paper."

In many interviews, we could often observe a contrast between refugees' lives before abandoning their homelands, and their lives now. Some people reminiscence

about their lives, beautiful homes, family, social life and decent job they had. However, they also remember the war that made them flee their countries, the conditions under which they lived and the constant state of fear and worry;

(20) "One year after the *war had begun*, *the prices of milk had risen and many people could not afford* it. We weren't starving but we began to save up on how much we consumed."

(21) "I began to think we should leave when there were *explosions around the camp* and they started to *arrest people randomly*."

(22) "We heard a *bomb dropped in our neighbourhood*, but we couldn't believe it was our home. We went there, saw it, took pictures and left."

(23) "I wasn't scared. My eldest daughter was born 3 months after the war had started. In the beginning, I wasn't scared because the war was far. However, when it started getting closer, I began to feel afraid too. You could hear *the rockets above the camp*. […] you cannot do anything. After a while you get used to them, it becomes a part of your daily life. It's like the train passes. […] I was going to work as usual […] but every time I left I thought I might not come back…"

In these extracts, verbs express a range from transactive mental processes (think, heard, saw, believe) to actional processes (went, took, left, began). This is in line with the process of a refugee first perceiving the situation around them ('we heard […] couldn't believe'), then thinking about it ('we went there, saw it') and deciding on leaving their country, and finally, taking action in order to succeed in this and arrive to a safer place ('and left').

At the other end of the spectrum, after arriving in Greece many refugees are faced with hard living conditions in a new country where they cannot speak the language and they don't have where to stay. As one refugee stated "the first three days my wife could not stop crying. She said- We were supposed to go to Europe to have peace and security. We have security. But is this a life?", thus highlighting the gravity of their situation and indicating the contrast between their expectations upon arriving

in a new foreign country and the reality of it. In the same extract, there are several processes connected to the wife; through the behavioural process of crying, she shows her psychological state, while through the verbal process of 'saying', she tries to put her feelings into words and communicate them to her husband. In addition, she uses relational processes ('we *have* security') to show what they have achieved in fleeing their country, but also to negotiate the definition of life ('*is* this a life?'). This case, as well as that of another refugee who used to stay on the road or break into abandoned houses in order to have a place to stay, seem to belong in the semantic field of 'sadness' or 'desperateness'. "I wish it were only for a month, much more" he states when asked for how long he did this. As regards their living conditions, several refugees describe the place they lived upon arriving in Greece resembling a prison, thus using expressions from the semantic field of 'incarceration', while in talking about the camps which were dirty and smelled a lot, one refugee verbally dehumanises themselves ('we were sleeping like animals') in order to explain how poorly they were treated.

Furthermore, there are gender and cultural issues raised, as one man found it difficult when staying alone with his children to look after them:

> (24) "*I have been alone* with the children for a year and a half. *It is difficult*. In Syria I *wasn't used to this*. I worked many hours and the *care of children is not taken up by men*. […] Days now seem difficult. I wake up and I don't have something to do with the children. I try to go for walks with them and make a small routine for them and find some time for me. It is difficult, though. Learn the language, find a job…"

In examining the above extract, through the use of relational processes (shown in italics) the anxieties and responsibilities of a single male parent come to the surface, as he had to care for his children on his own for a period of time. However, the norm in his country is for the woman to stay at home and take care of the children, while

the husband is at work, making a living for himself and his family. The situation stated above is rather complex, though, as the man also needs to find a job and gain new skills in order to do so, which will inevitably take up a lot of time away from his children. His struggles come across through the material processes 'try' and 'find' from the semantic field of 'effort'.

However, after taking the asylum paper, finding a home and getting a job, many refugees start viewing life more positively, getting used to living in Greece and actually liking the country and the people. The refugee on the extract below uses mental as well as actional processes verbs to show both their intentions ('we want to stay') and the locals' attitude towards them ('welcomed us'), as well as relational processes verbs ('it is a beautiful country with kind people') to indicate their thoughts on their newly adopted country. Yet, he indirectly attacks the Greek government for their way of dealing with the refugee crisis, and reports the 3-year-long wait, thus highlighting the sense of 'in-transit' and 'non-belonging' he felt at the time.

> (25) "Of course *we want to stay*, *it's a beautiful country with kind people*. People here *welcomed us* in a better way than the government. When they wanted us to leave, not in words but in actions. What else keeping you waiting for 3 years could mean?"

Another issue in the narrative data is that of several black refugees reporting racist incidents, as they experienced many people judging them by their skin colour in their newly adopted country. One seemed to be aware of the organisation and actions of 'Golden Dawn', while another was faced with a lady on the underground who accused him of having the Ebola virus, even though he had been staying in Greece for four years at the time. The same man also states that others wouldn't let black people advance and get good jobs, due to discrimination and another child migrant senses underlying hostile feelings when he hears a classmate saying that he has a gun and

that he wants to be a policeman so that the 'foreigners stop stealing'. Therefore, refugees here seem to be aware of possible conservative ideologies they can encounter in arriving into a different continent, and try to cope with them as best as they can. They are even well informed as regards nationalistic far-right organisations, and are also conscious of conservative views in western countries. In conclusion, one refugee feels the need to stress to Greek people that 'foreigners haven't come because they woke up one morning and thought of going to Greece, because there is more money or goods', but because they had no other choice if they wanted to have a better, more peaceful and stable life, thus highlighting their human aspect and need for an equal life. In doing so, he uses verbs expressing spontaneity, such as 'woke up one morning' and 'thought', to highlight the wrong opinion that has been shaped about becoming a refugee. In contrast, it is a quite hard decision that needs a lot of thinking, planning in advance, and organising. Also, he uses lexical expressions that could be regarded as vain or shallow reasons for leaving one's homeland (such as 'more money or goods'), and contrasts them to the main deep and more serious reasons behind leaving, i.e. the concepts of 'peace', 'stability' and 'security' in life. In this way, refugees are rendered as genuine, as there are serious reasons behind their decision to leave.

Finally, as far as the future is concerned, all of them have dreams for their families and themselves and wish to be happy and have a job and role in society. When asked about a possible return to their home countries, one refugee stated "My daughter wants to visit Afghanistan, see her grandparents, uncles, aunts. But she doesn't want to stay permanently. She has grown up and knows what freedom and security are". In this way, through the mental process of 'want', refugees' dreams, hopes and needs are expressed, as opposed to the past, when, during their journeys,

they had to put up with adversities, while their needs and rights as human beings were not taken under consideration. Great emphasis is also put by refugees themselves to the senses of 'freedom' and 'security', which are fundamental human rights and have become quite significant for refugees' children as well. Similarly, most interviewees replied that they would like to stay in Greece, and after having papers, go to their countries to visit their relatives for a short time. Moreover, the help of technology and the plethora of applications are present in our narrative data through the semantic field of communication ('talk', 'found', 'phone', 'applications'), as refugees seem to use them in order to get in contact with their relatives in different countries (e.g. "we talk every day on Skype or Viber", "I found my brother on Facebook", "there are free applications on the phone and we talk").

Summing up, the narrative data brought several interesting points on the surface. Similar to the newspaper articles data, refugees' identity and feelings were discussed here, and recounts of their long and tumultuous journeys through Europe were given. In addition, their past lives and contact with war were extensively discussed, while the raw reality of being a refugee in a foreign land and having to cope with inhuman living conditions and hostile attitudes was also touched upon. Finally, a characteristic of narratives that was mentioned here was the concept of orientation and disorientation, with interesting implications for the representation of events in terms of time and space.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The present study aimed to explore how refugees position themselves and are positioned by others in their host countries. Our main aims were to demonstrate how people in power (such as journalists) represent the refugee identity, and compare this with the way refugees negotiate their own identities through their narratives. First of all, apart from certain views considering politicians, there were no crucial differences in dealing with the refugee crisis between the two newspapers, thus showing the similar sympathetic attitude they employed. This is also in line with several studies (e.g. Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016) that showed how the media have taken a common approach in covering this recent issue with more humanity, without any hate speech. Moving on to comparing media discourse to narratives, certain similarities and differences were found. To begin with, there was more humanity in both sets of data and no extreme or hostile views were expressed through media, while there were also several utterances criticising European politicians for their strategies. Moreover, both sets of data referred extensively to the problems refugees faced in their adopted country, as well as the unacceptable living conditions. Nevertheless, regardless of the same attitude adopted and given the fact that they are two different genres, there were certain differences. Firstly, the media data included more descriptors and attributes in order to characterise refugees and displaced people, while the narratives used mainly action verbs and described emotions experienced. In addition, media data were abundant with metaphors likening refugees to water or weight, while refugees only once described themselves as animals, when discussing their living conditions. Furthermore, newspaper articles made an invocation to emotion by discussing

vulnerable groups, such as children, minors, pregnant women, in a sympathetic tone. In contrast, narratives as a genre are de-facto a more direct way to recount stories and express feelings and emotions, so no special reference to vulnerable groups was made, unless the narrator was a member of one.

As far as grammar is concerned, the passive voice and placing refugees as the objects of verbs were mainly used, whereas they were positioned as active agents only in the process of travelling through Europe. Contrariwise, active voice is principally used in narratives, as refugees talk in first person describing their own views and personal experiences, thus becoming an active agent in their stories. Regarding aspects that were not found on both data, it is clear that numbers and percentages were only present in the newspaper articles data, as it is a common practice in journalism to use numbers in order to make content more informed and reliable. At the same time, while there is a clear context in stories covered by journalists, it is often the case that refugees themselves cannot remember the time and place they were situated in, which is in line with past research conducted by De Fina (2003: 373), as perhaps they could feel scared or confused at the time. Finally, other issues that were present in narratives, but not in newspaper articles, were mentions of life before refugees decided to flee their home countries, as well as images of the war, and also the concept of living in-transit, belonging to neither of the countries one has lived in.

Concluding, in contrast to what was expected, the two politically opposing newspapers showed the same attitude of humanity and empathy towards the displaced people, while criticising European leaders on their political decisions and strategies concerning the refugee crisis. However, different linguistic means were employed by the two different genres, i.e. journalism and narratives, in order to examine how asylum seekers were positioned by others and how they positioned themselves. The

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present study could be criticised on the grounds that the research time span was too limited and that it compared events reported in newspapers in 2018 to interviews in a book published in 2016. However, the primary issue under scrutiny here was the construction of the refugee identity from two different perspectives, which made it necessary for us to look into different public discourses, given the fact that refugees themselves were not given a voice in news media coverage. By comparing representations of refugees in the Greek media with refugees' own narratives from a book translated in Greek, this study provides a new perspective on the discourses that the Greek public is exposed to, which could also function as a motivation for further research in the future concerning how certain discourses affect and shape ideologies in Greek society.

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