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## **MSC IN MEDIA & REFUGEE / MIGRATION FLOWS**

Dissertation

**“Unpacking contemporary European refugee crisis: Its representation  
in media and political debates and the case of Greece”**



by

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## STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I responsibly declare that the submitted dissertation for the award of the diploma of the Interdepartmental Postgraduate Programme MSc in Media & Refugee / Migration Flows, Specialization: "Communication management of refugee / migration flows", of the Department of Communication and Media Studies / National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and the Department of Sociology / University of the Aegean has been written by me personally and no one else has written the whole or part of it. In addition, I responsibly declare that this dissertation has not been submitted or approved for the award of any other postgraduate or undergraduate degree, in Greece or abroad. This dissertation represents my personal views on the subject. The sources I have used are mentioned in their entirety, giving full references to the authors, including internet sources.

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## Acknowledgements - Dedication

I would like to seize the opportunity to dedicate this master thesis to forced migrants, to those coerced to make the most "expensive" journey of their lives, as Professor Nikolaos Xypolytas used to stress in his lectures during this Interdepartmental Postgraduate Programme. Expensive, since they have to give up everything, namely property, family and friends, capture their whole past in mind and with this memory, as a beacon of hope, make the most hazardous trip in quest of a better life. It takes courage to be a refugee...

The trigger for participating in this MSc in "Media and Refugee / Migration Flows" was pulled by a lecture given by Professor Emerita of Sociology at the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies, Roy Panagiotopoulou, during my participation in the MSc in Political Communication and New Media, who set the framework, with regard to opportunities for social integration of migrants, while xenophobic reactions of a significant part of the population and negative framing of immigrants / refugees were also reviewed. Hence, I would like to thank Mrs. Panagiotopoulou for the inspiration.

Yet, the burden for helping me accomplish this dissertation was placed on my former fellow student and currently Tenured Senior Teaching Fellow and Instructor, Stamatis Poulakidakos. Therefore, I address my special thanks to my supervisor, Stamatis Poulakidakos, for his constant guidance that has been proven of immeasurable importance during the conduct of this dissertation.

I would also like to thank my parents for cultivating my sensitivity towards matters of migration and last but not least my fiancé, Joseph, for his unconditional love and support during the conduct of this thesis and in every aspect of my life.

*"In the twenty-first century, a border is not just a line on a map; it is a system for filtering people that stretches from the edges of a territory into its heart" (Trilling, 2018, pp. 10–11).*

## **Abstract**

Being a journalist, I am profoundly interested in the refugee issue and its aspects. What has surprised me most, while following closely this subject, is that the negative depiction of immigrants in the mainstream news websites prevails and, albeit occasionally, there was a humanitarian approach to this issue, in the vast majority of media outlets negative narrative is dominant.

My goal is to show that via the way refugees / immigrants are depicted in mainstream Greek press specific frames are created that set the separating lines between “invaders” and “locals”. The objectives of this dissertation are to trace the instances of the negative framing in contemporary press and find out how the media has contributed to the formation of the dichotomy between “us” and the “others”. Hence, I intend to demonstrate that media is one of the main determinants that bring the discourses on refugees, immigrants and minorities in the public sphere under debate.

For the accomplishment of my purpose, a significant volume of data from Greek news websites was scrutinized with regards to its negative, neutral or positive (towards refugees / immigrants) content, ideology of the website, readability, style of writing and time of publication. More concretely, in this thesis, I focus on the contemporary representations of refugees / immigrants in and through the public discourse in Greece, as depicted by two mainstream news websites, a conservative (Kathimerini [The Daily newspaper]/kathimerini.gr) and a left-wing one (EF. SYN [The editor’s newspaper]/efsyn.gr).

This dissertation will be the product of a quantitative study employing content analysis in order to achieve a holistic picture of the phenomenon under scrutiny by investigating certain variable appearances in the wider media field. Arguably, there is a bridge between the news and the public in interpreting the messages from the media outlets, while media is an important agent when it comes to informing the public, since it influences or even shapes individuals' perception towards refugees / immigrants and can configure public's views on the issue.

Key words: media, Europe, Greece, immigrant, refugee, representation

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## Introduction

Migration has always been a controversial issue in the public sphere and this complex phenomenon has dominated national, European and international public opinions with a massive production of news articles, TV stories, news radio reports and posts on websites for the most dramatic and massive journey of people in distress and despair (Panagopoulos, 2018). The past two decades, with landmark the peak immigration year of 2015, the refugee / immigrant subject has become one of the mostly heated social and political debates globally. Press teaming with political discussions raised questions about how to curtail effectively the massive influx of newcomers into Europe, while debates about the fruitless efforts by the European Commission to deal with the burgeoning refugee crisis blossomed (Lecheler, Matthes & Boomgaarden, 2019). The unprecedented arrival of thousands of refugees, immigrants and ethnic minorities redefined Europe, where the refugee drama unfolded and is still unfolding. The repercussions on crucial topics such as sovereignty, safety, identity, violation of human rights and the synthesis of liberal democracies will undoubtedly last for generations, while the consequences of migration have reshaped the structure of societies and are still retransforming them (Dell’Orto & Wetzstein, 2019).

Literature on media and migration has provided plethora of historic evidence for the influence of mass mediated communication on public perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants. Yet, the situation of modern refugee crisis has indisputably created new and unprecedented dynamics, while new economic, political and social datum, regarding the time of the coverage, the place and the angle from which the migration and refugee issue was conceived, emerged (Holmes & Castaneda, 2016). The significant role media representation plays, especially concerning so fragile issues such as the refugee one, has been clearly highlighted by academic literature. As Cottle argues: *“The media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power. It is in and through representations, for example, that members of the media audience are variously invited to construct a sense of who we are in relation to who we are not”* (Cottle, 2000, p. 2).

The refugee “crisis” that enveloped Europe and captured the world’s attention starting in 2015, in 2016 was already a seismic event. Even with treacherous seas and bad weather the influx was escalating, while the human “tide” was constantly growing. The



arrival of more than one million men, women and children in Europe during 2015, shook the continent to its very core. Most of those refugees made a perilous journey from Turkey across the Aegean Sea in flimsy dinghies -transforming Greece into a vast archipelago of “camps of souls”, capturing hundreds of thousands in limbo- while others followed from Greece an even more arduous Balkan route to northern, prosperous Europe. The European Community froze at the sight of thousands trying to enter its borders, since it was ill prepared and even less suited to respond to the unexpected and massive refugee flow (Ioannou & Savvidou, 2018).

Relevant research has also showed, that the repetition of specific dichotomies (we versus others, locals versus invaders etc.) and the social, racial, ethnic or religious lines drawn between newcomers and residents of the European receiving countries have had a negative impetus on the refugee issue. The “*negative migrant stereotypes were a result, at least in part, of negative press coverage*” (European Commission, 2011, p. 9), which was further triggered by agitational and racist language about migration and migrants used by populist anti-immigration political parties and their representatives. The scale, notion and nature of the crisis dynamic, with the ad hoc arrival of thousands of refugees driven on by a desperate decision to forcibly flee home, challenged lofty political preferences of the electorate, with right-wing, usually, populist anti-immigration parties gaining seats in their country’s parliament and thus political voice or even worse electoral success (Golder, 2016), proving a conspicuous xenophobic public attitude towards border crossers, that needed to be politically tranquilized.

In Europe, the politicization of migration has strongly gained vehemence the last years (Van der Brug, D’Amato, Ruedin, & Berkhout, 2015), escalating mostly during and after the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 and this was clearly represented in the Amnesty International report “The global refugee crisis: a conspiracy of neglect” (Amnesty International, 2015). The report was describing the political disinclination to bear some of the burden that bulky influx had brought about. Populist parties and media outlets with coarsely negative framing contributed to that conspiracy. The 2015 European refugee situation and its aftermaths generated controversial and miscellaneous political discourse (Horsti, 2016).

In focusing on Greece, the refugee crisis, that cumbered Greece more than any other European country, followed the financial one, in which the Greek society had already been strongly involved, since it had started about a decade ago. Greeks, intensively hit by the deep economic depression starting in 2009, were deplorably facing structural

weaknesses and were completely incompetent to deal with this new and unexpected situation. Impoverished Greece had to encounter two crises, the pre-existing austerity crisis and the refugee one, which had just started to unfold. How could such crises be dealt with, if not, rhetorically asking, by overcoming dilemmas of belongingness and otherness? Crises are negative changes in the stream of life, that take place usually abruptly and without notice affecting an individual, a group or the whole of society. Hence, they can change the agenda setting, adjourn journalistic routines, bring new topics to the fore (Horsti, 2008) or even cause a “collective trauma” (Demertzis, 2020). Greek media’s coverage of the massive flows represented newcomers in a negative way until summer 2015, then journalists started showing solidarity starting in autumn, and by the end of 2015 and beyond they turned to hostile news headlines cultivating xenophobic notions (Megrelis, 2017). The approach of the story was multiple according to the political party being in power and the political messages it delivered to the public sphere through the media.

This dissertation scrutinizes an ensemble of articles about migration including representations of newcomers in the context of mediated and political communication (Horsti, 2016), focusing on the “discursive construction of identities” (Wodak, De Cilia & Reisigl, 2009), namely the way in which various aspects of individuals’ identities are contested, constructed and performed in media narrative discourses.

## Chapter 1 – Literature review

### 1.1 The portrayal of refugees / immigrants in media

By making a historical retrospective, we can realize that even before the peak of the crisis a range of negative attitudes towards migration was diffusible, remarkably because in many European countries negative media framing was dominant in the press and the messages it delivered to the public were weightily influenced by populist anti-immigration politicians (European Commission, 2011). Albeit existing differences in the way immigration was presented and migrant groups were represented in European media, common patterns could also be observed. Migrants were generally underrepresented, especially specific target groups (women for instance), not given representative voice, and were mostly depicted as a threat to society, criminals or second-class citizens. Even though media frames differ from place to place and time to time, the prevalent discourse focusing on immigration coverage was often biased, polarized and negative. People heavily exposed to such media messages could inevitably adopt negative and stereotypical attitudes towards newcomers, activate xenophobic notions, and even be influenced in their voting preference giving power to populist, anti-immigrant representatives, who mostly employed racist attitudes towards refugees (Eberl et al., 2018). History has proved that media framing has in fact influenced the electorate in certain countries and in some occasions, such as in Hungary, where anti-immigration election campaigns were organized to induce a change in the public feeling, as depicted in figure 1.



**Figure 1.** An anti-immigration campaign poster by the Fidesz party during the election campaign in Hungary in 2018. Photo: Picture-alliance/Martin Fejer. Source: <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/20220/hungary-s-slow-descent-into-xenophobia-racism-and-human-rights-abuses>

The sequence of events related to migration, e.g. the refugee crisis in 2015; the 2016 Brexit referendum; and the massive movement of people towards and within the European Union, has fueled heated debated topics (Hobolt, 2016) that emerged from dominant media narratives. According to Eurobarometer data from March 2018, intra-EU migration was positively correlated with attitudes towards migrants / refugees at an average of 65% of the Europeans, while only 41% consented to immigration from outside the EU. These stances varied greatly across member countries, with Swedish citizens being relatively positive towards immigration, whereas in the United Kingdom residents were opposites holding a rather negative attitude, although by 2001, 8.3 percent of the country's population was foreign-born and United Kingdom is popular for its multicultural nature. Even before the peak year 2015, media in the UK were mostly producing negative stories (Philo, Briant & Donald, 2013), and to achieve that they were even employing fake news and unreliable statistics, while occasionally, they were accommodating hostile politicians in their articles. Zaborowski and Georgiou (2016) looking at the coverage during 2015 noted “*a gradual shift from humanitarian discourses and pity towards security and threat concerns*” in the UK media. Likewise, Vidal and Elkhouri (2016) scrutinized French media and found out that both humanitarianism and security fears were evident. A study on Hungarian media showed that gatekeepers were also focusing on security issues, violent acts (refugees stealing etc.) and dehumanizing language used to emphasize that immigrants were irregular, bogus or malfeasant and that they were illegally crossing their country’s borders (Lakner, 2016). In this context, Hungary ensured its border with Croatia and Serbia in 2015 by building a border barrier so as to prevent the ‘illegals’ from entering into its territory. The German media were also trying to diminish the entry in Germany, reflecting dichotomies between “deserving refugees” and “undeserving migrants” (Holmes & Castaneda, 2016) and spread the perception that newcomers must always show gratitude towards “European” Germans, who were eulogized as humanitarian heroes. Gillespie et al. (2016) in their study on smartphones and refugees found that media often deployed utilitarian narratives of abundant refugees using costly smartphones. The notion of mobile phones as luxury goods created fertile ground for the cultivation of hatred towards affluent-perceived newcomers, shifting the public opinion against them, potentially disqualifying asylum seekers from humanitarian help. The digitally connected refugees were perceived as incompatible with the Eurocentric ideas of poor, unrooted and in risk humans fleeing from war, violation of human rights, and torture, underscoring the ironies or paradoxes of such a consumption

of the refugee drama from the side of the Europeans. “Smartphone-wielding” refugees were depicted in media outlets after the Paris attack, a narrative that corresponded to the shift towards security issues and the depiction of refugees as a “threat” (Gillespie et al., 2016, p. 23) to whom the entry should be denied.

Public discourses are momentous encouraging empathy or apathy and disputably media coverage could affect greatly the public opinion pro or against migrants (Chauzy & Appave, 2014). Only in depth and spherical knowledge of the refugee issue can urge the public to become more critical instead of xenophobically preoccupied. Uncritical acceptance of the media commentary can cause incalculable social damage in cases where the effects on citizens’ perceptions and attitudes can lead to anti-migration initiatives (infringement of their human rights, creation of “hit squads” that beat refugees etc.). The style of prejudiced writing and spread of negative messages regarding refugees / immigrants can justify the looming immigration policy shifts across the European Union, as well as the preference of specific political figures, conveyors of anti-immigration sentiment (Burscher, van Spanje, & de Vreese, 2015). These polarized feelings varied among “pure” locals towards “impure” migrants (who spoiled the nation’s homogeneity) regarding the immigrants’ religious affiliation with Muslims and the so-called Islamophobia being salient in media coverage (Bleich, Stonebraker, Nisar, & Abdelhamid, 2015). Others differentiated between Western-European, Eastern-European (Light & Young, 2009) and African immigrants (Jacobs, 2017) or focused on the media visibility of specific ethnicities (Meeusen & Jacobs, 2017). Yet, albeit reporting so much on refugees and migrants, most immigrant groups were underrepresented in the media, when compared to the pertinent number of the residents in each country (ter Wal, 2002), not given the opportunity to answer or defend themselves.

The migration subject is immensely multidimensional and this is reflected in mediated publicness. Debates on how to control migration flows; how to improve border control mechanisms and thus, create a “fortress Europe”; how to streamline procedures so as to discern legal and illegal migration; how to achieve social and economic integration; how to ensure European funding in order to enhance policies that financially support housing programs, the education of minors and health insurance; how to maintain the receiving country’s cultural integrity and deal effectively with potential economic and security threats that new, cheap, working hands and evil migrants can cause, set the renewed media agenda. The complexity of the refugee issue, that differs among countries and time periods, needs to be taken spherically into account, so that the public can obtain

a comprehensive picture of the interaction between media and migration (Lecheler, Matthes & Boomgaarden, 2019, p. 693). Hence, the role of the media is of utmost importance, since it shapes public perceptions that can define the fate of thousands of homeless humans.

The mass media set agendas; create meaning to their content; provide the information in preferred styles and color it with the ideology they follow; influence public opinion, shape and reshape it if needed; exalt or derogate political or social figures and minority groups; establish societal discourse and political debate in highly mediatized societies (Strömbäck, 2008) like ours, where news is so easily approachable through the mobile device; constitute the best or worse advertisement of a subject. The negative coverage of an issue fuels the development of increasingly polarized societies, encourages them to deny the integration of newcomers and to reject humanitarian values and, in addition, it provokes the increase of animosity, tremor and the fears of religious, social and security threats. The spectrum through which migrants and refugees are depicted, categorized and presented matters a great deal, hence media agents should double - filter the truth (Chalaby, 1998). The media, through reporting and commentary, do not just reflect the events, they actively construct people's understanding of what events mean (Hall, 1997), providing the signified within the text. The way audience perceives migrants and refugees as legal, irregular, bogus, asylum seekers etc. depends vastly on the terminology and the style which is used to transmit a mediated message. Some scholars view the media as a window on society (Benson, 2013), others as a mirror to society that reflects back the current events and phenomena, while others examine whether media and policymaking from politicians cultivate an embracing common sense or controversies among the public (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009).

In 2015, a pivotal event in the refugee crisis shocked the world's perception towards refugees. The photograph of the dead body of the 3-year-old Aylan Kurdi, drowned, while attempting to cross over from Turkey to Greece, became a viral provoking common sense and feelings of solidarity and pity. This event changed people's sentiment, by putting the human face of a helpless child, that lost so vainly its life, at the front page of newspapers or as the top story in news bulletins and webpages globally (Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore, 2015). This photograph was the landmark that set the shifting point in the audiences' perceptions and social discussions. After that dramatic event, people started talking about refugees deserving asylum and not "illegal" or irregular migrants. What's more, the anonymous body shifted to a named child and the depiction of migrants as a

threat altered decisively to a post-humanitarian portraiture (Vis & Goriunova, 2015), cultivating cosmopolitan sensibilities. Refugees were aestheticized and hence, welcome to enter the borders and settle in. This change in terminology could be assimilated as a “polymedia” event (Madianou, 2013, p. 261), defining such events as “a *new genre of factual reporting*”, which provides parallel or clashing narratives that oscillate public opinions and create contradictory thoughts, connotations and feelings. In the case of Aylan Kurdi, the visibility of distant human suffering changed spectators’ ethics (Boltanski, 1999), who became more prone to the democratization of the public discourse, while communitarian perspectives, that transcend national and cultural boundaries, were articulated.



**Figure 2.** The picture of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi demonstrates the power of photography to shock. Photograph: Nilufer Demir/AP. Source: The guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/06/photograph-refugee-crisis-aylan-kurdi>

Research in many European countries and among them Greece, as we will see in the next section, has found that refugees and migrants were usually negatively framed, presented as a problem rather than an advantage for receiving societies. However, research has also shown, that, occasionally, media can have positive impacts on public attitudes (Berry et al., 2015, p. 5), trying to bridge the fathomless gap in perceptions and sociocultural distance between sufferers and observers. While some outlets were compassionate to migrants, others were unsympathetic, opposing to rescue operations, not wishing to allow immigrants to enter the borders. For instance, at the beginning of the refugee crisis, Sweden and Germany preferred the words “refugee” or “asylum seeker”, in Italy and the UK press used the term “migrant”, while Spain employed the word

“immigrant”. The choice of the abovementioned terms was characterizing the tenor of each country’s discourse and stance towards this issue (Berry et al., 2015). The real-world political framework conditioned how publications were perceived and received by the news consumers (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009). Research literature suggests that the broader visibility an issue has, the greater its exposure is to spectators and hence, effects of the media outlets are multiple and intense (Koopmans, 1996). When the “information environment” presents messages devoid of emotional and moral grounding, which are highly biased or which “*cumulatively cultivate*” stereotypical attitudes (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, & Shanahan, 2002), the public speech is envenomed with enmity. The only antidote seems to be the transformation of the relatively safe West into a fortress, keeping the “threatening others” outside of “our” sphere of accountability and thus, reject integration within the host society (Chouliaraki, 2006). The prominence of a refugee story in mass media by examining its “clickability” (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017); its tonality (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017); and its framing with pompous adjectives (Ramasubramanian & Miles, 2018), sets the agenda. What’s more, the visibility of others as hurtful instead of vulnerable ones or vice versa, leads to a shift in notions regarding time and place of publication (Zhang & Hellmüller, 2017) and sets the axes of media commentary, constructing an ambivalent portrayal of refugees as innocent victims and, simultaneously, as threatening invaders (Gemi, Ulasiuk & Triandafyllidou, 2013). At the same time, those vulnerable or threatening others live for months or years in limbo or even worse, others, including tiny toddlers, are washed up drown on shores. Among them there are hundreds of corpses characterized as ‘unclaimed bodies’ (De Cock et al., 2018; Kluknavská, Bernhard, & Boomgaarden, 2019). According to Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017), the “victim” frame is equally capable of producing problematic, if not damaging perceptions in the longer sight. Linked to “*visualities of collective misfortune*” – most prominently, images of refugees squeezed on unstable rubber boats or overcrowded camps with only a minimum of material supply– refugees and migrants are situated within “*a field of representation that reduces their human life to corporeal existence (...) fully reliant on Western emergency aid or rescue operations to survive and so inevitably dispossessed of will and voice.*” Reduced to a life context of naked survival, these visualities “*lacking civic status*” are doomed to a life with no dignity and entitlement to human rights as a whole (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017, pp. 14-15).

While the refugee situation kept evolving after 2015 in Europe, the narratives shifted between security and solidarity and portrayals of refugees as “vulnerable” and



“dangerous” outsiders were oscillating (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017), objectifying and sometimes dehumanizing immigrants and refugees, legitimizing or delegitimizing policies related to migration according to the occasion (Smets & Bozdağ, 2018). On the one hand, the refugee / immigrant was a victim, who fled wars and autocratic regimes, risked his / her life moving from one country to another, relying even on smugglers and thus, was in need of rescue and protection. Yet, on the other hand, the victim depiction was transformed into a threat to the nation-based order, that needed to be dealt accordingly with and hence, be excluded from “our” society if not magically exorcized as if he / she never existed (Moore et al., 2012). The victimhood portrayal based on: massification, depicting immigrants as a herd of indistinguishable, anonymous individuals such as the “impressive but impersonal” pictures of people living in the Zaatari refugee camp under appalling conditions (Berman, 2016, p. 102); and passivisation, in the portrayals of refugees as bodies in need, victims of circumstances, what Owens (2011, p. 135), following Agamben (2000) calls “*humans as animals in nature without political freedom*”. Both features, contributed to the deprivation of human qualities, namely to the dehumanization of refugees (Malkki, 1996). Stowing human souls away in squalid camps and depicting them as an undifferentiated multitude, nullifies their “biographical specificity” (Nyers, 1999); degrades them as entities; characterizes them as “sub-citizens”; and since they are regarded as second-class citizens or insiders, they lack the legitimacy to express their political will (Hyndman, 2000).



**Figure 3.** An Aerial View of the Zaatari Refugee Camp. Source: Aljazeera. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2013/8/5/report-exposes-syria-refugee-camp-conditions>

By the time Aylan Kurdi's death was forgotten, media framing mostly represented refugees as evil-doers, malevolent and faceless strangers, who invaded into "our" world to harm "us". The rendition of malevolent newcomer reduced refugees to potential terrorists, who threatened "our" safety (Malkki, 1996), mobilizing fear and legitimizing the procedures that encamp or deport them (Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison & Nicholson, 2013). On the other hand, there were some images that depicted them as a "mass of unfortunates" on fragile vessels or in overcrowded refugee camps, that placed them within a visual regime of corporeal existence, limiting their biological life to the extent that only necessary needs of the body were satisfied (Boltanski, 1999), what Mehta (1990) calls an "anthropological minimum", i.e., the factness of the human bodily being relying fully on the humanitarian benevolence and charity of the West (Vaughan-Williams, 2015) to remain alive. Devoid of civic status, those people constituted bodies over borders in seek of humanitarian treatment (Ticktin, 2011), yet, political bodies in search of social embodiment that would inevitably change the human geography. The ambivalent figures of the refugee as a human entity in need, a defenseless or even a drown child, a racial "other", an e-terrorist (possessing expensive smartphones ready to trigger explosions) etc. constituted well organized strategies of "*massification, mortification, marginalization or aestheticization*" as Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) point out.

There is no doubt that what has been termed as the refugee crisis was the defining phenomenon of the second decade of the 21st century (Matar, 2017) and, although currently the number of refugees arriving in Europe is descending, media attention is still captured by the human drama, a fact that has led to the instrumentalization of the migrant crisis by various political parties in Europe as a question of national security (Gillespie et al., 2016). Some political parties after all managed to gain more electorates by provoking public's anti-refugee sentiments, propagandizing that the newcomers threaten the coherence of the host society, its religion, customs, security, language, culture and what's more, they claimed that asylum seekers would take over the existing jobs with lower salaries boosting thus, unemployment. The use of "moral panic" discourses by political elites and media entities in order to construct differentiations relying on history, nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, gender etc. was evident. "Moral panics", as Stuart Hall (1997) has argued, are fears and anxieties towards a social, collective concern or deviant behavior that is seemingly posing a threat to the group's traditions or cultural values. These fears are settled not by addressing to the real problems, but instead, through projections, which define what appears in the media and what people accept as factual.

Moral panics, that require the delineation of a scapegoat, have been defined as widespread feelings of panic due to some triggering event that is perceived as a threat to the group (and that threat is amplified by the media), while in many cases a symbolic villain is constructed stimulating the inceptions of threats against the societal values (Cohen, 1972).

## **1.2 Media representation from the game - changing year of 2015 and beyond: The case of Greece**

Greece, until the late 1980s, had traditionally been a country sending rather than receiving migrants and there was no substantial immigration. Gradually, due to political instability, conflicts, continuing wars, changes in the migration and asylum routes, the situation changed dramatically and the country became a popular entry point for people on the move (Sarkin, 2018, pp. 2-3). A bulk of people coming from countries of Central Asia, the Middle East, Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa -which were involved in international or internal national impacts, were deeply stricken by terrorism, possessed undeclared weapons of mass destruction- were forcibly escaping from their country's regime (Chalkia & Giouzepas, 2018, p. 6). As a result, an increasing number of people was trying to reach Europe at all costs and settle in a country, which would grant them protection and asylum. The fact that Greece is situated at the external borders of Europe, with kilometers of maritime borders both in the East and the South (Balourdos, 2010), placed it in the eye of the migration storm.

Apart from the refugee crisis that burdened Greece more than any other European country, the financial crisis, that started about a decade ago, hit its populace with the longest recession of any advanced national economy. Consequently, Greek news was dominated by both crises and here lied the crucial role for journalism, since journalists had to put both subjects on the agenda and inform citizens about what was actually happening. The irony was that journalism itself was also, in crisis. In fact, journalism found itself in a double crisis: a financial and a functional one. Blumler (2011, p. 439) has interpreted the two crises as follows: *“One is a crisis of viability, principally though not exclusively financial, threatening the existence and resources of mainstream journalistic organizations. The other is a crisis of civic adequacy, impoverishing the contributions of journalism to citizenship and democracy”*. Refugee crisis was the story of the year for Greek journalists and media (and global media). Greece was and still is in the frontline of the refugee crisis. Hence, migration suddenly jumped to the top of the news agenda. Agenda-setting theory framed the context within which news was contextualized according to its newsworthiness and hence constituted the instrument that *“influenced the salience of topics of the public agenda”* (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002, p. 1).

Greece, providing an easily approached gate at the southeastern of Europe, inevitably became a common transit country for those seeking refuge in the EU. The

majority of immigrants had to a great extent been undocumented and urgently in need of humanitarian aid, which many European countries, among them Greece, were not prepared to offer, since they were not ready to deal with such a massive entrance of thousands to Europe. In the case of Greece, not only no preparation was made, but, in addition, the country was still trying to recover from the severe austerity measures, which were enacted and harshly imposed on Greeks. Greek economy was tottering. What's more, media outlets were suffering from a weakening economy and thus, were not able to cover thoroughly the hot issue due to reduced personnel. Yet, in defiance of the times, examples of careful, valid, objective and ethical coverage were not lacking. What was unquestionable was the role of media, which was crucial in obverting the world's attention to the challenges of the refugee crisis (White, 2015).

Greece being on the crossroad between East and West, constituted the main diode to Europe for thousands of immigrants, mainly Muslims, who wished to cross the border with Turkey and pass to the other side. Muslims, primarily connected with the Ottoman Empire and other military conflicts between Greece and Turkey in the past, cultivated Islamophobia in Greece. Hence, Islamophobic ideas and anti-Muslim hatred were not new phenomena in the Greek society, but rooted back to the Ottoman period, when the Ottoman Empire ruled Greece. For Greeks, religion is fundamental in defining the national identity (Tsitselikis, 2012, p. 8). What is more, Orthodoxy played a significant role in the formation of the national identity, making it difficult to draw a distinction between Greek ethnicity and religiosity (Halikiopoulou, 2011). During the approximately 400 years that the Greek culture maintained under the Ottoman reign, the fear for Islam and Muslims had been significant components of the national and religious identity, which shouldn't amalgamate with the "religious others", and more concretely, the "Muslims". Greek national identity has been constructed in opposition to the religious "other", the Muslim one, in particular (Hatziprokopiou & Evergeti, 2014). This ancient fear re-awoke at the sight of such religious groups within the Greek borders, although they no longer were in the front line of a militant foreign power but on the contrary, in quest of a secure haven. Drawing on this historical past, Islamophobic feelings were abound for hundreds of years in Greek society and thus, one could speak of an Islamophobia "under reconstruction" (Sakellariou, 2019).

The year 2015 sparked an unprecedented humanitarian crisis with thousands of people massively searching for a gateway to Europe through Greece. At the same time, national election took place leading to the ascendance to power of the contradictory

political coalition between the left-wing party SYRIZA and the right-wing/nationalist party Independent Greeks (ANEL). On the one hand, SYRIZA adopted a humane and friendly approach on the refugee issue, whereas, on the other hand, the oratory of ANEL combined xenophobic and racist rapprochement. The lack of common political approach to the issue was evident within the Greek government and the political debate with the leading political party of SYRIZA trying to put a halt to the aggressive rhetoric of its extreme right allies in an effort not to provoke the public sense. The guideline to the president of the ANEL was to refrain from making statements that “poured oil onto the fire”, since this disrupted the coalition and cooperation with SYRIZA and created mixed public feelings, both positive and negative. The negative sentiment was fueled by ANEL, whereas the positive by SYRIZA. Yet, oil to the political fire was poured by a new political party, Golden Dawn, that came into the fore out of the bloom, gaining remarkable electoral support during the crisis, instrumentalizing the refugee issue and adopting a hyper-nationalistic narrative against foreigners (Vasilopoulou & Halikiopoulou, 2015, p. 82). Allegations of misconduct and attacks on migrants were dominant in press and public discourse with a significant part of the Greek electorate accepting such atrocities. It seemed as if an implicit agreement, an unwritten “social contract” was made between voters and parliamentarians in accordance with “demand-side” and “supply-side” factors (Mudde, 2007), which decriminalized the adoption of “*racially-loaded anti-immigrant rhetoric and anti-immigrant violent activities*” (Dinas et al., 2016, pp. 83–84). The combination of harsh recession measures with refugee crisis overwhelmed Greeks, who were already impoverished, having lost a part or their whole income and, on occasions, their property as well, and simply did not have the resources to support migrants, who had to be repelled. The anti-system messages and violent acts performed by the members of Golden Dawn (Funke et al., 2016), such as “sweep operations”, were the best repelling mechanisms that would push refugees away.

Throughout the events that peaked in 2015, media’s role was crucial in informing the public of the constantly changing synthesis of the society. Some were exclusively relying on news to catch up with the latest migration stories and acquaint a profound sense of what was really happening, while others were quite unfamiliar with the new arrivals and their sociopolitical background and hence, there was ample room for media to shape their understanding of what those arrivals meant for their respective country (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2016). The salience of migration frames in the media mirrored the knowledge public wanted to obtain, coloring it with contradictory discourses. Two of the most central

clashing discourses were between issue-specific frames and generic news frames (Brüggemann & D'Angelo, 2018) through the tonality they were expressed. Generic frames, i.e., frames that can be applied to any issue or situation such as the victimization, conflict or economic consequence were argued to be closely related to the agenda setting of journalists, while issue-specific frames were intrinsically related to the refugee issue and its aftermaths (de Vreese, Boomgaarden, & Semetko, 2011). Greek media's framing of the massive flows was negative until summer 2015. Soon afterwards, media showed solidarity towards immigrants and refugees but only for a while, since by the end of 2015 xenophobic and hostile attitudes were prevailing (Megrelis, 2017). Of course, not all media aligned with this sequence of attitudes and there was significant diversity within the Greek media. Chouliaraki et al. (2017) found that two influential Greek newspapers employed frames that emphasized geopolitical aspects, gave more voice to refugees, and promoted humanitarian actions, while, in contrast, Panagiotou & Selcuk (2017) noted that local newspapers, in areas, where open-door hotspot camps were constructed, presented negative, stereotyped characterization of refugees as the "other" and even worse as a potential and dangerous criminal. The notion of hospitality to foreigners appeared to be in conflict with boosting xenophobic tendencies toward migrants in the Greek society but also worldwide (Triandafyllidou & Kouki, 2013). Greek public opinion, which at first showed great solidarity and compassion, was bombarded by thousands of news articles about refugees and immigrants brainwashing them. Apart from the massive migrant wave Greece had to deal with the consequences of the economic crisis and austerity measures, since 2010. The country was also preoccupied with holding a referendum (July 5, 2015) and early legislative elections (September 20, 2015), which meant at least a four-month period of a poorly functioning public sector (Panagopoulos, 2018). These two issues were both symptoms of profound structural problems of capitalism (Chadwick, 2013) and democracy's current ills. Journalists in Greek media spread mixed messages about migration. On the one hand, there were the media outlets which were fiercely nationalist and agog to protect Greeks' cultural heritage from amalgamating with external and heathen newcomers, whilst on the other, there were non-nationalist news companies with pro-European tendencies (Megrelis, 2017). Greek mainstream media tended to repeat certain stereotypes and frames that constructed the refugees as "the other" that was different from "us", marginalizing them or depicted them as "the vulnerable others" in need of humanitarian help. As Boltanski (1999, p. 13) puts it, the news spectators felt a "generalized pity" towards the human suffering of refugees, yet, *"from the standpoint of*

*distance, since it must rely upon the massification of a collection of unfortunates, who were not there in person*". Public visualities of the refugee as either a sufferer or a threat, nevertheless never a human, abounded in Greek news stories. Victimhood and threat frames were tactically interchangeable across time and place proving thus, the power of media in shifting public attitudes from empathy for toddler Alan Kurdi's death to outrage for terrorist-refugees, when the Paris attacks took place (Lenette & Cleland, 2016, p. 77).

The volatility of the refugee-depiction in press altered from time to time regarding the policy and stance adopted by the political party in power that set the political guidelines of the issue. The shift in visualities was influenced by the drama refugees were going through with empathy expressed, for instance, towards Aylan's<sup>1</sup> story, the 3-year-old boy, whose dead body was washed up in Turkish shores; or masses of desperate people walking through motorways or long-distanced European routes under perilous and difficult circumstances; dozens squeezed in small dinghy boats; thousands squashed in overcrowded camps. Visualities of threat appeared again, after the November 2015 Paris terrorist attacks, when suicide bombers carrying out mass shootings, killed 130 people and injured hundreds, some of them critically. The regime of threat fertilized the ground, creating fear towards newcomers and anxiety about the disturbance of the established social and cultural order (Gale, 2004). Simply by emphasizing the ethnicity and religion of refugees, native media could increase hostility towards migrants among their audience (Sniderman, Hagendoorn & Prior, 2004), while by using the word immigrant or refugee interchangeably, they delineated to whom asylum and protection should be granted and who should be excluded and deported (Matar, 2017). Van Klinger, Boomgaarden, Vliegenthart and de Vreese (2015) have shown that media coverage could increase anti-immigration attitudes, while, in contrast, Harteveld, Schaper, De Lange and Van Der Brug (2018) have argued that it could cultivate citizens' Euroscepticism. In the first case, migrants were not qualified to be integrated and embraced in the host community, they were guests not hosts, whilst in the second, they were worth providing asylum and humanitarian aid.

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<sup>1</sup> The child has historically operated as an instrument in mobilizing love, since "*children dramatize the righteousness of a cause by having their innocence contrasted with malevolence (or perhaps banal hostility) of adults in authority*" (Moeller, 2002, p. 39). The photograph of the lifeless body of toddler Alan Kurdi gained iconic status as a signifier of adult failure, and consequently, of the Western world in adopting more pitiful policies, turning into a benignant public, showing solicitude for vulnerable others (Mortensen & Trenz, 2016, p. 350) not apathy.



Evidence has indicated that in Greek areas, where news media focused on anti-immigrant representations, people tended to vote for parties with an anti-immigrant stance (Burscher et al., 2015) as they were perceived as instantaneous solutions providers (Bos et al., 2011), albeit employing inhumane methods and tactics. Studies have also shown that there is a significant relationship between exposure to commercial broadcasting and negative attitudes towards migration (Jacobs, Meeusen & d' Haenens, 2016), since commercial coverage focuses on issue-specific frames, such as financial, national, welfare, cultural or security impacts (Strömbäck et al., 2017). Baker et al. (2008) found that the terms “migrants” and “immigrants” were closely associated with the frame of economic societal threat, since they were increasing the competition on labor market providing services in lower prices, while simultaneously, they constituted an additional burden on the welfare system. Notably, media content involving threatening aspects created mostly negative outcomes regarding the configuration of the public’s stance towards refugees. The “economization” frame, which appeared to be salient in several articles, could be twofold. On the one hand, politicians and economists believed that refugees could contribute to the economic development of the country as workers and “net contributors to the public purse” (Costea & Costea, 2015). On the other hand, refugees were perceived as an economic burden (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017) for the receiving country and, in the case of Greece, as a multiplier of unemployment rates.



**Figure 4:** The Greek grandmothers. Source: BBC. Available at: <https://theopiskarlatos.wordpress.com/2016/06/02/bbc-the-greek-grandmothers/>

With European countries closing their borders, the majority of refugees was forced to remain in Greece, albeit wishing to head for the prosperous North. Refugees were aiming at relocating (and even today most of them are still aiming at relocation), yet, they

were stuck in the place they first entered, i.e., Greece, which had to deal with the biggest economic depressions in history, that made it difficult not only to fulfill the needs of refugees but also those of the Greek population as a whole (Chtouris & Miller, 2017). The inability of the Greek nation to financially manage the refugee crisis has been portrayed not only in the Greek media but European media as well, repeatedly. Despite the surge in global anti-immigrant sentiment that has been recorded in recent years, Greek citizens, especially in the islands, had a very positive attitude extending the ancient rooted Greek hospitality to the foreigners, at least at the beginning of the massive phenomenon (Afouxenidis, Petrou, Kandyli, Tramountanis & Giannaki, 2017). Ordinary people were nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize (Tagaris, 2016), among them the three Greek grandmothers bottle-feeding a refugee baby as shown in figure 4. Amid the storm of human hostility there was a sunshine of humanity. This sharp change of approach arose largely because the bulk of refugees arriving on Greek islands, after a long journey of hardships, became a global story. Thousands of journalists from all over the world came to Greece reporting shocking news about the living conditions of these people in despair. The world's media broadcasting videos and picture material touched the world displacing the rhetoric of racism, because of the positive emotionally charged appraisal by mass media. At the same time, media noted that the vast majority of islanders were moved by the drama of refugees and were trying to assist them in every possible way, although they were still reeling from a painful financial and social crisis. Yet, things started to get worse, because the refugee stories were accompanied with negative publicity on the image of Greece as a tourist destination. Who wanted to visit a tourist destination, where the human drama was constantly unpacking? These consequential reactions of foreign visitors resulted in a tourist crisis with islanders becoming poorer and having limited resources to help the refugees, since their main income was coming from tourism (Megrelis, 2017). Soon, Greece started becoming the bottleneck of thousands of refugees, when global media made the refugee crisis in Greece their first story reporting that desperate people were detained in open-door hotspot camps under abysmal conditions. Dramatic stories of people in despair circulated around the world. Daily stories told by local people claiming that their rural economies were being ruined by migrants -destroying crops and stealing farm animals- and that their income was declining due to the dramatic drop in tourism started dominating in press. The beginning of this perception changing phase of the "refugee crisis" was marked when the Balkan route closed permanently by 18 March 2016, after the signing of the EU-Turkey deal with a consequent erection of fences and

the deployment of border guards transforming Greece from a country of transit to one of indefinite stay (Papataxiarchis, 2016). According to this political deal, border crossers would receive asylum if they were “qualified”, and be stuck permanently in Greece, or would either be “disqualified” and hence, fiercely deported back to Turkey (Oikonomakis, 2018, p. 68) as “*an attempt to re-exert sovereignty and control*” or as Derrida puts it, “*sovereignty could only be exercised by filtering, choosing, and thus, by excluding and doing violence*” (Derrida, 1999, p. 55). The abovementioned constituted the dual character of hostile hospitality: on the one hand, the Greek conception of hospitality, or “*filoksenia*”, was an essential element of Greeks, who wanted to be hospitable to outsiders and strangers and, on the other, the hostile practices adopted towards border crossers and the practice of sovereignty and control over them constituted the reflecting mirror of the current political, social and economic situation in Greece. Hospitality was performed by individuals and non-state actors in contrast to state hostility. Turkey was constantly accusing Greece of illegal deportation (Douglas, 2019), while the Greek Council for Refugees was reporting that large-scale and violent pushbacks were being carried out at the land border to Turkey (GCR, 2018) in violation of international law. Greece was denying the allegations, providing video material to news outlets presenting the Turkish coast guard escorting migrant smuggling boats toward Greece. Under the 2016 EU-Turkey deal, Turkey has the obligation to stem migration flows instead of helping migrants clandestinely enter into Greece (Euronews, 2020).

Greek media professionals were not apathetic to the human drama unfolding daily in front of their eyes and committed themselves to a more objective and accurate reporting in the way they covered the desperate plight of refugees and migrants. More specifically, the Journalists’ Union of Macedonia and Thrace Daily Newspapers (ESIEMTH) proposed its members to adopt an anti-racism ethics code entitled “The Charter of Idomeni” (the border village in Northern Greece where thousands of refugees wish to cross so as to arrive in northern Europe), when presenting the facts. Among other things, the union stressed to its members that “*no individual or group should be portrayed in such a way that contributes to stigmatization, social exclusion or discrimination against his/her religion, language, or different political views. Moreover, no individual or group should be portrayed in a manner that can cause, without thorough research and documentation, undue public concern*”. This initiative had been warmly welcomed by the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ, 2015) and other national and international organizations. The softening of media coverage was also reinforced by the refugees, who wanted to leave

Greece and go to northern Europe, and celebrities, who strongly wanted to circulate the message that the international community should address the root causes of the global refugee crisis and provide ad hoc humanitarian solutions. Refugees starkly and strongly stressed, while being interviewed by journalists, that they did not wish to stay permanently in Greece, but wanted their journey to end in Northern Europe. Germany was for the most of them their final destination, due to its financial bloom. Furthermore, celebrity diplomats, such as the Pope, the Ecumenical Patriarch, Queen Rania of Jordan, Susan Sarandon and Angelina Jolie travelled to Lesbos to publicize the plight of those fleeing into Europe, wishing to humanize the issue and inevitably politicized it. During this period, Greek photographers became high-profile award winners (Yiannis Behrakis, whose picture features in the front page of this dissertation, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize). Their work was recognized in major international journalism competitions. Hundreds of photographic exhibitions were organized portraying the realities that refugees faced (Megrelis, 2017). Yet, because of the ignorance of many reporters about the difference between migrant and refugee or just because they reproduced the official discourse made, many news confused migrants with refugees and vice versa. The choice of words -asylum seekers, refugees, migrants, bogus, irregular, undocumented- had the potential power to influence public perception. The specific angle under which the phenomenon was seen -humanitarian or not- shaped the political debate (The Ethical Journalism Network, 2017). The notion of the “illegal” immigrant was first used by parties belonging to the “middle” of the political spectrum and was afterwards adopted by the far-right discourse, while the left-wing parties adopted the term refugee to show a more humane profile (Berry et al., 2015). The articles and news broadcasts adopted these approaches characterizing newcomers as refugees or immigrants, “illegal”, undocumented, irregular or asylum seekers according to the guidelines given by the political party in power.

In July 2019, Kyriakos Mitsotakis was elected Prime Minister of Greece and soon announced “strict but fair” reforms to state’s migration policies. He stated that Greece has not to deal with a refugee issue, as in 2015, but a migrant issue, instead, changing once more the terminology used to describe newcomers, who were now characterized as undeserving, who should be expelled. As the Greek Prime Minister noted, most of the people who arrive in Greece *“have the profile of an economic migrant and not a refugee”* (AMNA, 2019), and hence, the state cannot grant them asylum. He furthermore announced new measures in the regime concerning NGOs to enhance control,

accountability and transparency leading the Expert Council to express its opposite opinion, claiming that such amendments undermine civil society space in Greece (Council of Europe, 2020). In the midst of an increasingly hostile climate for asylum seekers, the Greek government issued a new law on asylum, the International Protection Act (IPA), which entered into force on 1 January 2020 (Law 4636/2019). The IPA, as well as its amendments in May 2020 (Law 4686/2020), introduced significant reforms that inducted harsher, punitive measures, which exposed many refugees to the risk of refoulement, casting them out of the asylum procedure (Greek Council for Refugees and Oxfam, 2020). These amendments and measures occupied media time and space, which reported immensely about the new political policies supporting vastly the Greek government's political initiatives, especially public media companies, reinforcing the argument that immigrants constitute an economic threat being economic migrants.

Soon after, the coronavirus plunged the world into a new type of crisis concerning public health. Greece's decisive initial response to the pandemic, succeeding one of the lowest infection rates in Europe, helped avert a humanitarian disaster in its refugee camps. Yet, the new pandemic eventually reached refugee camps and its inhumane conditions, conducing to rapid contagion. When covid-19 reached the tents and makeshift shelters of Moria refugee camp on the island of Lesbos, where refugees were living with very limited access to running water, hygiene facilities and rudimentary health care, refugees demonstrated against the lockdown conditions. Fires broke out, destroying the camp. Thousands were left homeless, dozens of whom were soon afterwards tested positive for covid-19 and although infection rates among refugees and migrants did not appear to be higher than among the Greek population, public media discourse often linked the spread of coronavirus with them, fueling the already high anti-refugee sentiment in the country (Panayotatos, 2020). Migrants and refugees, a vulnerable minority, once more became scapegoat for the ills of the society and the dispersion of the new virus and were burdened with the encumbrance of the Greek health system. Within the Greek public sphere, migrants were depicted as "a risk to public health" (ter Wal 1996), renewing the rhetoric that deemed immigrants as a public health threat. Migrants and refugees had unfairly once more been targeted as bringing infections into a country (Devakumar, Bhopal & Shannon, 2020) and such allegations could only be reached through the prism of fear that Greek media cultivated to its audience in a society ill prepared to deal with so many crises, the pre-existing two (financial and refugee) and the new one, that the current reality of coronavirus had brought about.

## Chapter 2 – Research

### 2.1 Main research question - Research hypotheses

In this thesis, I focus on the contemporary representations of refugees / immigrants in and through the public discourse in Greece as depicted by two mainstream news websites, a conservative (*Kathimerini* [The Daily newspaper] / [kathimerini.gr](http://kathimerini.gr)) and a left-wing one (*EF. SYN* [The editor's newspaper] / [efsyn.gr](http://efsyn.gr)). My main research question is how are the refugees / immigrants represented in the abovementioned media, with the following sub-questions regarding the prevailing political landscape according to which a change in the dominant media frames was noticed, depicting newcomers either as immigrants or refugees, either as a threat or a victim:

1. How does the terminology used for refugees / immigrants manifest according to the representation of each medium?
2. What type of stereotypes are evident in media representations of refugees / immigrants?
3. “From a negative depiction until summer 2015, to solidarity starting in autumn, and hostility by the end of 2015 and beyond”, how can one explain the portrayal of refugees as well as to how it changed in the media?

The research focuses on a six-year period, during which a left / progressive and a right / conservative political party was in power, in an attempt to seek whether different governmental policies reflect on the news reported or not. More concretely, we will examine whether there was a difference in media coverage related to the refugee issue during these two time periods: January 2015 to July 2019 (while Alexis Tsipras was the Prime Minister) and from July 2019 until today (with Kyriakos Mitsotakis being the Prime Minister). The abovementioned research question can be analyzed in several research hypotheses, stemming from our theoretical background:

H1: According to our theoretical background, we expect that the immigrants / refugees in seek for asylum will be primarily approached as a problem to the host society that needs to be managed (Jackson & Esses, 2000), especially on behalf of the conservative press.

H2: We expect that there will be cases of a positive presentation of the immigrants. Yet, there will also be cases, where the media discourse will be creating “boundaries” between “us” and “them”, making the newcomer’s representation indistinguishable or even

questionable and bureaucratic / dehumanizing language will be deployed, especially from the news items of the conservative website.

H3: Under the socioeconomic rationale, the newcomers will be characterized as a) immigrants or invaders, bogus etc. as an effort of the conservative press not to grant them directly asylum (Lakner, 2016), or b) as refugees and deserving asylum in an effort of the left / progressive press to show a more humane face towards its electorate, helping thus, “people in distress”.

H4: Immigrants will be classified along a range of “financial issues”, such as unemployment, fiscal crisis and health issues, yet, in dramatic plight and in need of humanitarian aid.

H5: According to our literature review, we expect the news media to depict migrants as an anonymous “mass of unfortunates” on fragile vessels in urgent need of aid, namely the factness of the human bodily being relying fully on the humanitarian benevolence and charity of the West to stay alive (Vaughan-Williams, 2015).

## 2.2 Methodology

This dissertation will be the product of a quantitative study employing content analysis in order to achieve a holistic picture of the phenomenon under scrutiny by investigating certain variable appearances in the wider media field. Content analysis is the technique of restructuring the word connotation of a text into fewer classifications of meaning by specific coding and decoding procedures (Miller & Brewer, 2003). The content analyst regards data as representations of texts, images and expressions -in our case, texts- that call for interpretation and further analysis. By quantifying and analyzing the presence, connotations and relationships of words and concepts, we will then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the editors, the audience and time of which these are a part. In order to conduct a content analysis, the text is coded or broken down into manageable categories. Decomposing texts in the contexts help us make sense of what is mediated between people and textual information and forwarded through mass-media content (Krippendorff, 2019).

The widespread availability of computer-readable texts has brought content analysis to the fore, concerning how is society represented. More specifically, for the scope of this current master thesis, relying on online media news items and in order to analyze the themes we seek to examine through our research questions, content analysis will be deployed, which is a method used to evaluate the symbolic messages of large volumes of data trying to find out how the working hypotheses are answered and if they correspond to reality. In order to carry that out, data gathered from news items (a representative sample of right wing and left-wing online publications) will be examined taking into consideration the time they were published, the place, their content (positive, neutral or negative towards refugees / immigrants), media ideology, style and the angle from which the issue was presented. Concretely, my analysis issues from information taken from a sample of 300 news stories on immigration from popular Greek news websites throughout 2015-2021 (150 from efsyn.gr and 150 from kathimerini.gr), through which quantitative measurement will provide the only evidence that counts (Lasswell, 1949/1965), focusing on content analysis methods that derive from the texts under scrutiny.

Quantitative content analysis is conducted via a coding protocol and consists of three distinct phases: a) data collection, b) data coding and analysis and c) presentation of



the analysis (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). With the help of the research protocol, which is theoretically valid or as Sheppard (1993) claims, reasonable, we will categorize the publications and examine both their obvious and creeping meaning. Then the process of recognizing convergent or not convergent attitudes of the public opinion towards the refugee / migration subject will evolve (Cole, 1975), focusing on the time period when the left political party, Syriza was in power and afterwards, when the right party, New Democracy won the elections.

Quantitative research is a systematic technique that collects and analyses data by statistically measuring the types of the quantitative variables, which represent all possible values and the relationships among them. Numbered data will be produced that will try to explain the complex phenomenon of migration. Through this approach and once our statistical analysis is conducted, the abovementioned theoretical framework will be examined and the information given will lead us to reject the null hypothesis in favor of the alternative hypothesis or vice versa. After examining whether relationships exist between different variables and phenomena, the results of the strategy research followed will be presented in graphs, tables or figures, while the outcomes from the statistical tests will be construed (Creswell, 2017).

## 2.3 Research information

The news articles in both news websites were accessed using a number of databases. Key words such as “refugee”, “immigrant”, “migrant”, “Moria”, “irregular”, “deportation”, “asylum”, “hotspots” etc. were used in order to choose those referring to refugees and immigrants and afterwards the news items between 2015-2021 were selected.

Kathimerini, meaning “The Daily” is a daily, political and financial morning newspaper published in Athens, with its first edition being printed on 15 September 1919. The twentieth century was the golden age of Greek newspapers with several important titles appearing. Among them, there was also Kathimerini, which was founded by Georgios Vlachos, an illustrious antivenizelist. The newspaper has traditionally been supporting the New Democracy party regarded as one of the main conservative voices of Greek media. Currently, the newspaper is under the ownership of a real estate developer and shipping magnate, Themistoklis Alafouzos. From its establishment, Kathimerini gave voice to the ideology of the organized political forces of the country promoting the nostalgic concept of a “small and honorable Greece”, representing the *“introverted patriotism and reactive parochialism of old Greece, supporting a romantic and utopian irredentism”* (Eglezou, 2009).

Efimerida ton Syntakton, “Newspaper of the Editors”, is the name of a Greek cooperative daily newspaper. The newspaper was first published in 2012 by former workers of Eleftherotypia (meaning “freedom of the press”) that bankrupted, namely, it rose from the ashes of the respected left-wing paper Eleftherotypia, that was one of the early victims of Greece’s economic crisis. Efimerida ton Syntakton prides itself of being owned by its editors, where its name actually comes from, and this, as a mere fact, strengthens its claimed independency of press. Yet, and beyond contending to be an independent newspaper, Efsyn supports the political theses of the left and centre-left (Siapera & Papadopoulou, 2016). Both newspapers have an online version aligning with current journalistic trends and have managed to integrate the Internet into every aspect of their operations. Our sample under scrutiny was published online, sometimes after being printed in the newspaper.

In order to create the samples from each site, we retrieved 300 stories using wide search strings aiming at examining the issue spherically, choosing articles that cover the entire six-year time period (2015-2021), that was expected to be approached differently

by the reporters of the two news outlets, since they were addressing to audiences with unlike political influences and beliefs, while the political landscape was ideologically different. In order to answer the research questions, random sampling was applied, after constructing a sampling frame, and then, a random number generation computer program was used to pick a sample from the sampling frame (Zikmund, 2002). Stratified sampling is when the researcher defines the types of individuals in the population based on specific criteria for the study. For example, in our study on refugee crisis we needed to choose our sample by period of time in order to ensure that the six-year period under examination was equally represented (Ackoff, 1953).

For the elaboration of our results, quantitative analysis software e.g., SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used, that can provide tangible benefits. SPSS software can shorten analysis timeframes, can provide more thorough and stringent coding and interpretation and provide researchers with enhanced data management (Jones, 2007). Statistical tests were also employed, among them one of the most commonly used tests for categorical variables, namely the Chi-Square Test to examine whether or not there was a relationship between two categorical variables, yet, this did not make an allowance for the potential influence of other explanatory variables (Marshall, 2016). Independent Samples Test was also performed to analyze the mean comparison of two independent groups. The Independent Samples T-Test is a useful tool for hypothesis testing in statistics, which can be used to determine whether there is a significant difference in the means of the two groups. The well-known Levene's test was examined as well, which is a very popular tool for checking the homogeneity of variances. Levene's test is an equal variance test. It can be used to check if our data sets fulfill the homogeneity of variance assumption before we perform the T-Test or Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Brown and Forsythe (1974) extended Levene's test to use either the median or the trimmed mean to substitute for the mean. Plus, our significance level is 0.05 (due to your sample of 300 cases), which complies fully with the abovementioned extension. This level is generally described as the proportion 0.05 and sometimes as the percentage 5%. The 0.05 probability level was historically considered as an arbitrary choice but has been acceptable as a reasonable one in most circumstances (Cramer & Howitt, 2004).

## 2.4 Research findings / Data analysis

What we observed trying to collect the 300 articles, 150 from kathimerini.gr and 150 from efsyn.gr, was that the news referred to refugees / immigrants in enfyn.gr were proportionally far more than those uploaded in kathimerini.gr. Although there was a large sample of reports in efsyn.gr from which we could choose the most striking news, there was not such wide provision in kathimerini.gr, where the amount of reports turned out to be limited, urging us to include reports firstly excluded, since they were the sequel of an event from which the necessary information was already absorbed and written down. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the news items from efsyn.gr were three times more than those posted in kathimerini.gr. What's more, Efimerida ton Syntakton had a specific section labelled "rights" and under that label numerous news items about immigrants and refugees could be traced. The sequence of articles under that label testified how important the respect of human rights was for the journalists of Efsyn, who were witnessing or reporting that migrants' rights were violated repeatedly. Overall, the tone of the Efsyn articles was conveying a more philanthropic approach, the refugee issue was examined more spherically frequently expressing solidarity towards the massive influx of helpless people. This does not mean that reports from Kathimerini did not include positive stories on refugees, on the contrary, there were reports or opinions articles supporting profoundly migrants and the human drama unfolding. Yet, the amount of positive -towards refugees-framed articles was less than that in efsyn.gr.

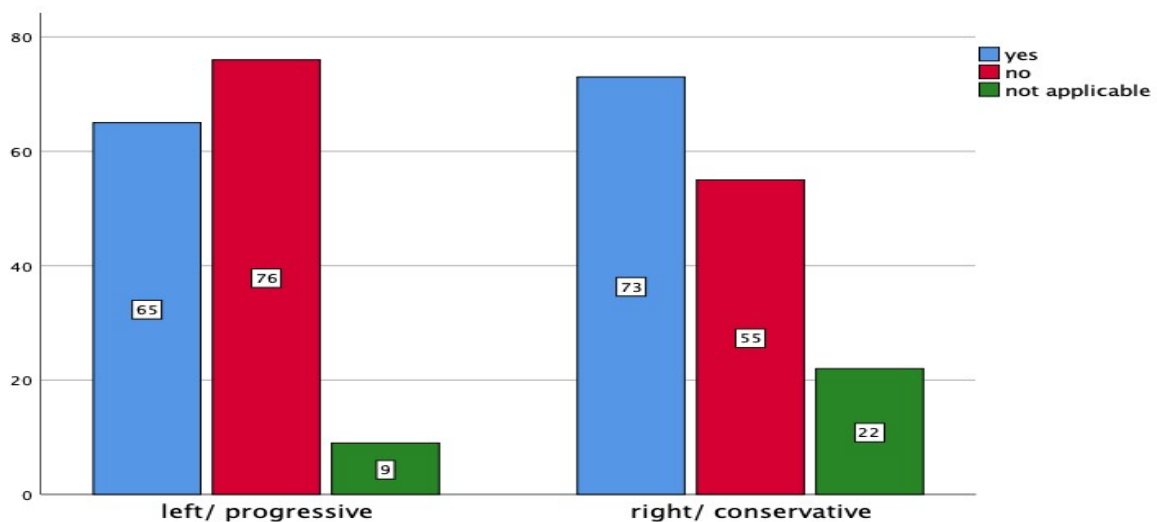
### **Hypothesis 1**

**According to our theoretical background, we expect that the immigrants / refugees in seek for asylum will be primarily approached as a problem to the host society that needs to be managed (Jackson & Esses, 2000), especially on behalf of the conservative press.**

In both news media, there were reports where refugees were seen as a problem rather as an advantage for the host society and its solution had become a ball of responsibility that was tossed back and forth from one European country to another, while in the case of Greece, from Greece to Turkey and vice versa and from the local and regional to the governmental level and vice versa as well, especially after 20 March 2016, when the EU-Turkey agreement went into effect, halting most of the migration from Turkey to Greece (Batalla Adam, 2017), trapping refugees and migrants along the Balkan

route. According to the Hypothesis 1, we expect that the immigrants / refugees in seek for asylum will be primarily approached as a problem to the host society that needs to be managed, especially on behalf of the conservative press, namely Kathimerini. Hence, we will scrutinize whether migrants were depicted as a problem in the articles of Kathimerini more often than in those of Efsyn, by cross tabulating the way newcomers were depicted with the ideology of the news website. Stating in advance that the H0 (Null Hypothesis) designates that the representation of migrants as a problem does not depend on the ideology of the website, which is the independent dichotomous variable and that the HA (Alternative Hypothesis) conditions that the depiction of migrants as a problem depends on the ideology of the website (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ), we will proceed with our crosstabulation.

**Graph 1. Refugees depicted as problem per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.010)**



According to our Chi-Square Test, we come to the conclusion that we reject the H0, since our sig. value is  $0.010 < 0.05$  and thus we conclude that the depiction of refugees as a problem depends on the medium (Cramer & Howitt, 2004). Hence, our data confirm the Hypothesis 1, which states that conservative press depicts refugees as a problem to the receiving country, since there are more negative reports than those of the progressive efsyn.gr (73 reports depicting refugees as a problem in contrast to 65 presented by efsyn.gr), conclusion confirmed by graph 1. What's more, if we examine the percentages of the depiction of newcomers as a problem to the host society (apart from the frequencies), Hypothesis 1 is further validated since there is a 43.3% in efsyn.gr, where refugees are considered to be a problem rather an advantage to the host society in comparison to the higher percentage 48.7% of the conservative kathimerini.gr.

## **Hypothesis 2**

**We expect that there will be cases of a positive presentation of the immigrants. Yet, there will also be cases, where the media discourse will be creating “boundaries” between “us” and “them”, making the newcomer’s representation indistinguishable or even questionable and bureaucratic / dehumanizing language will be deployed, especially from the news items of the conservative website.**

Scrutinizing the articles written on the refugee issue within the six years under study, we concluded that the vast majority of them, in both Greek news websites, did not separate refugees from immigrants, presenting them interchangeably as regular or irregular, regardless of deserving asylum or not. Refugees were often presented indiscriminately as part of the migrant group and negatively labelled as immigrants, who clandestinely entered the European borders or, as Castles (2003, p.p. 16 -17) puts it, the indistinguishable terminology employed “*blurred the distinction between forced and economic migration*”. These two terms, refugee and immigrant, were used in terms of inability to discern who was forced to migrate or moved for economic reasons or voluntarily and thus, all newcomers were treated as both regular and irregular, not being able to discern between those deserving asylum and those who would finally be deported. The abovementioned allegation can be easily proved by examining the terminology used in the news items of our sample, where even in the title of the news reports, both terms, refugees and immigrants were used interchangeably: “Mitsotakis: It is unthinkable for immigrants and refugees to be used as pawns” (Kathimerini, 2021); “1,200 refugees and migrants have already entered Kara Tepe” (Kathimerini, 2020). “*The most obvious thing about refugee flows is that they are unruly*” (Zolberg, 1983, p. 25) and perhaps, hardly appropriate for theorization from editors. The distinction between free and forced or voluntary and involuntary migratory decision was a misleading one. For, all human behavior can be constrained and degrees of freedom and autonomy may vary. Recent studies have shown that using the term “migrant” or “refugee” produces different understandings as to who is deserving asylum and protection or not (Crawley & Skleparis 2018), since it is easy to fall victim of such “categorical fetishism” (Apostolova 2015).

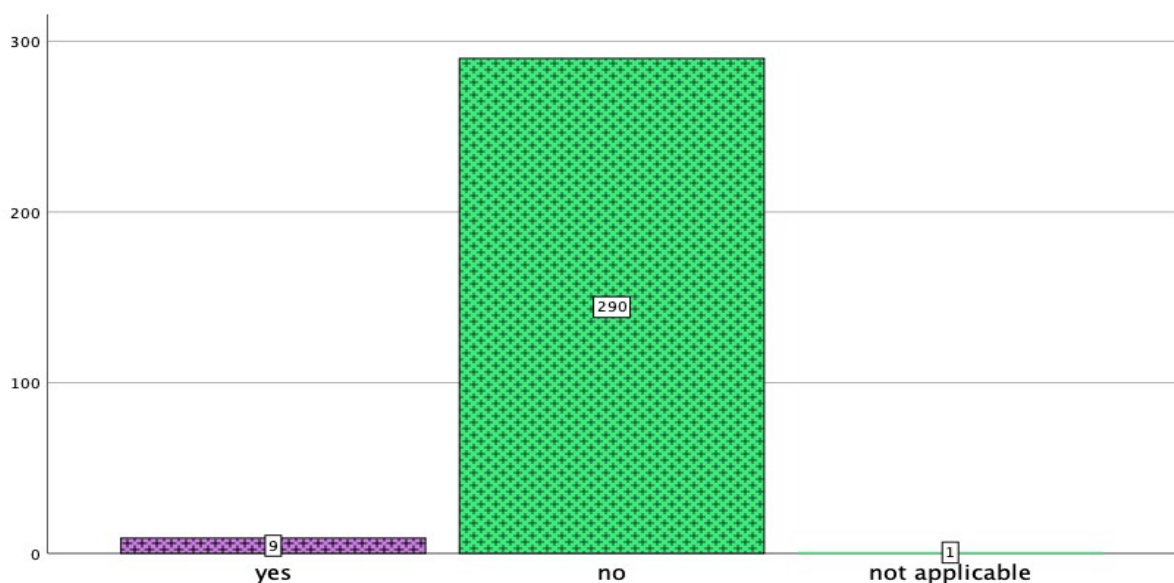
Furthermore, according to our literature review, the voices of politicians and political parties were salient in media employing bureaucratic language. As Richardson and Colombo (2013) argue, inflammatory and dehumanizing language about migrants is recently increasingly heard, not just from politicians representing populist anti-immigration parties, but from mainstream national politicians. For example, in July 2015,

UK Prime Minister David Cameron was criticised for describing migrants trying to reach Britain as “swarms of people coming across the Mediterranean” (BBC, 2015). According to our theoretical background, such language should be detected as well, in the case of Greece. We quote two characteristic examples from our sample, where politicians refer to “illegal” immigration. More concretely, former Prime Minister Antonis Samaras stressed that “the vast majority of newcomers are immigrants who entered illegally, so they are illegal immigrants” (Kathimerini, 2019). In addition, “the issue of ‘illegal invasion’ in the country was raised by the Minister of Shipping and Island Policy (Giannis Plakiotakis), referring to the increased flows of refugees and immigrants” in a news report of Efsyn (2019). The main criticism of “illegal” is based on the fact that only an act can be illegal whereas a person cannot. In particular, this is an arbitrary choice of dehumanizing terminology used to refer to “undocumented” or “irregular immigrant”, which are both terminologically correct (Paspalanova, 2008) and lack the negative social implications of the terms “illegal” and “invasion”. Hence, we expect that bureaucratic and, in some cases, dehumanizing language would derive from our sample of news items, since such phraseology can easily attract the electorate’s sentiment or destroy the feeling of solidarity of a community towards refugees (implying instead of showing / abstraction). In addition, dehumanizing language would also be expected to be more frequently employed by journalists of the conservative Kathimerini rather the progressive Efsyn, in order to represent newcomers as invaders, irregular or even ‘illegal’ (functionality vs. essence). Consequently, we would await bureaucratic / dehumanizing language, that could justify the deportation of the undesirable newcomers from the Greek society or as Arendt (1976) puts it from the great bourgeois salons of our society, while we would also expect a great number of journalists to adopt the same negative refugee narrative, since when all journalists are guilty for the way and tone of representation no one can be judged (Arendt, 1994, p. 126). If all journalists are guilty, it equals with no one is guilty, a generalization that can justify the journalistic tone and terminology. As a result, locals were anticipated to refuse seeing refugees as part of the host community (Van Klingerren, Boomgaarden, Vliegenthart & de Vreese, 2015), not of “their own” community. Consequently, they would keep them in distance (isolation), while new labels and new characterizations would be invented to frame who the residents of this country are compared to who they are not, and thus, they would be reshaping the relationship between the receiving community and migrants. Readers, confronted with images of distant suffering on a frequent basis are often invited to take a moral stance (Kyriakidou, 2014), raising thus, critical questions

about the public's familiarization with suffering experienced in distant locales (Cohen, 2001; Moeller, 1999). Höijer (2004) has illustrated how the audience responds to news of suffering, whereas Seu (2010), has addressed the different ways people distance themselves from the suffering of others. What's more, Scott (2014) has concluded that mediated narratives mostly involve "indifference and solitary enjoyment" (p. 3). Papailias has illustrated how the use of "spectropolitics" exclude migrants from humanness by making them invisible (Papailias, 2019, p. 1056). The migrants' invisibility and their presence as a threatening "ghost" detaches the viewer's ethical involvement, justifying the exercise of violence (Jean-Luc, 2005).

In addition, the dualities / dichotomies such as: locals vs. invaders, pure citizens vs. impure newcomers, "us" vs. 'others', white Greeks vs. dark skinned newcomers etc. would confirm what Castoriadis (2010) deems about rejections in an effort to "understand what are the real motives which cause people to act as cogs" in commodifying the embracement and integration of newcomers (Arendt, 1994). What's more, social imaginary significations were expected to be employed in order to create meaningful news content in presenting the immigrants. The language used (against philanthropy, victimization) would be employed for the same purpose, namely the cultivation of fear of the other that contradicts cosmopolitanism. Yet, in our sample we encountered a counter narrative, since we did not detect bureaucratic / dehumanizing language, as shown in graph 2, neither did we distinguish the cultivation of unphilanthropic sentiment but quite the opposite and actually in the vast majority of the sample.

**Graph 2: Dehumanizing language in media under scrutiny**





Revising further our literature review, Greece, as a refugee receiving country inevitably became a common transit country for those seeking refuge in the EU, providing an easily approached gate at the southeastern of Europe (Balourdos, 2010). In 2015-2016 Greece saw unprecedented numbers of refugee arrivals. Syria was the main country of origin, while thousands of refugees from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq have also entered Greece through Turkey. Despite the massive influx of people, according to the Greek Asylum Service, only very few of them applied for asylum in the country, since the majority of these people did not wish to stay in Greece, a country hit by the economic crisis with high unemployment rates, but wanted to continue their trip to northern Europe and more concretely to Germany and Sweden (Sakellis, Spyropoulou & Ziomas, 2016). The majority of immigrants reaching its territory had to a great extent been undocumented and urgently in need of humanitarian aid, which Greece was not prepared to offer, since not only no preparation was made but, in addition, the country was still trying to recover from the severe financial crisis. The combination of harsh recession measures with refugee crisis overwhelmed Greeks, who were already impoverished and not having the resources to support migrants (Kotsiou, Srivastava, Kotsios, Exadaktylos, Gourgoulanis, 2018). Nevertheless, we cannot omit saying that impoverished Greece had benefitted from €2.81 billions of EU support since 2015 and more concretely, €1.71 billion from the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, €450 million from the Internal Security Fund and €643.6 million from the Emergency Support Instrument (European Commission, 2020).

The full closure of the so-called “Balkan route” to northern Europe and the EU-Turkey agreement in March 2016 made things worse. According to the agreement, people arriving to Greece from Turkey seeking for protection after this date were subject to possible deportation back to Turkey after a fast-track asylum process. What’s more, on 7 June 2021, a new Joint Ministerial Decision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Migration and Asylum was issued, designating Turkey as “safe third country” for asylum seekers originating from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Somalia. As a result, the applications lodged by those nationalities could be rejected without being examined on the merits (AIDA, 2020). UNHCR recalled that the extensive use of admissibility procedures comes with disadvantages since a likely increase in judicial review of admissibility decisions in comparison to in-merit procedures constitutes a further slowing factor (UNHCR, 2021). In addition, what should be taken into consideration, is that Turkey has a tumultuous history of political conflict involving

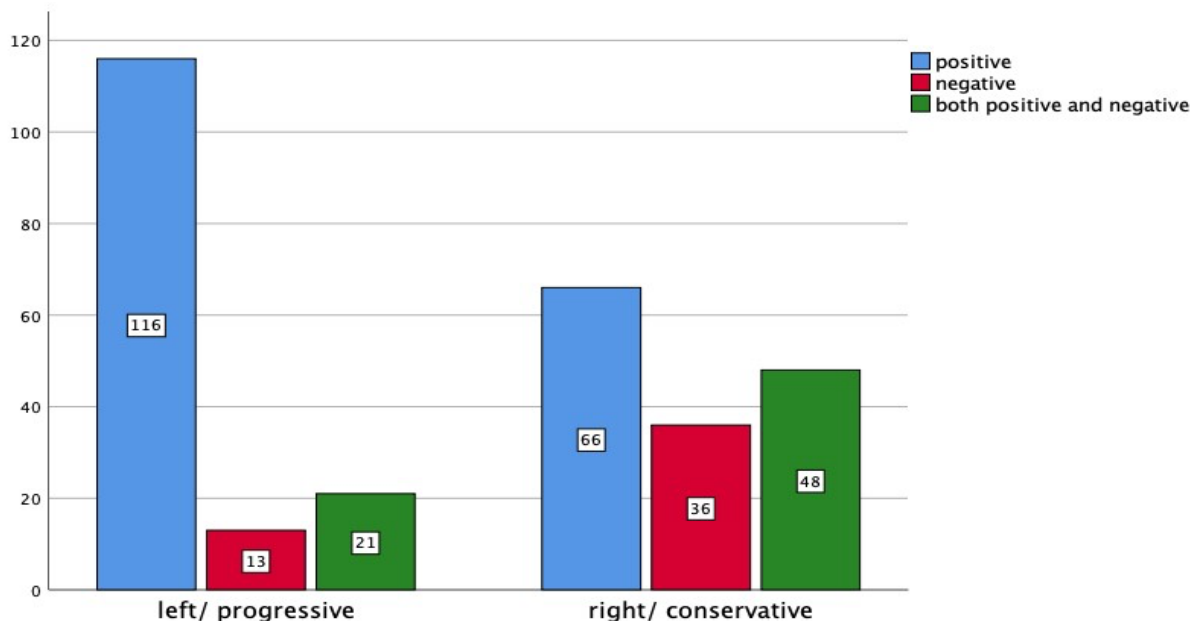
persecutions of minorities. Numerous cases of persecution have been well documented in rulings by the European Court of Human Rights (2015). Hence, serious concerns about the compatibility of the EU-Turkey statement with international and European law, and more precisely, the application of the “safe third country” concept, have been raised (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2017). Furthermore, academics who have signed a peace petition against state violence in Kurdistan have become subject to persecution, as well (Amnesty International, 2016). The evidence suggests that since there are persecutions of Turkish nationals, Turkey may persecute non-nationals as well, making it, thus, unsuitable as a safe third country, a parameter that the Commission and Member States should seriously consider (Roman, Baird, & Radcliffe, 2016).

The year 2020 saw several events unfold almost simultaneously, including the onset of the coronavirus pandemic, that was regarded as a potential catalyst for pushbacks and border violence, with at least 26 non-governmental organizations claiming that pushback practices increased in frequency and violence during the first year of the pandemic (Legal Centre Lesvos 2020; Mare Liberum 2020). In February 2020, Turkey’s president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announced that Turkey’s western borders were open for migrants to cross into Europe (Busby & Smith 2020). Greece took up policies so as to repel migrants from entering its territory, employing violence (Amnesty International 2020), while all asylum applications were suspended for a month from 1st March 2020 (Human Rights Watch, 2020). For the first time, legal action was taken against the agency Frontex initiated at the European Court of Justice of the EU in May 2021 by human rights organisation Front-Lex (2020) calling on it to take measures to ensure that Frontex meets its human rights obligations under international and EU law, since there were accusations of complicity in violations of human rights taking place at Greece's borders (Statewatch, 2021). In the midst of violence at the Greek-Turkish border, asylum-seekers and migrants were harshly beaten by border guards, were arbitrarily detained at sites in the border area even for days and were returned penniless to Turkey, since border forces took their money and their only savings with which they would start over in Europe (Amnesty International, 2020).

The drama of refugees started unfolding in 2015 and kept on unfolding, shaping and reshaping the structure of the receiving societies and the public’s perceptions. According to the theoretical background and our Hypothesis 2, we expect that there will be cases of a positive presentation of people, who desperately wanted to start a new life in Europe and were facing violence. We also, expect that there will be cases, where the public

discourse will be creating “boundaries” between “us” and “them”, especially in the news items of kathimerini.gr, since the repellent mechanisms were welcome by a part of the society. According to the graph 3, there are 116 reports representing the migrants in a positive way in efsyn.gr compared to 66 news items in kathimerini.gr, namely there is a 77.6% of positive presentation in efsyn.gr in contrast to 44.0% in kathimerini.gr, whereas there is an 8.7% of negative presentation in efsyn.gr in contrast to 24.0% in kathimerini.gr. Investigating more closely and by employing Chi-Square Test, we cross tabulate our variables. We state our H0 and HA (H0: The way of presentation is not influenced by the news website, and HA: The way of presentation is influenced by the news website) and proceed with the crosstabulation (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ). According to our sig. value  $0.000<0.05$ , hence we reject our null hypothesis in favor of the alternative hypothesis (Ferreira & Patino, 2015) and therefore, we conclude that the medium influences the way newcomers are represented. Hence, the Hypothesis 2 is confirmed by our data.

**Graph 3: Way of presentation of refugees per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.000)**

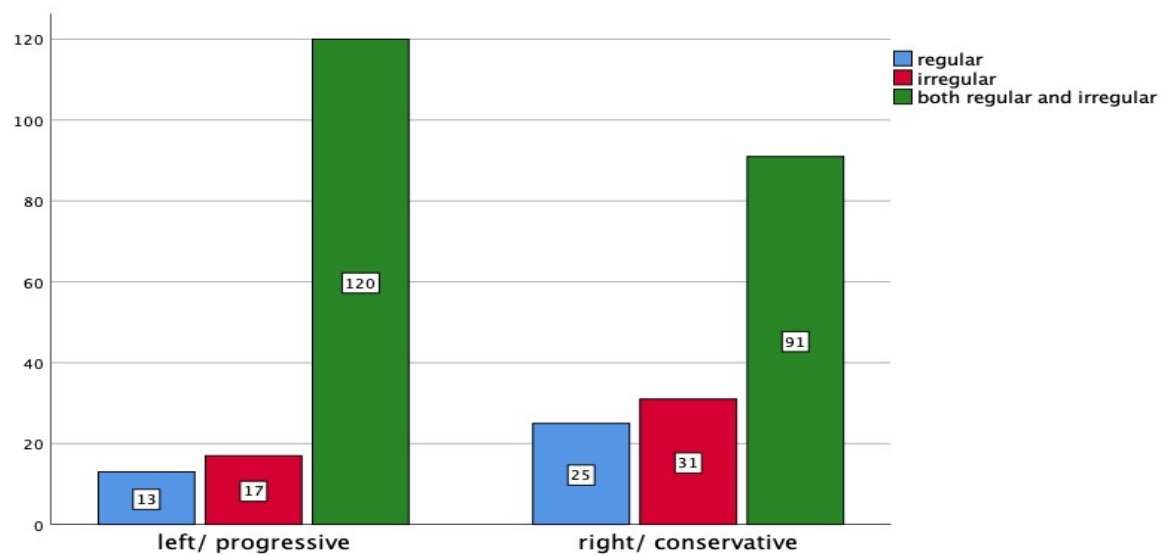


### Hypothesis 3

Under the socioeconomic rationale, the newcomers will be characterized as a) immigrants or invaders, bogus etc. as an effort of the conservative press not to grant them directly asylum (Lakner, 2016) or b) as refugees and deserving asylum in an effort of the left / progressive press to show a more humane face towards its electorate, helping thus “people in distress”.

By employing Chi-Square Test, we will check whether the way newcomers were represented as regular, deserving asylum, irregular, bogus, invaders etc. was associated with the medium or not. After excluding the news items, where there is no reference to refugees as regular or irregular by treating this value as missing, since we just want to count it out of this statistical test and not from our sample, we cross tabulate our variables. We state our H0 and HA (H0: The way of presentation is not influenced by the news website, and HA: The way of presentation is influenced by the news website) and proceed with the crosstabulation (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ). According to our sig. value  $0.003 < 0.05$ , hence we reject our null hypothesis in favor of the alternative hypothesis (Ferreira & Patino, 2015) and therefore, we conclude that the medium influences the way newcomers are represented. Hence, our data confirm the first part of Hypothesis 3, since there are 31 news reports of negative representation in kathimerini.gr in comparison to 17, in efsyn.gr

**Graph 4: Depiction of refugees per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.003)**



Analyzing further the percentages of refugees being depicted as irregular we conclude that there is an 21.1% of negative representation from kathimerini.gr in comparison to the 11.3% from efsyn.gr. Yet, graph 4, that depicts the results concluded from our sample, fails to prove the second part of Hypothesis 3, since newcomers in the progressive efsyn.gr were regarded as irregular in more news items than in those represented as regular (17 in comparison to 13), while there were 120 reports in which refugees were presented interchangeably. After investigating more carefully the news

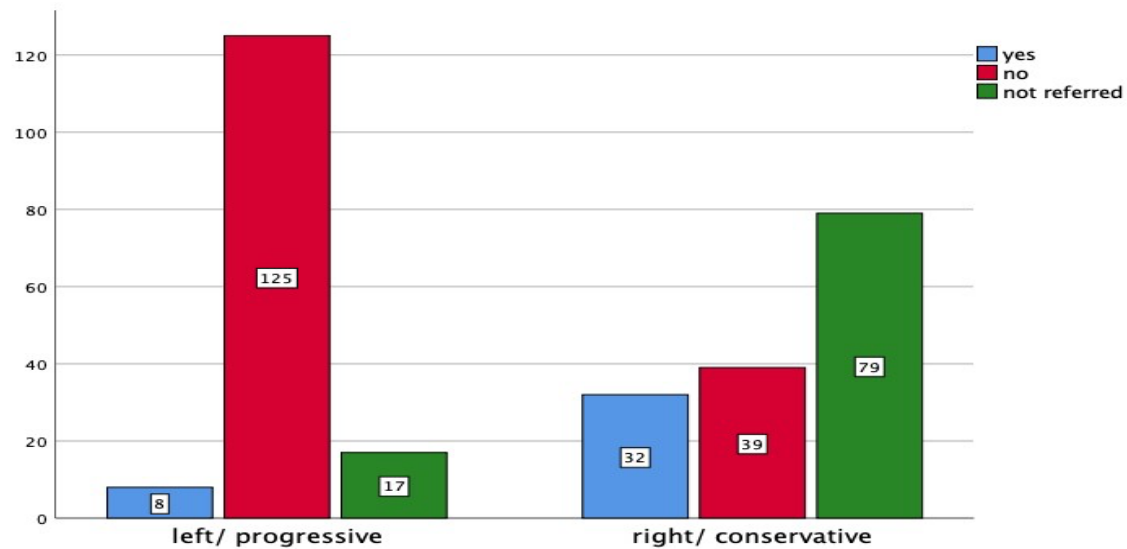
items of efsyn.gr, we come to the conclusion that this happens because the reports accommodate statements from conservative politicians and European commissioners, who emphasize the need of protecting the EU borders or in the case of Greece, the country's borders from irregular migrants, who illegally want to cross them. We quote a characteristic statement made by Kyriakos Mitsotakis to strengthen our assertion: "The country has an obligation to guard its borders, which are also European borders, and we express our rejection of policies that instrumentalize refugees / immigrants and make them pawns. These practices cannot and should not be tolerated under any circumstances" (Efsyn, 2021a). Hence, such declarations alter the results, increasing the number of news items, where refugees are presented as irregular. Nevertheless, the reports in kathimerini.gr, where refugees are presented as irregular, are higher than those in efsyn.gr (31 compared to 17 or 21.1% compared to 11.3%).

#### **Hypothesis 4**

**Immigrants will be classified along a range of "financial issues", such as unemployment, fiscal crisis and health issues, yet, in dramatic plight and in need of humanitarian aid.**

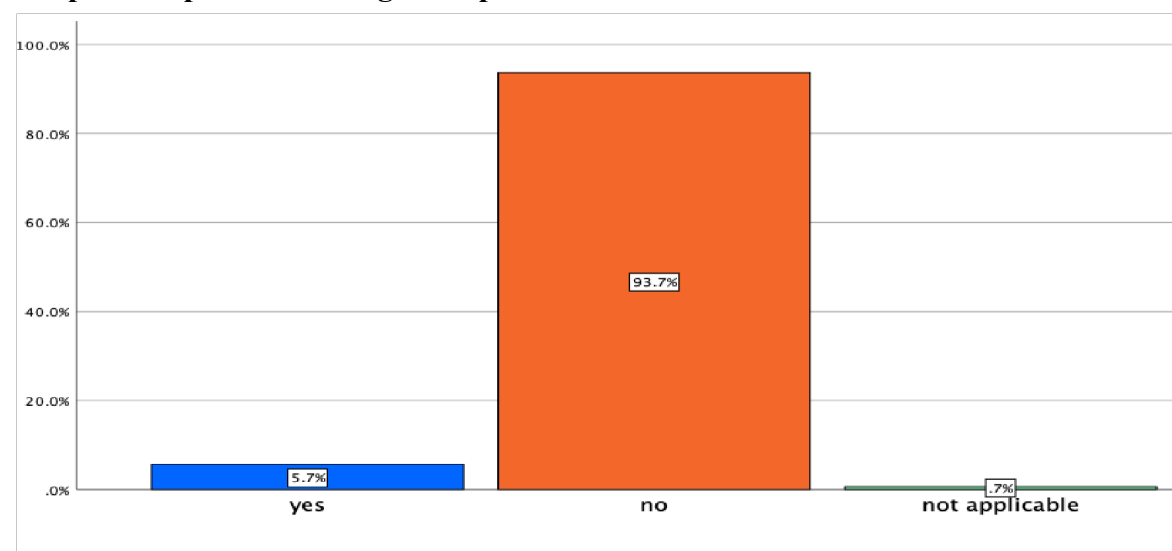
In the graph below, we can see whether refugees were considered to be an economic burden to the host society. Especially, regarding Greece, the refugee crisis constituted "a crisis within the crisis", since it hit during a deep financial depression and stereotypical terminology representing newcomers as further economic burden to already impoverished Greeks was anticipated. By scrutinizing the sample in efsyn.gr, we assume that in the majority of the cases (125 or 83.3%) refugees were not considered to impose a net burden on their host countries, whereas in kathimerini.gr only 39 reports (26.0%) shared the same thesis. We will seek further to analyze whether the medium has to do with the depiction of refugees as an economic burden (HA) or not (H0). After we proceed with the crosstabulation (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ), we realize that according to our sig. value  $0.000<0.05$ , we reject our null hypothesis and therefore the medium influences the way in which the refugees are depicted as an economic burden, a result that emerges clearly from our data and graph 5, since in the vast majority of the news items of the progressive medium (efsyn.gr), refugees are not considered to be burdening economically the host society.

**Graph 5: Newcomers depicted as economic burden per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.000)**



Scrutinizing further, we seek to investigate whether migrants are considered to bring contagious diseases constituting a health threat to the host society. From the data gathered (graph 6), it is obvious that the Greek press does not spread such news to the public opinion. Even after the outburst of coronavirus, journalists did not depict newcomers as agents of diseases. More concretely, in a percentage of 93,7%, reporters did not associate refugees with health issues and avoided depicting them as a health threat. These statistical results reject the approach of our theoretical framework according to which migrants are considered to be “a risk to public health” (ter Wal 1996), relying on the public discourse. Hence, the rhetoric that immigrants are regarded as a public health threat is not strengthened, especially with covid-19 in the proscenium, hence, the part of the 4<sup>th</sup> hypothesis referring to newcomers as agents of diseases is rejected.

**Graph 6: Depiction of refugees as public health**



## **Hypothesis 5**

**According to our literature review we expect the news media to depict migrants as an anonymous “mass of unfortunates” on fragile vessels in urgent need of aid, namely the factness of the human bodily being relying fully on the humanitarian benevolence and charity of the West to stay alive (Vaughan-Williams, 2015).**

One final observation is that according to our literature review we expect immigrants to be underrepresented and depicted massively (abstractions - depersonalization) not specifically (Arendt, 1976). Anonymity after all, is one of the ways in which it is easier to ignore other humans or even treat them abhorrently and don't feel guilty about such a behavior. The personal is political, as in the case of Aylan Kurdi, the drowned body of the 3-year-old which changed people's sentiment by putting the human face of a helpless child at the front page of newspapers or as the top story in news bulletins and webpages globally (Berry et al, 2015). What's more, the anonymous body shifted to a named child and the depiction of migrants as a threat altered decisively to a post-humanitarian portraiture (Vis & Goriunova, 2015), cultivating cosmopolitan sensibilities. Refugees were aestheticized and hence, welcome to enter the borders and settle in. Nevertheless, the story was soon forgotten, or as Castoriadis (2010) assumes, the story faded into oblivion and migrants were depicted as faceless people, as numbers reaching the European borders. Hence, our research question “from a negative depiction until summer 2015, to solidarity starting in autumn, and hostility by the end of 2015 and beyond”, how can one explain the portrayal of refugees as well as to how it changed in the media?” is easily answered, since after the abovementioned striking event, that took place in September 2015 and solidarity was embraced through media narratives, soon afterwards it was forgotten and the vast majority of news items kept on referring to refugees as numbers not by their names, and anonymity reinforced negativity. Remarkably, in both news websites the “journey” theme and the daily arrivals of refugees and immigrants were mentioned more often than any other refugee issue as if trying to inform the public opinion (of the receiving country) of the cumulative number of migrants entering every day or week its borders. It would not be a reckless extravagance to say that most reports concentrated on the number of migrants entering the European or Greek borders, the number of newcomers going to refugee camps in mainland or islands, the digit of migrants been deported or the amount of people sleeping in squares and streets or refugee camps. People were treated as statistic numbers not as humans, bleak but intangible statistics, that simply presented the loss of lives within an undifferentiated mass

of nameless people. Generally, there was much reporting on numbers: number of migrants entering the borders, number of immigrants been expelled from the Greek territory, number of people drown in their attempt to reach the European ground in overcrowded inflatable, flimsy, rubber dinghies, among them children, the lifeless bodies of whom were washed up on shores. We quote the title of a random report in Kathimerini: “UN: 60 million refugees worldwide in 2015” (Kathimerini, 2015) and an abstract from a publication in Efsyn in order to support our assumption: “According to the NGO SOS Méditerranée, the Libyan and Italian authorities turned a deaf ear to calls for help and so at least 100 people were drowned helplessly, while they could have been saved” (Efsyn, 2021c). Hence, according to our sample, our fifth Hypothesis, that sought to analyze whether the news media depicted migrants as a “mass of unfortunates” on fragile vessels, that placed them within a visual regime of corporeal existence, what Mehta (1990) calls an “anthropological minimum”, i.e., the factness of the human bodily being relying fully on the humanitarian benevolence and charity of the West (Vaughan-Williams, 2015) to remain alive, was confirmed. Almost in our entire sample, migrants were anonymously and massively depicted, while they were trying by all means to find the promised land.

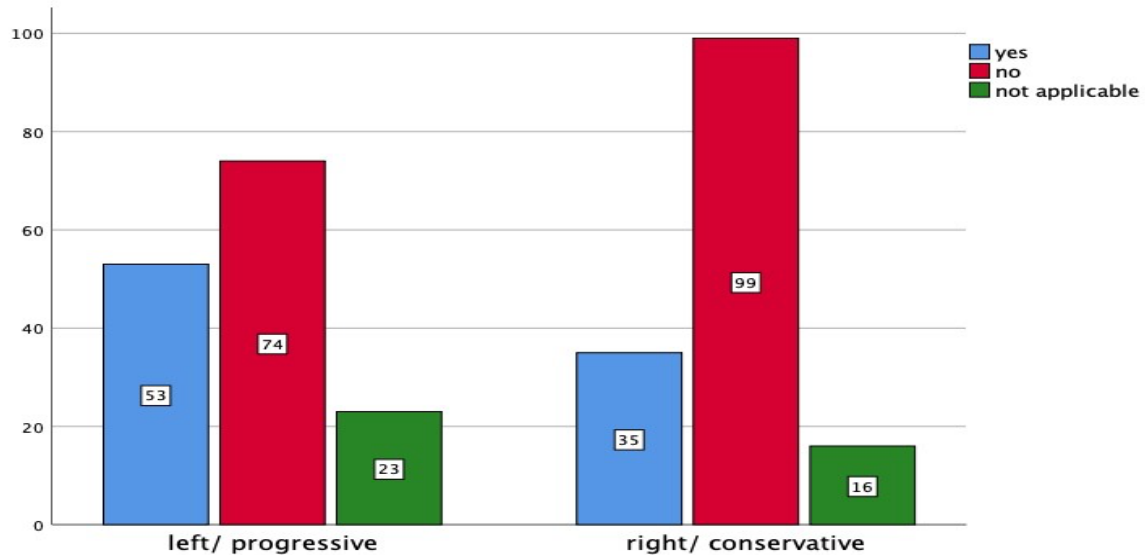
## 2.5 Further discussion of results

According to our theoretical framework, refugees were stowed away in squalid camps under substandard living conditions. For that reason, a variable connected to the abysmal conditions in camps could not be absent. Yet, the results do not confirm the initial hypothesis, that news reports will be focusing on the wretched conditions of the refugee camps, quite the contrary, as we can see from graph 7. The vast majority of news items in both media (74 in efsyn.gr and 99 in kathimerini.gr or 49.3% in efsyn.gr and 66.0% in kathimerini.gr) do not consider the conditions in refugee camps as abysmal. By employing Chi-Square Test, we will check whether efsyn.gr or kathimerini.gr describe more frequently or intensively that the conditions of the camps are abysmal. We state our H0 and HA (H0: The description of the conditions in camps as abysmal is not influenced by medium, HA: The description of the conditions in camps as abysmal is influenced by medium) and proceed with the crosstabulation. According to our sig. value  $0.014 < 0.05$ , hence, we reject our null hypothesis and therefore the medium influences the way in which the refugee camps are depicted, result crystalized in our data since the conservative



medium obscures more frequently the fact that refugees were forced to live in camps likewise prisons of souls.

**Graph 7: Abysmal conditions in refugee camps per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.014)**

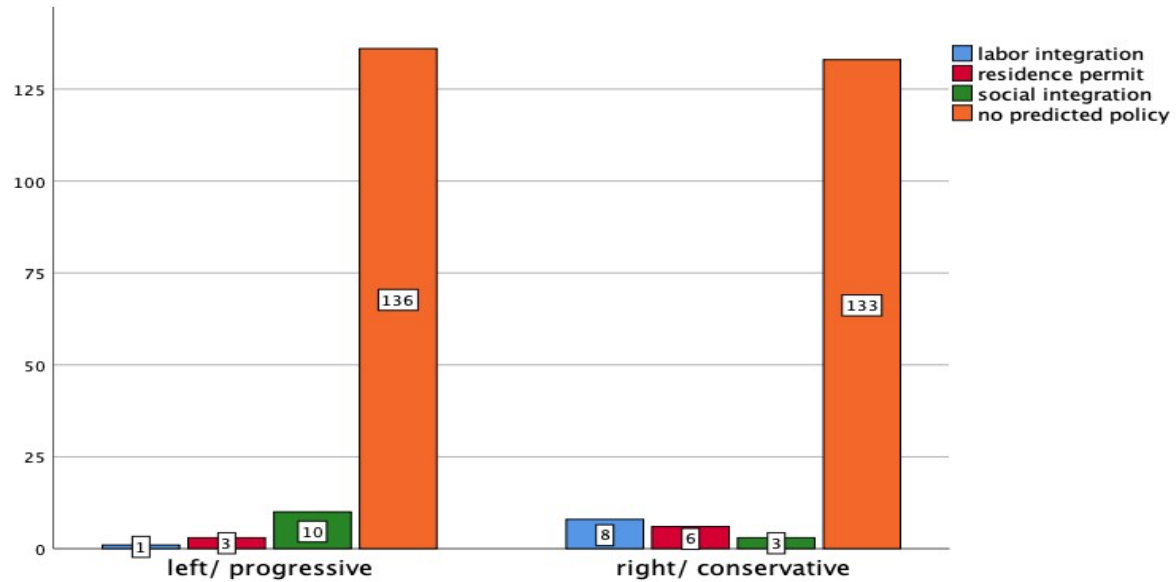


Analyzing further, we will try to cross tabulate the independent dichotomous variable “ideology of website” with the categorical variable “societal policies”, so as to find out whether the policies, that are reported, are associated with the ideology of the news sites. According to graph 8, there is an almost total lack of societal policies in both media, since in the vast majority of the news items of both media there is no reference to the policies a country should adopt so as to integrate successfully the migrants. In order to disconnect fully the policies from the news websites, we will proceed with the execution of Chi-Square Test. Firstly, we need to state our H0 and HA (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ). More concretely, according to our H0 we expect that: The societal policies do not depend on the news website, while according to our HA: The societal policies depend on the news website.

Before we analyze our significance value, we note that the crosstabulation of the categorical values give us a result of 50.0%, that constitutes our Chi-Square Test invalid. Hence, since the percentage of 50.0% of expected values count less than 5, our statistical test is not valid and therefore we seek to reduce the possible cells of our crosstabulation, since there are four cells that have expected count less than five. Given that we have this restriction, the only way to reduce the 50.0% is to reduce the number of the cells of the

variables with more categories. Consequently, we will decrease the possible categories of the societal policies, from four to two, creating a 2x2 table.

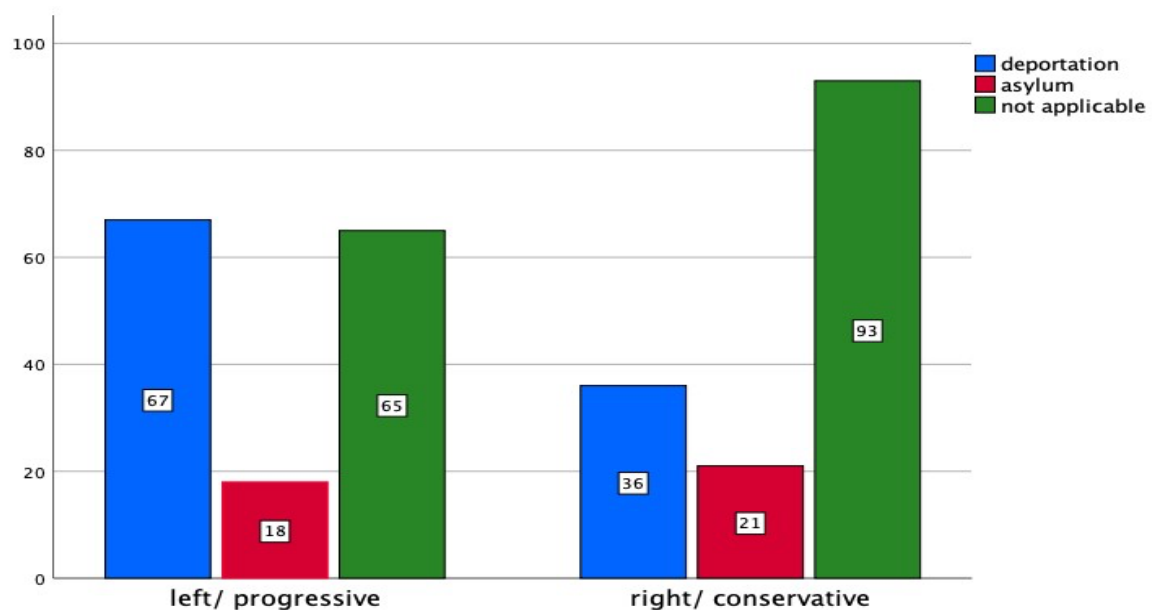
**Graph 8: Societal policies per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.705)**



After creating a 2x2 table and since our Chi-Square Test is valid, we further analyze the results, concluding that we fail to reject our  $H_0$ , since the Fisher's Exact Test sig. value is  $0.705 > 0.05$ . Hence, the societal policies do not depend on the ideology of the news outlet, result clearly presented in graph 8. In order to disconnect fully the ideology from the policies, we seek to analyze whether the governmental policies depend on the dichotomous variable, namely the ideology of the news outlets or not, by executing a Chi-Square Test, since the variables under investigation are qualitative (categorical). Hence, we will cross tabulate the media with the governmental policies suggested, so as to examine whether the policies recommended by the news sites are associated with their ideology or not. The theme of policies was not clearly evident in the media under investigation, that tended to focus mostly on the lack of government interventions to reduce the backlog of potential asylum seeker deportees. In their vast majority (as clearly shown in graph 9), the reports were not referring to asylum and migration policies the government should adopt, as if it was normal for the mass of people fleeing their homes in quest of a better life to continue to live in limbo for months or even years. When editors were referring to policies, deportation was more frequently suggested than granting asylum by editors of both media. As presented in graph 9, there are 67 news items (44.7%) in efsyn.gr suggesting deportation as a governmental policy to be followed compared to

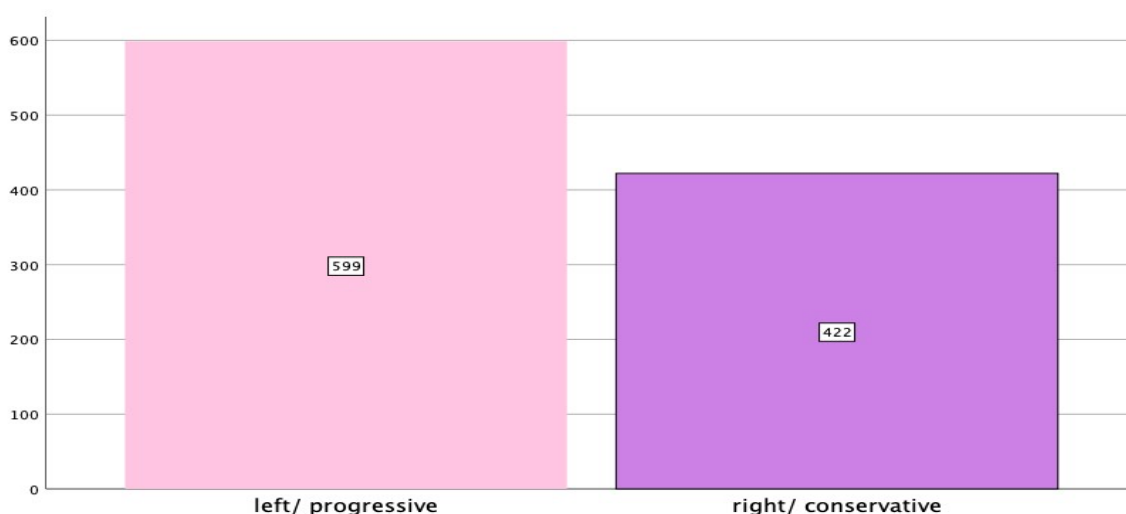
18 (12.0%), suggesting asylum procedures. In addition, there are 36 news items in kathimerini.gr suggesting deportation (24.0%) and 21, suggesting asylum (14.0%). A deeper examination could perhaps reveal the full extent of media's concerted efforts to deny or undercut access to asylum to newcomers. We proceed stating our H0 and HA (H0: The governmental policies are not influenced by the news website, and HA: The governmental policies are influenced by the news website) and proceed with the crosstabulation (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ). According to our sig. value  $0.001 < 0.05$ , hence we reject our null hypothesis in favor of the alternative hypothesis (Ferreira & Patino, 2015) and therefore, we conclude that the medium influences the governmental policies provided to public opinion. Yet, from our graph we notice that there are more reports from the progressive efsyn.gr, that recommend deportation (than those from kathimerini.gr), which was not expected, since we would expect Kathimerini to suggest deportation in more news items than Efsyn. Nevertheless, this outcome can easily be justified by the fact that Efsyn was accommodating the policies suggested or adopted by the government, increasing thus, the number of articles recommending deportation. We quote the title of a report: "The Council of Europe calls on Greece to 'end' the deportation of refugees" and a characteristic abstract to justify our argument: "In a letter dated May 3, Mijatović added that there had been an increase in reported cases in which refugees – migrants, who arrived in the Eastern Aegean islands from Turkey and some even registered as asylum seekers, were forced to board boats which were pushed back into Turkish waters" (Efsyn, 2021b).

**Graph 9: Governmental policies per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.001)**



Examining further the correlation between our literature review and the results that emerged from the statistical tests, we will seek to analyze whether the text length of the articles depends on the ideology of the medium or not. We will try to investigate which medium gives more space to the refugee issue, making expands reports. Taking into consideration that according to our H0: The text length does not depend on the medium and HA: The text length depends on the medium, we firstly have to analyze the results of the Levene's test, according to which  $0.22 > 0.05$ , hence we fail to reject our H0 and therefore the length of the articles does not depend on the medium. Since, equal variances were not assumed, the sig. value of the Independent Samples Test under scrutiny is  $0.000 < 0.05$ , hence we reject our H0 and consequently conclude that our HA is valid, namely the text length depends on the medium. Checking the mean (of words per medium), we conclude that the reports of the progressive medium are more extensive than those of the conservative ( $598.66 > 422.09$ ) as shown in graph 10.

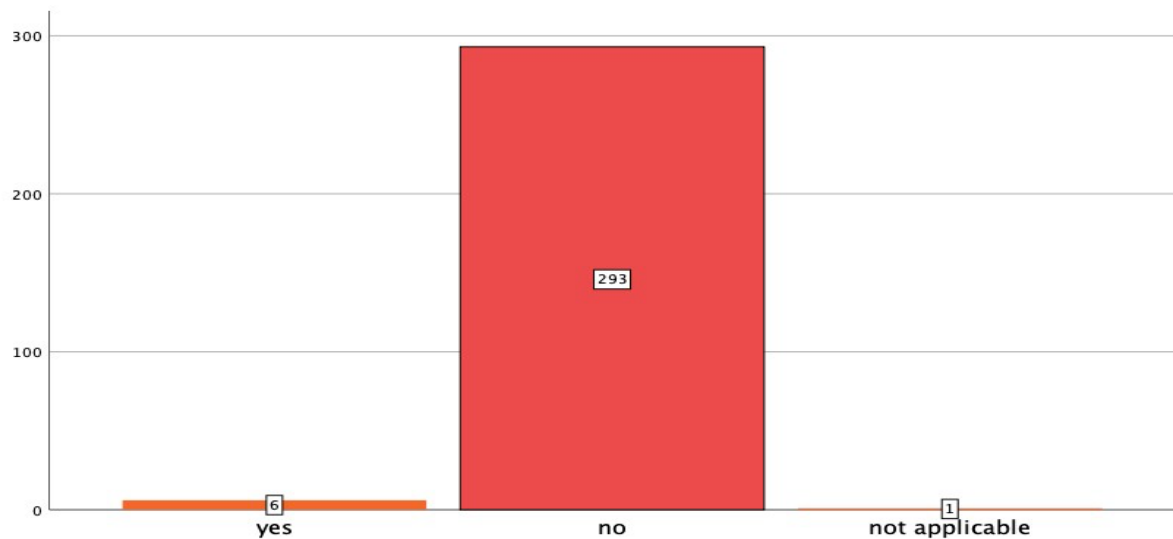
**Graph 10: Mean of words per news site (Independent Samples Test sig. value= 0.000)**



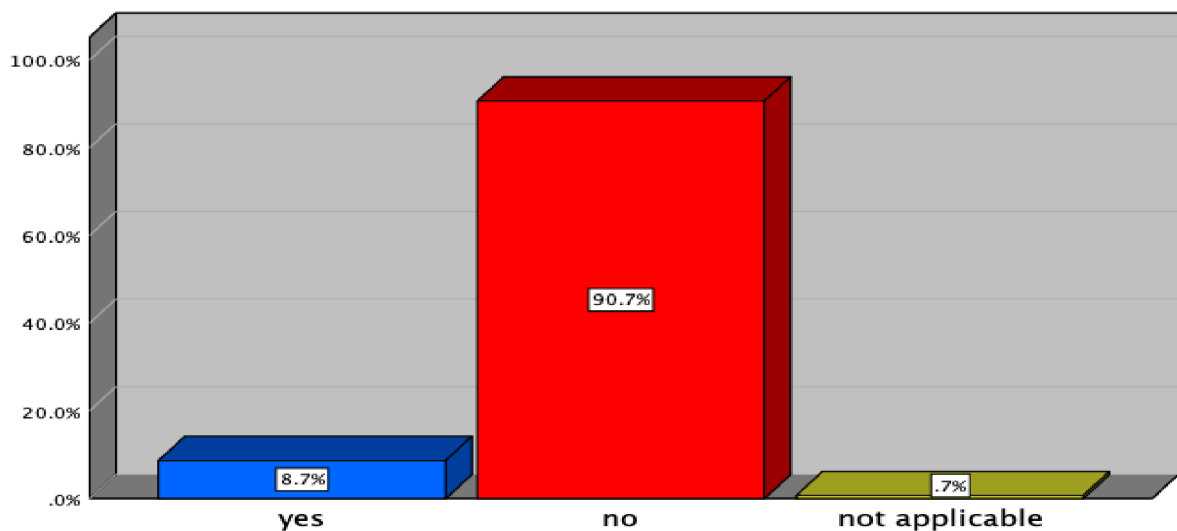
Furthermore, news items were supposed to depict locals as the “good” ones, who were invaded without a notice, while immigrants would not only be threatening the coherence, identity and culture of the hosts but also the income of locals, especially in tourist destinations. According to our theoretical framework, when global media made the refugee crisis in Greece their first story, daily stories told by local people were claiming that their rural economies were being ruined by migrants, who were destroying crops and stealing farm animals and that their income was declining due to the dramatic drop in

tourism, because the ongoing refugee crisis had scared most of its annual visitors away (Campana, 2020). Yet, the data from our sample did not confirm the abovementioned allegations as we can see from the graphs 11 and 12, where locals were not presented as heroes in 293 publications out of 300 nor newcomers were accused of causing declinations in the tourism rates (90.7%).

**Graph 11: Locals depicted as humanitarian heroes**



**Graph 12: Declination of tourism rates**

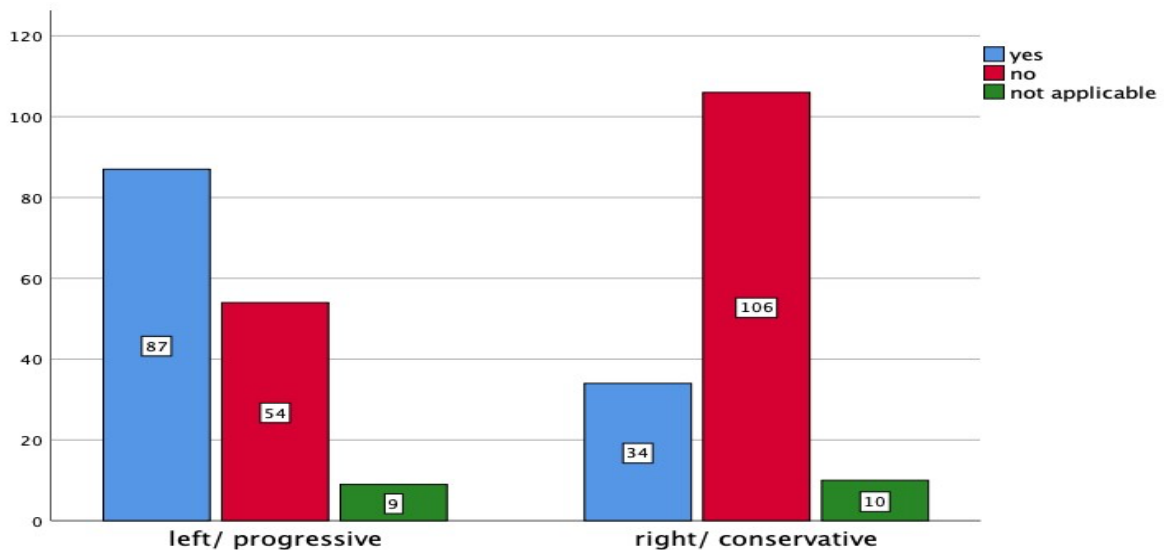


What's more, from our sample we can conclude that no effort to transform Greece into fortress was profoundly evident in the news items of the conservative Kathimerini, as if editors were claiming that this was an inefficient bureaucratic construction, since, in

their vast majority the articles under investigation did not refer to Europe as being a fortress or associated Greece with the repellent mechanisms that aimed at the securitization of its borders, which as Parker and Vaughan-Williams put it, has now become “*increasingly ephemeral and / or impalpable: electronic, non-visible, and located in zones that defy a straightforwardly territorial logic*” (2009, p. 583).

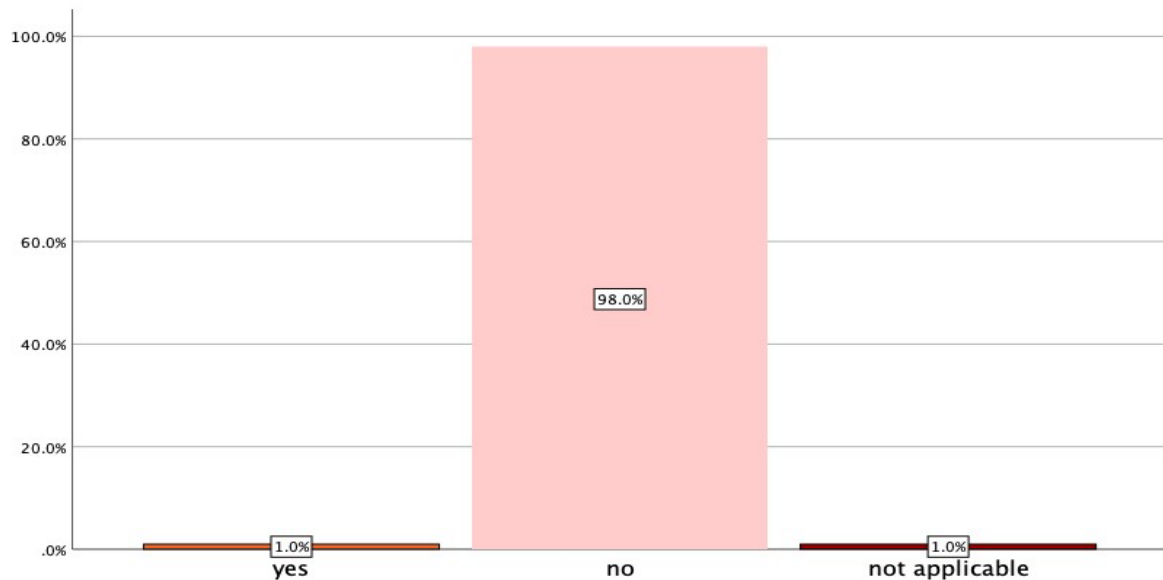
Although there have been moves to make asylum and refugee provisions more restrictive, migrants seem to find their way to Europe, hence they breach Europe’s border controls, even if they risk their lives. The “fortress Europe” thesis challenges our literature review, since at theoretical level it is argued that the reinforcement of EU borders has consequently led to the tightening of EU immigration policy. Yet, from the results that derive from our sample, journalists from kathimerini.gr seem to have a different attitude, presenting Europe as not fortified with fences and walls trying to curtail the massive influx, but as easily approachable destination. As shown in graph 13, there are 106 reports (70.7%) in kathimerini.gr, where Europe is not considered as fortress in contrast to 54 reports in efsyn.gr (36.0%). Scrutinizing further, we employ chi-square test, after stating the H0 and HA (H0: The presentation of Europe as fortress is not influenced by the news website, and HA: The presentation of Europe as fortress is influenced by the news website) and proceed with the crosstabulation (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ). According to our sig. value  $0.000<0.05$ , hence we reject our null hypothesis in favor of the alternative hypothesis (Ferreira & Patino, 2015) and therefore, we conclude that the medium influences the presentation of Europe, which is clearly proved by graph 13.

**Graph 13: Fortress Europe per news site (Chi-square p value= 0.000)**



According to our theoretical framework and Gillespie et al. (2016), media often deployed utilitarian narratives of abundant refugees using costly smartphones, namely luxurious goods which created fertile ground for the cultivation of hatred towards affluent-perceived newcomers. The digitally connected refugees were perceived as incompatible with the Eurocentric ideas of poor, unrooted and in risk humans fleeing from war, violation of human rights, and torture, underscoring the ironies or paradoxes of such a consumption of the refugee drama from the side of the Europeans. Such a representation would result in shifting the public opinion against them, potentially disqualifying asylum seekers from humanitarian help. Nevertheless, our 300-article sample does not provide us with such a depiction as shown in graph 14.

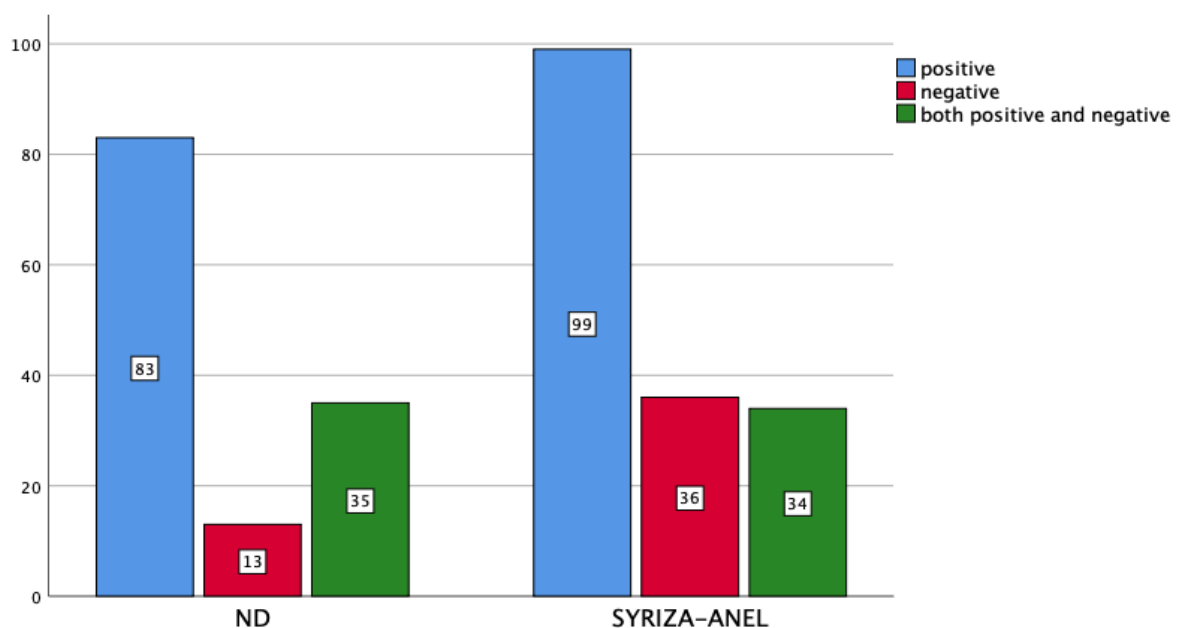
**Graph 14: Utilitarian narratives**



Last but not least, we will seek to scrutinize whether the positive or negative representation of refugees is associated with the period of time, when the political coalition SYRIZA/ANEL was in governance and afterwards, when the conservative political party New Democracy ascended to power. Hence, we will cross tabulate the tone of the article (positive, negative) with the time of the coverage, after separating the articles of both media into those written while Kyriakos Mitsotakis was the Prime Minister and those written while Alexis Tsipras was serving as Prime Minister. After defining our H0 and HA (H0: The representation of refugees is not associated with the political party / parties in power, HA: The representation of refugees is associated with the political party / parties in power) we proceed with the cross tabulation (significance level  $\alpha=0.05$ ).

According to our sig. value  $0.023 < 0.05$  we reject our null hypothesis in favor of the alternative hypothesis and therefore conclude that the representation of refugees is associated with the political party / parties in power, which is clearly proved by Graph 15, since we expected the depiction of newcomers to be positive while the leader of the radical left was in power, as he employed a more humane approach to the refugee issue in contrast to Kyriakos Mitsotakis, who characterized the issue as a migrant not a refugee one, welcoming warmly Frontex for its monitoring mechanisms. A characteristic quote is the following: “The decisive role of Frontex in restricting migratory flows to Greece in the last two years has been pointed out many times by Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis in statements during his coordination with the executive director of the organization, Fabrice Lazeri” (Kathimerini, 2021). The result is fully confirmed, since newcomers were represented in a positive way while the coalition SYRIZA/ANEL was in power more frequently than when New Democracy took over and more specifically, in 99 news items (of both media) in contrast to 83, as we can see from graph 15.

**Graph 15: Representation of refugees per government (Chi-square p value= 0.023)**





## Conclusions

This dissertation's overall research question was an attempt to define the way refugees / immigrants were represented in the Greek progressive and conservative press within the years 2015-2021, namely from the peak of the refugee crisis until recently. To answer this question, we content-analyzed 300 news articles uploaded in two of the biggest news websites of Greece most of which were firstly printed in the newspaper of the news outlet and then posted online.

As indicated by the results, the conservative *kathimerini.gr* represented refugees as a problem to the host society more frequently than the progressive *efsyn.gr* while there were more articles in *Efsyn* representing newcomers positively than in *Kathimerini*. What's more, media coverage was more positive towards refugees while the political coalition SYRIZA / ANEL was in power. Another research finding had to do with the terminology used to describe newcomers. What we have observed is that press made almost no attempt at classification, namely both media used the terms refugee and immigrant interchangeably, so as to characterize both regular and irregular newcomers, both those who should be granted asylum and those unqualified, yet in a tone that betrayed an effort not to state directly the stance of each media towards those desperate people. The vast majority of news items did not discern refugees from immigrants, albeit there was a covert tendency from the conservative *Kathimerini* to treat refugees more as irregular, since there was a higher percentage of irregular depiction than that of *Efsyn*. Hence, the research sub-questions "what type of stereotypes are evident in media representations of refugees / immigrants" and "how does the terminology used manifest according to the presentation of each medium" were answered.

The tone remained ambiguous and, whether out of incompetence or for reasons of political expediency, there was almost a total absence of reporting on good practices and policies to help refugees fully integrate and have a normal life with basic standards of living, jobs, education and access to social activities. Journalists advocated for practices that did not allow refugees to participate in the civic, economic and social life of the host society. Furthermore, both media were often reporting about the number of immigrants crossing the Greek borders, the number of immigrants drowned or the number of desperate people being deported back to Turkey, according to the agreement made between Turkey and the EU. This was further triggered by news items (within our sample)

transmitting political statements of New Democracy and Syriza. The first, that has in general favored a tough stance against immigration, accused Alexis Tsipras' left-wing government of being too soft and ideological on migration, while the second, that promoted humanitarian solidarity and inclusion, blamed the first that the situation deteriorated quickly after Mitsotakis took office. The proposed policies by ND focused on preventing refugees from coming to Greece and, consequently, to Europe, whereas, in the political discourse of SYRIZA, the proposed policies favored solidarity activities and actions that promoted the social inclusion of refugees. Yet, what was crystallized by the majority of the articles under scrutiny was that the conservative narrative of ND prevailed, since deportation was most frequently referred than asylum, while as far as societal policies were concerned, neither integration (social or labour) nor residence permit were sufficiently supported as if a spiral of silence was developed within editors showing unwillingness to express their opinions on such a controversial public issue. Limited journalistic voices were raised to speak up for asylum seekers so as not to occupy a precarious liminal position between host and country of origin, between legality and illegality waiting for years in detention centers for their cases to be decided (Bishop, 2020, p. 1094).

Albeit, our literature review on media and migration has long identified patterns of mass media coverage of migration issues and multiple influences of mass mediated communication on public perceptions and attitudes toward migration have been inspected, the situation of refugees depicted in our news sample has arguably brought about new dynamics in terms of effects providing a more humane facet of the migration and refugee issue (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). By conducting a content analysis of 300 news items, we demonstrated that the news sites under scrutiny did not represent refugees and immigrants as health and economic threat. In that vein, although it was shown that in our media coverage there were no triggering perceptions of migrants being an economic burden to the host society, nevertheless restrictive immigration policies were supported (Jackson & Esses, 2000). Neither threat-related media coverage was explicit nor dehumanizing language and thus, no justifications of newcomers' exclusion and deportation were linked to them (Dalsklev & Kunst, 2015). As it is further concluded from our data analysis, negative media frames (economic threat, public health threat), through which the conservative and progressive news outlets narrated the "refugee crisis", were largely limited, and in this context, a fairer and more inclusive and objective coverage of refugees and migrants across Europe was enhanced, while professional understanding of

reasons behind refugee and migrant mobility towards Europe was spotted as an effort to make migrants participants in rather than objects of media coverage (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2016).

In sum, media is an important agent when it comes to informing the public, since it influences or even shapes individual's perception towards refugees / immigrants and can configure public's views on the issue. Arguably, there is a bridge between the news and the public in interpreting the messages from the media outlets. Research perspectives shared the view that the dominant frames in Greek media portray refugees / immigrants as a "threat" to the host country, economic and health threat. Yet, data analysis shed light on this striking fact, since according to our statistical results and the content analysis on our 300 articles, such perceptions were not wholly adopted by the Greek press and in addition, although negative framing, especially after the outburst of coronavirus, could flourish, nevertheless such a correlation was not attempted and migrants were not depicted as transmitters of communicable diseases to host populations.

Finally, since the year 2021 marks two important anniversaries, the 70th anniversary of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 60th anniversary of the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, the media narratives should quantify more the scale of the refugee issue if they wish to align with the ancient Greek ἄσυλος, -ον (a-sylos, - on), that in practice means safe from violence, inviolable, when referring to persons who seek asylum (Chalkia & Giouzepas, 2018) without creating "*a system of selective inclusion and exclusion of specific areas and groups, which maintains and exacerbates inequality*" (Castles, 2003). After all, according to Stark's assessment (1991), real-world migration does not resemble the flow of water but the movement of the "*billiard ball, devoid of inner direction. The refugee path is governed by the kinetic factors of inertia, friction and the vectors of outside forces applied on them*" (Kunz, 1973, p. 131). May these outside forces help refugees defy the odds and achieve great things.

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## **Appendix**

### **1.1 Research (coding) protocol**

**1) What news website is the article from?**

- a) Left / progressive
- b) Right / conservative

**2) What kind of publication is the research based on?**

(Opinion article, interview, report, other) **3) What**

**is the length of the text (word count)?**

**4) Date of publication?**

**5) What is the gender of the editor?**

- a) Male
- b) Female
- c) Not referred

**6) Based on the content, what is the tone of the article regarding migration? a)**

Positive

- b) Negative
- c) Both (positive and negative)

**7) How are migrants presented in news articles?**

- a) regular
- b) irregular

c) Both regular and irregular

d) Not referred

**8) Do news items encourage empathy/solidarity towards immigrants? a)**

Yes

b) No

c) Not referred

**9) What policies should be adopted by the government for migrants?**

a) Deportation

b) Asylum

c) Not applicable

**10) Are the migrants characterized as an economic burden to the already impoverished Greek economy and hence undesirable?**

a) Yes

b) No

c) Not referred

**11) What is the best societal policy to be adopted for immigrants/refugees, if they stay in Greece?**

a) Labor Integration

b) Residence permit

c) Social integration

d) No predicted policy

**12) Are there utilitarian narratives about abundant refugees in news items? a)**

Yes

b) No

c) Not applicable

**13) Do media outlets employ dehumanizing language?**

a) Yes

b) No

**14) Are the residents in receiving countries depicted as humanitarian heroes and welcoming?**

a) Yes

b) No

c) Not applicable

**15) Do media encourage the creation of a fortress Europe so as to curtail the massive influx?**

a) Yes

b) No

c) Not applicable

**16) Are migrants resented in media stories as a problem rather an advantage to host society?**

a) Yes

b) No

c) Not applicable

**17) Are there allegations of misconduct, violence and attacks against migrants? a)**

Yes

b) No

**18) Do media report that refugees are detained in hotspot camps under abysmal conditions?**

a) Yes

b) No

c) Not applicable

**19) Are migrants depicted as a risk to public health bringing infections, especially after the outburst of the pandemic of covid-19, and accused of dispersing the new virus?**

a) Yes

b) No

c) Not applicable

**20) Are migrants accused of being responsible for the declination of tourist rates, in places where they are accommodated in camps?**

a) Yes

b) No

c) Not applicable

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