

“THE ROCKY PATH TO THE PROMISED LAND”

**How has media framing affected the portrayal of the refugee
crisis in Greece**

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Abstract

Objectives: The goal of this research is to investigate how the refugee crisis is framed by Greek media. Comparisons between the first and the second refugee flow in Greece are made for the first time and the trajectory of the refugee crisis is investigated. As refugee waves are trying to enter Europe continuously, the tackling of the refugee crisis is more salient than ever.

Method: Using media framing the most prominent codes per year are identified and the tone of voice is revealed in relation to contents related to the refugee crisis. In order to conclude how articles have been framed a total of 240 was utilized, coded and analyzed spanning between 2015-2020.

Results: The results of this research indicate that positive content codes initially prevailed, yet by 2020 negative content increased., Valence presented framed refugees in a negative light at times and thus promoting a negative general sentiment towards refugees. Moreover, fluctuations were observed while comparing different years with 2020 marking the most notable.

Conclusions: Though the beginning of the refugee crisis was met with positivity and sensitization, by 2020 the sentiment is turning towards negative. It was proven that refugees were not framed in a negative light, however, the manner in which information is presented and Europe's closed borders is painting an unfavourable image towards refugees.

Implications: The present study emphasizes the need for raising awareness towards the European Union to open its borders to the second refugee flow. Therefore, pro-active campaigns to equally divide and integrate refugees in Europe could potentially make aware and provoke European leaders of the need to address the refugee crisis.

Keywords: Refugee crisis, Greece, Media Framing, Refugees.

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1. Introduction

In 2015, the European Union faced the biggest refugee flow since World War II (BBC News, 2016). Refugees and immigrants from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Morocco and several others have fled and are still fleeing their countries in the best effort to live a better life. Refugees are fleeing their countries to escape war, violence and persecution (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). The vast majority of refugees originates from Syria where people have fled their country due to the civil war between rebel brigades and government forces (Chtouris & Miller, 2017). According to the UN commission (OHCHR, 2020) of inquiry, war crimes have been committed by both parties, namely murders, torture, rapes and enforced disappearance. Therefore, over the course of 2015, refugees started making their way to Europe. In most cases, refugees' routes are travelling to Turkey and from there they are trying to enter Greece, either by sea or by land and relocate to other European countries (Trilling, 2018). As a consequence, according to a Greek newspaper (Kathimerini, 2015), in 2015 836.000 refugees entered Greece. The people having already entered Greece are usually placed into refugee camps on the islands or the mainland waiting to be relocated in other countries.

1.1 *The refugee crisis in 2020*

Since the 28th of February 2020, refugees have been trying to enter through Greece's northern borders. Nevertheless, this time all European countries have closed their borders to refugees (Kathimerini, 2020). The refugee population in Turkey has reached the record number of 4.5 million and the Turkish media are publishing fake news that the borders to Greece and Europe have now re-opened (Clapp, 2020). This has resulted in masses of refugees trying to enter the Greek borders (Tzavella, 2016). They are trying to enter in every way possible and Greeks on the island as well as the mainland have been trying to deny them access (Shultz et al., 2020). The Greek government is denying their entrance and the Turkish government is refusing to take them back and is pushing them to pass the Greek borders by destroying their camps (Trilling, 2018). Refugees are being treated as a political game between Turkey and Europe. Greece's inability to individually tackle a second refugee flow has pushed the Greek authorities as well as the population to deny refugees' access.

Europe's borders are, however, not open for refugees. According to Clapp "The EU is shutting its doors, disregarding its international legal commitments to those fleeing conflict, and failing to live up to the values allegedly at its core," (AHVAL, 2020). If Greece opens its borders to refugees, they will unavoidably stay in Greece as no other country will accept them.

Europe is solely relying on the Greek resistance to push them back (Shultz et al., 2020). Turkey is treating refugees as geopolitical pawns for their own vested interests states the Greek prime minister (CNN, 2020). Furthermore, the prime minister emphasized Greece's rights to protect its borders just like every other European country.

1.2 *Challenges of immigration and integration*

Refugees all around Greece are forced to live under inhumane circumstances. Areas such as the port of Piraeus, Eidomeni and the islands of Lesbos and Chios became symbolic of a tragic situation (Chtouris & Miller, 2017). In Eidomeni more than 13,000 refugees have been gathered and 5,000 in Piraeus were required to stay in unhygienic and unaccommodating infrastructures. Refugees started accumulating in the aforementioned areas due to the closed borders in Hungary, North Macedonia, Serbia and Austria (Chtouris & Miller, 2017). Accordingly, refugee camps on the islands of Lesbos and Chios with a capacity of 1000 people are overflowed with approximately 5000, overly surpassing their capacity (Karagiorgas & Kitsikopoulos, 2020). During this refugee crisis and the political games between Europe and Turkey what seems to be forgotten is the fact that human lives are at stake. Refugees, men, women and children are exposed to the cold, have fled their houses and are hoping for a new chance yet are kept under inhumane circumstances. Refugees seeking safe haven in poor or rich countries are suffering, living in extreme conditions of poverty and in a, more or less, alien environment.

1.3 *Public Sentiment*

Refugees' amassment has caused severe complications in Greece. The accumulation of refugees in camps emanated to the "decongestion of the local societies" (Chtouris & Miller, 2017). Intense discussions and questions were raised around the number of refugees in refugee camps. Public figures such as mayors, representatives and civilians, requested the relocation of refugees to more suitable establishments where people can live under humane circumstances. More specifically, according to Hangartner, Dinas, Marbach, Matakos and Xefteris (2018), the public sentiment towards refugees depends on the respective contact with them. As stated by Hangartner et al. (2018), exposure to and contact with immigrants raised feelings of insecurity and a predisposition against refugees in the Greek population. For example, while investigating hostility on islands directly exposed to refugees, an increase was observed towards refugees, asylum seekers and Muslims (Hangartner et al., 2018). On the contrary, Coletto, Esuli,

Lucchese, Muntean, Narding, Perego and Renso (2016), in their study found that the internal sentiment of the Greek population towards refugees remains positive which, however, varies depending on the amount of interaction between Greeks and refugees (Pappas & Papatheodorou, 2017).

1.4 *The Role of the Media*

The primary source for establishing an opinion towards the refugee crisis for Greek people is the media. From November 2015 to March 2016 the media were concerned with two main topics. Firstly, the inhumane living conditions of refugees and secondly, the security threats that refugees pose to the nearby areas (Chtouris & Miller, 2017). According to Bosilkov & Drakaki (2018), it is debatable whether the media at the time managed to accurately paint the picture of the refugee crisis and reflect the complexity of migration which sometimes resulted in prejudice and discrimination towards refugees. How the refugee stories are told has been instrumental in highlighting their arrival, the cause of their arrival as well as their prospective integration to the Greek community (Kuttschreuter, Gutteling & de Hond, 2011). For example, focusing on the hurdles of their journey and their life in Syria is promoting sensitivity, whereas mentioning that among refugees arriving there could be ISIS supporters is promoting a sense of fear and insecurity. The previous example highlights the difference in tone of voice. According to the European Commission (2011), statements as such are “a key source of knowledge through which the continent’s collective perceptions of refugees emerge”. Tone of voice influences to a great extent attitudes and perceptions towards refugees and the refugee crisis (Corbu, Buturoiu & Durach, 2017). The media have the power, through the manner in which information is presented, to shape the audience’s perspectives towards refugees and stir them towards a certain direction. Moreover, the second variable that affects readers’ perspectives is content. Content refers to the subject presented in articles and the events described. Coverage at the beginning of a crisis is faced with event-related articles whereas, as time is passing, the focus shifts to either trending topics or solutions (Kuttschreuter, Gutteling & de Hond, 2011). The question therefore is, has media framing affected the portrayal of the refugee in Greece and has framing changed over time from 2015 to 2020?

2. Theoretical Framework

The uncertainty created by the arrival of refugees in 2015 till 2020, gave the media the opportunity to shape citizens' perspectives of what that meant for their countries. The role of media became inherently crucial due to the rapid development of events in the second half of 2015. Additionally, the fact that Greeks were unacquainted to such events, turned them towards the media in order to make sense of events (Stevens & Dimitriadi, 2018). The principal cause behind the trust of media by the public is the fact that they constitute a credited source which allows people to make sense and inferences of information at hand (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2017). The public, therefore, was in need of information fast to make sense of events and to become familiar with refugees.

At the time, there was a significant difference between media refugee representation in Western Europe and Eastern Europe. There were observed differences between countries that were receiving refugees and countries that were not (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2017). More specifically, according to Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017), Western European Countries such as Germany and France were focusing on securing and protecting their respective countries. Eastern European countries such as Serbia and Greece focused on helping and aiding refugees. The following example indicates the role of the press in relation to refugees, in Germany. At the beginning of 2016, it appeared that the majority of the German population was welcoming and positive towards the wave of refugees arriving in Europe. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel's statement "we can do it" being the epitome of welcomes (Dostal, 2017). However, in 2017 after New Year's Eve, there were alleged cases of hundreds of male migrants and refugees harassing women in Cologne. Such events became a catalyst for refugee perception and sparked a sense of nationalism in the German population (von Hermanni, H., & Neumann, R. 2018; Fotaki, 2019). It was never confirmed whether refugees were responsible for the crimes committed or if the accusations were false, however, the population believed that refugees were responsible.

2.1 *Stereotyping*

Stereotyping has received considerable attention as it allows the population to make inferences about refugees. Stereotyping, according to social psychologists, evolves around interpreting the representation of outgroups as biased and is characterized by two biases (Figgou, Sapountzis, Bozatzis, Gardikiotis & Pantazis, 2011). Firstly, the differences between social groups and secondly the explanation of bias attributing social differences to race (Figgou, et

al., 2011). Tajfel and Wilke (1963), argue that the first refers to the emphasis placed on the differences between social groups and the need to simplify and scrutinize the environment and the people around them (as cited in Figgou, et al., 2011). Bias attributing social differences to race are replacing rational factors in the explanation of behaviour with factors appropriate only phenomenally (Figgou, et al., 2011). Stereotyping results in bigotry and prejudice towards refugees based on the uncertainty surrounding them. The image media has given them is thus condemning cultural diversity. Respectively and in relation to the refugee crisis, there were cases of foreigners such as the incidents in Cologne, Germany where refugees were stigmatized, pointed towards and the actions of the few were generalized to the many making them unwelcome. The ambiguity created around the appearance of refugees as to political, societal and economic implications upon respective countries, directed people to “medially communicate interpretations in times of distress” (Perse, 2001 as cited in Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). In other words, through portrayal, the media create an image which allows its audience to develop a sense of who we are and who we are not (Cottle, 2000: 2).

2.2 *Media framing*

The media poses as the sole means of constructing a socially shared understanding and a representation of refugees. Thus, parts of their audience are blindly adopting their line of thought and reasoning (Simon & Xenos, 2000). This understanding results in further consequences for attitudes, emotions as well as behaviours towards refugees (Quinsat, 2014).

The salience of a topic is equally important to the content. Media framing accentuates certain aspects of an issue through the means by which they are presented (Kuttschreuter, Gutteling & de Hond, 2011). The main theme is portrayed, and then particular elements are emphasized. In framing, journalists are painting a picture of a particular topic by supplying their interpretation of it to the audience (Kuttschreuter, Gutteling & de Hond, 2011). According to Vreese (2005), through framing, “the media employ a particular interpretational lens in reporting by emphasizing certain aspects of an issue and omitting others”. Respectively, the media have emphasized the refugee journey, the Syrian war or the integration of refugees in host countries to promote a certain perspective to the public (Stevens & Dimitriadi, 2018). Different frames and the respective positivity or negativity that the journalist’s statements are conveying are enhancing different perspectives. Frames can be described as a schemed

interpretation that advocates certain perspectives (Entman, 1993). Framing depends on communication and can thus be divided into two categories, frame-building and frame setting.

Frame building depends on the interaction between journalists and societal issues. The process of framing may occur in a number of locations such as the text, the receiver, the culture and frames influence the structural qualities of the text (Vreese, 2005) Additionally, the frames represent journalists understanding of events (Quinsaat, 2014). The frames reinforce the journalists' beliefs on how an event should be covered and presented to the public (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Frame setting, respectively, is the process through which the media frames interact the receivers understanding and prior knowledge (Kuttschreuter, Gutteling & de Hond, 2011). Each person, depending on their background and their critical thinking, receives information differently (Quinsaat, 2014). Consequently, citizens' understanding of refugees' arrival affects their integration in society as acceptance, partly, depends on the way in which refugees have been projected by the media (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

2.3 *Tone of Voice*

While recognizing the importance of frames, the labels used by the media and politicians do not only label the event of the refugee crisis, but also refugees themselves. For example, the term "refugee" implies that people have forcibly flown their countries whereas the term "migrant" implies that the person has voluntarily left their country (Balshetwar, Tuganayat & Regulwar, 2019). By using either of the two words, automatically a perception is formulated in the minds of the audience (Heidenreich, Lind, Eberl & Boomgaarden, 2019; (Joris, d'Haenens, Van Gorp & Mertens, 2018). In other words, the term migrant, implying that the person voluntarily escaped the country, is usually embedded in less sympathetic comments (Lee & Nerghes, 2017). Contradictory, the term refugee, implying that the person forcibly left their country, is usually embedded in sympathetic comments (Lee & Nerghes, 2017). What the previous example signifies, is the tone of voice a text or news carry and that it can be connotated positively, negatively, neutrally or ambiguously.

Tone of voice belongs to the category of "humanics" and it addresses emotions which are equally important to functional cues (Barcelos, Dantas & Sénécal, 2018). According to Gortner and Pennebaker (2003) the first days of an incident indicate a positive tone of voice. The information presented is sensitized and more emotional towards the content. However, as time passes, the tone of voice of articles becomes distanced and desensitized as well as more rational (Kuttschreuter, Gutteling & de Hond, 2011). Tone of voice plays a crucial role in media

framing as it influences the receivers' responses and perspectives towards the discussed topic (Barcelos, Dantas & Sénécal, 2018). There is a shortage of studies delving deeper into the tone of voice of refugee frames (Wilson, Wiebe & Hoffmann, 2005). Frames do not only define and describe refugees, but they may also describe the tone of voice towards refugees gathered by the population of a specific host country sparked by the media (Khan et al., 2016).

2.4 *Refugee media frames*

In order to establish which perspectives were enhanced and emphasized by the Greek media, identification of media frames among articles are utilized. Certain frames have been appearing across media in European countries which are creating a sense of ambiguity towards refugees (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2017). In the following paragraphs, examples of frames used will be discussed.

First, an example of frames to describe refugees is the “*Victimization*” frame (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Though a level of diversity was expected, refugees were either seen as vulnerable arrivals or as dangerous arrivals (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). This ambiguity has been manipulated into feelings of an incoming threat. A threat capable of affecting the physical, economic and cultural well-being of each country (Kourachanis, 2018). Victimization frames directly connect refugees with powerlessness against their arrival (Van Assche, Roets, Dhont & Van Hiel, 2014) and will be used as a basis for the present study as well. Moreover, the victimization frame is emphasizing the life-threatening conditions refugees are facing in their countries as well as the journey and the struggles they have to surpass to reach Europe (Joris et al., 2018). Refugees are portrayed as “passive actors in need of help who are on the move as an inevitable response to what has happened to them” (Joris et al., 2018). Victim phrase is meant to increase compassion and the emotional human side in readers as it brings out an emotional angle to the presentation of an event (Joris et al., 2018).

Second, the “*Economization*” frame appears to be salient and in different articles, it can be twofold. On the one hand, politicians and economists believed that refugees could contribute to the economic development of the EU as workers and “net contributors to the public purse” (Costea & Costea, 2015). On the other hand, refugees are perceived as an economic burden (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). With European countries closing their borders, the majority of refugees is remaining in Greece. However, refugees are still aiming at relocating to more prosperous European countries (Kourachanis, 2018). Greece is still undergoing one of the biggest economic depressions in history, making it difficult not only to meet the needs of

refugees but also 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 on the Greek media but European media as well repeatedly and will be further investigated in the present study.

Third, one of the main topics discussed by Greek newspapers is the inhumane conditions under which refugees are kept in refugee camps. “Kathimerini” and “To Vima” the two most famous Greek newspapers were at the time publishing news criticizing the conditions under which refugees were kept. Specifically, the newspaper “To Vima” compared the hot spots to favelas. Greek media focused on “hotspots” rather than “immigrants” or “refugees” and specifically they focused on the frame “*Dehumanization*” which refers to the living conditions in the hotspots (Kourachanis, 2018). Refugees are living in camps, orphanages and other disused buildings lacking both health and social services to meet their needs (Fotaki, 2019). Furthermore, schooling, conditions for women and children and food rations appeared to be topics that diverted the Greek media (Kourachanis, 2018). Words such as “refoulment”, “integration” and “relocation” also made their appearance on Greek news stimulating discussions on procedural actions and emphasizing that refugees and immigrants were “trapped” in Greece (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). “Borders” was a word that made a very strong appearance in the releases at the time (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). Especially, between the borders of Greece and North Macedonia where refugees were forcefully obstructed from passing through (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). Heretofore, refugees have been presented as victims to the Greek public pointing towards the dehumanizing circumstances they are living under.

Fourth, a frequently voiced point regarding the integration of refugees in Europe is “*Multiculturalism*”. Many European countries have been struggling with the settlement of refugees and how to facilitate their integration. Multiculturalism has been utilized by the media as a positive frame (Berry, 2011). Integration heavily relies on learning about refugees’ culture and their norms; however, it also requires being open to the norms of the newly introduced and advocating towards multiculturalism (Korac, 2003). When referring to multiculturalism, most articles are addressing children and their integration to society as it is easier and more feasible to abide change at a younger age than it is when a human being has already formed his or her beliefs (Lunneblad, 2017). Multiculturalism strived to make public institutions more inclusive towards different cultures and ethnic and religious diversity (Joppke, 2017). Though media around Europe have expressed their concerns regarding the refugees’ integration, examples in Greece and in Sweden appear to lead the way. More specifically, primary schools in Greece,

through their openminded policy, have managed to integrate refugee kids. Some of the kids stated, “I do not believe that origin determines our friends, what determines them is their character” (Kathimerini, 2015). Cases of multiculturalism are a very important step that should be taken by most European countries and has, one way or another, been referred to by the media on multiple occasions.

Fifth, the “*Threat*” frame actualises and provides insights into potential feelings of uncertainty and bifurcation in Europe. A personification strategy has been applied throughout the Greek media, separating “us” and “them”, to distinguish and differentiate between “us” Europeans and “them” the refugees (Triandafyllidou, 2017). The term “them” referring to the refugees is associated and negatively connotated with the notion “the undeserving ones” (Triandafyllidou, 2017). The aforementioned distinction leads to the frame “threat” as differentiating between “us” Europeans and “them” refugees promotes a culture of fear towards otherness and specifically refugees (Postelnicescu, 2016). Interestingly enough, countries such as Italy and Greece have a different association between “us” and “them”. For the countries in the frontline, “them” is also Europe, which has left them to singlehandedly deal with the flows of refugees arriving on their coastlines without sustenance (Triandafyllidou, 2017).

Sixth, apart from the financial repercussions host countries had to bear, the arrival of refugees was additionally followed by political repercussions (Dinas, Matakos, Xefteris & Hangartner, 2019). Jorris et al. (2018), in their study, investigated frames in European news coverage in 2015. An example of those is “*Conflict*”. Structural violence in refugee camps has been investigated by various reports. Terrorist attacks and cases of harassment that have been noted in Europe by refugees have dramatically increased (Jensen, 2019). Cases of women and children in refugee camps being raped by refugees are making the front pages. However, also cases of parents selling out their children in return for money have been noted (Jensen, 2019). According to research conducted by Al Jazeera (2017), 46% of women feel unsafe in refugee camps. Such incidents have raised questions as of refugees’ morality and criminal minds. Various studies, such as the one by Klaus, Lévy, Rzeplińska and Scheinost (2018), point out feelings of hostility towards refugees by the population of their host countries. It was indicated that, from the people that they studied, a striking 93% described the issue of immigration and 89% the issue of security as very urgent (Lévy, Rzeplińska & Scheinost, 2018).

Seventh, according to Dinas, Matakos, Xefteris and Hangartner (2019), there was increased support towards extreme-right parties after refugee exposure which led to a 40% increase to electoral support of such parties (Dinas et., 2019). This is called nationalism; nationalism is a crisis of identity whilst taking pride in your own nation (Postelnicescu, 2016).

Therefore, “*National Identity*” is a crucial frame which can have very serious political and societal reverberations. When refugees are presented by the media as a threat to the host country, the populations’ national identity and integrity are threatened (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). However, refugee perspectives among the Greek population vary, depending on their place of residence as well as the familiarity and interaction people have had with refugees. More specifically, based on the online newspaper Lifo (2020), approximately 65% of islanders feel threatened by refugees due to conflicts with, as well as among refugees. It was noted that 9 out of 10 people assess that refugee influx has negatively affected their areas of residence (Lifo, 2020). Research has shown that only as much as 13% of the Greek population studied is positive towards refugees (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). In the face of uncertainty and fear, peoples’ first instinct is to reinstate safety (Postelnicescu, 2016). They, hence, place their trust in leaders who are able to promise security and protection from influxes. As Europe is unstable and there is no united front towards the refugee crisis, nationalist right-wing parties are flourishing. People view them as safe haven among waves of instability and refugees (Postelnicescu, 2016).

Eighth, the prolonged displacement of refugees in camps, in relation to the hostility promoted by areas in Greece that have been the entry points for refugees, raise the next frame. Namely “*Moral Responsibility*”, refers to who is subject to refugees’ aid and integration (Triandafyllidou, 2017). By the term moralizing, the topic of moral responsibility arises as to who is responsible for the flows of refugees along with their integration and required services (Triandafyllidou, 2017). The refugees travelling to Europe are seen as victims and respectively as a mass rather than individual lives with different backgrounds and characteristics (Khan et al., 2016). Very little blame is placed upon the European Union and individual European countries in general whose reluctance and hesitancy to respond to the refugee claims is largely responsible for the refugee accumulation at the European coastline and thus prolonging their agony instead of pacifying it. By means of this frame the different European values are meant to be emphasized and their individual twists.

2.5 *This study*

The present study makes three main contributions. Firstly, though various great studies have been conducted examining the topic of refugees and immigrants trying to enter Europe, no study so far has solely examined frames in Greek media towards refugees. As Greece has been one of the two most affected countries by the refugee crisis, with over 2 million people having

been submitted to Europe since 2015, it is distinctly different to other European countries (Dinas, Matakos, Xeferis & Hangartner, 2019). Most studies conducted, have focused on comparing different media news and frames among European countries. Hence, no study has solely focused on the effect of the refugee crisis on the Greek population in relation to media and framing. Secondly, this study aims to not only investigate the news released in 2015 but also study the second refugee flow in the Northern part of Greece for two reasons. The second refugee flow occurred after the agreement between Turkey and the European Union regarding refugees. Furthermore, refugees were pushed only towards the Greek borders and not towards Bulgaria which also skirts the Turkish borders. The present study, thus, aims at providing an overview of the refugee crisis as it has spanned from the beginning of 2015, until February 2020 by also mapping the different stages as presented by the media. Thirdly, the content presented during the refugee crisis in relation to the tone of voice per year will also be compared for the first time in Greece. By investigating the content and the valence of the refugee crisis the perspectives supplied by journalists will be accentuated and thus inferences will be made regarding the portrayal of refugees.

3. Methods

For the purposes of this study, a media analysis was employed. The media analysis consisted of 200 articles in total which were investigated in relation to framing of refugees in Greek media.

3.1 *Corpus*

In order to analyze the frames used, articles that are accessible to the Greek population were analyzed. These articles were accessed through the Google search engine. The majority of the articles investigated were articles of printed Greek newspapers, and online sites. Traditional media are frequently used as a trustworthy source which allows a representable image to be drawn, however, a combination of both traditional media and new media provides a more complete picture of the refugee crisis. The three most famous newspapers in Greece were utilized for the articles used, «η Καθημερινή» (I Kathimerini), «Το Βήμα» (To Vima), «Τα Νέα» (ta Nea), and three online newspapers “Human Rights Watch”, “Protagon” and “Efimerida”.

The selection was based on news articles that were published between 2015 and 2020 on the topic of the refugee crisis. The following search terms were used to find relevant news articles: “refugees” “refugees AND Greece” “migrants” “refugee crisis 2015” “refugees AND Europe”. Furthermore, articles released in the span between 2015-2020 were employed and 40 articles per year were selected. To find said articles, the aforementioned search as well as the terms “refugees 2015”, “refugees-immigrants 2016”, “refugees-immigrants 2017”, “refugees-immigrants 2018”, “refugees-immigrants 2019”, “refugees-immigrants 2020” were utilized. As the results for every search term were more than 8000 articles, a selection of 10 per newspaper and 2 per search page was made. The newspapers used are 6 in total, however, one of the online newspapers, “Human Rights Watch”, did not produce as many results and therefore fewer articles were employed from the particular newspaper.

3.2 *Codebook*

Prior to analyzing the data, an initial codebook had to be established which includes the main codes that the researcher is looking for in the articles. These codes are then marked on the text and if there are new codes, they need to be inserted into the Atlas codebook for future use. Coding is a means by which data is being analyzed and transformed into a set of information, which can be in the form of text such as articles or transcripts, to a set of categories by

implementing the same incentive (Allen, 2017). The data is therefore categorized and sorted and through coding, the phenomenon that is being researched is emphasized. For this study, deductive coding was used (Allen, 2017). Deductive coding is a method through which a general set of codes is already determined prior to the coding process. In addition to deductive coding, open coding is used. It may be the case that certain articles provide a new perspective which should be taken into consideration and perhaps made into a code (Kuttschreuter, Gutteling & de Hond, 2011). Open coding is susceptible to emerging codes based on the information in the subjective article (Rivas, 2012). Determining a general codebook prior to the beginning of the coding process and based on these codes, coding the text, provides the basis for the media analysis. This may result in a very long list of narrowed codes which should, in turn, be grouped up into more general categories where each category entails a number of specific codes (Rivas, 2012).

The codebook entails two main codes, and each consists of various subcodes. Namely, the two codes are tone of voice and content. The code tone of voice entails four subcategories: negative, positive, neutral and ambiguous. The tone of voice code will be assigned to the entire article and describes the emotion expressed through the words used. The tone of voice will be assigned by decoding the manner of speech used, the type of words and the underlying notions towards refugees. An example of this is the fact that certain articles mix the term “refugee” with the term “migrant”. The term “refugee” has a positive tone of voice indicating that the person had no other choice than fleeing their country. A “migrant” has fled his or her country by choice and thus connotating a negative tone of voice as migrants are not perceived to be as much in need as refugees. Neutral and ambiguous signify that the text either does not express any opinion towards refugees or that there are multiple perspectives represented within one text.

The second code is content. The code content entails twelve distinctive subcategories which each describes a set of topics crucial to understanding the position of the Greek media towards refugees as well as their main topic of concern. The content codes will be assigned by paragraph.

The first subcode is *Victimization*. The subcode victimization will be assigned to in-text references emphasizing the difficulties of the refugees’ journey as a means of sensitizing the audience towards them.

The second subcode is *Economization*. Economization refers to economic burden sparked by refugees’ arrival.

The third subcode is *Dehumanization*. *Dehumanization* focuses on the living conditions refugees are forced to live under. The living conditions in refugee camps and hotspots have caught media attention. Articles referring to the conditions in refugee camps will be employed and assigned to the *Dehumanization* code only if they are negative.

The fourth subcode is *Multiculturalism*. The *Multiculturalism* subcode is assigned to paragraphs pointing out the effects of immigration and the fusion between different cultures, between refugees and the host country as well as among refugees. This particular subcode is not related to tone of voice, therefore, any indication towards the advantages of multiculturalism will be assigned to the “*Multiculturalism*” subcode.

The fifth subcode is *Threat*. *Threat* refers to feelings of uncertainty due to the arrival of refugees who are a perceived threat to personal safety. It refers to a relation between refugees and infringement. Paragraphs referring to concerns regarding refugee actions in Greece or related to their intentions will be assigned to the *Threat* subcode.

The sixth subcode is *Conflict*. The *Conflict* subcode refers to crimes conducted by refugees or signs of conflict among refugees in refugee camps or other. The difference between the *Threat* and the *Conflict* subcodes lies in the fact that “threat” is implied within the text whereas “conflict” refers to actual examples of violence by and among refugees.

The seventh subcode is *National Identity*. *National Identity* represents the perception of a threat that refugees pose to the national integrity of the population. The subcode *National Identity* may also be represented in poles and demographics in the support of extremist rightwing parties which support the deportation of all refugees and migrants.

The eighth subcode is *Moral Responsibility*. *Moral Responsibility* not only refers to the responsibility to tackle the needs and the integration of refugees in the host countries. Articles and paragraphs referring to their journey or more specifically referring to the lifeboats on which refugees are approaching the European borders will be assigned to the *Moral Responsibility*.

As previously mentioned, open coding is being utilized and therefore certain codes have emerged based on the content of the coded articles. The emerged codes are *Political Mistakes*, *Europe*, *Turkish Conflict*, *Illegality*, *Inability to Manage*, *Deportation* and *Kids*. The code *Political Mistakes* has been assigned to quotations mentioning wrongdoings of the Greek government apropos to the settlement of refugees in refugee camps and in Greece in general. Examples of those are the misallocation of resources from the European Union and the enactment of stricter rules in the administrative asylum regime. The code *Europe* is assigned to paragraphs referring to Europe’s indifference towards refugee flows and remaining idle. Next to that, articles referring to closed borders or to Europe’s denial in accepting new refugees,

will also be assigned to the particular code. The next code, *Turkish conflict*, has been assigned to references to Turkey threatening the European Union of opening their borders towards Europe to refugees, or releasing fake news that the borders have actually been opened. *Illegality* has been assigned to parts of articles referring to either illegal ways that refugees figured to escape Greece, such as by pretending to be tourists, or to evidence of refugees supplying fellow refugees with fake identification. Also, any illegal acts including their arrival to Europe by lifeboats have been assigned to the code *Illegality*. *Inability to manage* has been assigned to paragraphs clearly indicating that Greece is unable to support the needs of refugees, either due to resources or space-wise. Finally, *Deportation* and *Kids* are the last two emerged codes. *Deportation* is alluding to the repatriation of refugees. The code *Kids* is assigned to articles calling attention to unaccompanied kids, whose parents died during their journey and their respective deportation as well as the conditions under which refugee kids are kept at times.

3.3 Cohen's Kappa

The actual coding of the articles is done by the means of coding software, Atlas.ti. Atlas is a software program which provides a template under which qualitative and quantitative data can be analyzed. To ensure the data's reliability and validity, 10% of the data was coded by a second external researcher. The two researchers had to agree on the meaning of the codes so that they both have the same understanding of the explanation of the codes. The articles were then downloaded and imported into Atlas and the codebook was applied to the articles by means of marking the appropriate text. The results of the two researchers on the same 10% of the articles were then compared. The level of homogeneity among the two researchers had to be tested as questions of inter-rater reliability had to be raised (Stephanie, 2018). To guarantee the level of homogeneity, the sum of how many times the same codes were used was calculated. The data was then inserted into SPSS. Crosstabs were used, and Cohen's Kappa was calculated. Sufficient Cohen's Kappa values range between 0.6-0.8. Cohen's Kappa is measuring the level of agreement between the two coders was calculated to 0.72. The value of 0.72 signifies a relatively high level of agreement between the two coders and thus reliability and validity of coding are ensured. Initially the interrater reliability was tested prior to establishing the complete codebook. Post to calculating Cohen's Kappa and by coding the total number of 240 articles, certain codes emerged which resulted in the final codebook. Therefore, Cohen's Kappa was re-calculated for the purposes of reliability and validity and to ensure that the new codes, in relation to the old ones, are valid. The old value of the Cohen's Kappa of .81 is relatively

higher compared to the second one (0.72), which raises questions of the reliability of the new coding scheme, however, it still signifies a comparably acceptable level of agreement.

	Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement Kappa	.727	.043	25.574	.00
N of Valid Cases	122			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis

4. Results

Below, cooccurrences between codes will be presented in order to establish connections among results. More specifically, the main codes year, content and tone of voice will be tested in order to gain further insight as to which codes prevailed and trended per year. Moreover, the most notable connections will be presented and inspected by means of demonstrating relevant examples. Finally, presenting trends over the years allows inferences to be made regarding the first and the second refugee flow in Greece.

4.1 *Tone of voice*

4.1.1 *Year and Tone of Voice*

The code tone of voice refers to the manner of speech that the journalist is using without addressing the subject of the article. There are four potential tones of voice assigned to each article, namely negative, positive, neutral and ambiguous which determine the attitude of the journalist towards refugees. The majority of the articles are assigned to either neutral or positive. Neutral is assigned to in total 103 articles (42.92%) whereas positive is assigned to 79 articles (32.92%). Negative and ambiguous are respectively assigned to 36 articles (15%) and 22 articles (9.16%).

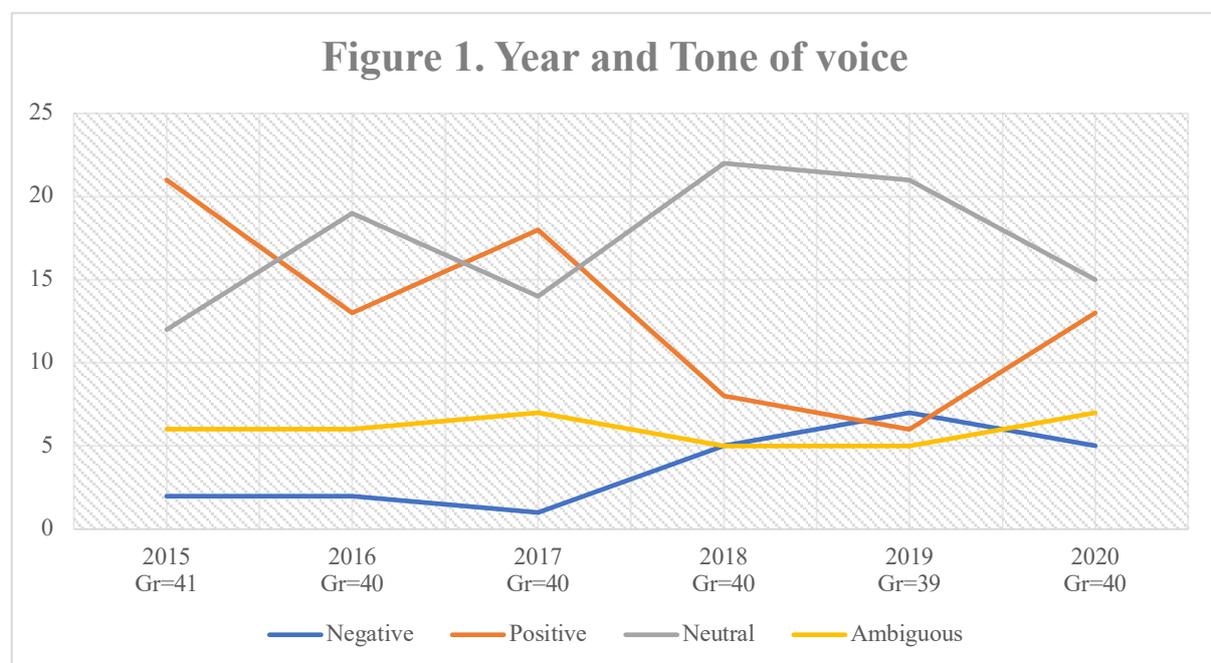


Table 1: Year and Tone of Voice Line graph

From the above graph, it can be observed that ambiguous and negative tones of voice remain relatively low, with negative slightly increasing from 2017 onwards. In the year 2015 positive,

neutral, ambiguous and negative tone of voice are prevailing mentioned priority wise. In 2016 and 2017, positive and neutral are prevailing, yet ambiguous and negative remain almost the same and lower compared to the rest. The tone of voice negative is gradually increasing for 2018 and 2019 whereas positive is gradually decreasing. Furthermore, in 2020 the tone of voice changes again with positive and neutral tending to converge.

More specifically, in 2015 articles focus on the hurdles refugees had to surpass thus developing a positive tone of voice towards refugees. All examples of articles coded with either a positive or a neutral tone of voice express an interest in refugees' identities and their story. This can be seen in the positive article titled "When Allah cried looking at Europe of fear" ("*Όταν έκλαψε ο Αλλάχ στην Ευρώπη του φόβου*", *Kathimerini*, 2015). The article is positive due to the fact that it describes and condemns the difficulties refugees have to surpass and is encouraging a positive attitude towards refugees. The tone of voice neutral mostly depicts articles focusing on the number of refugees which arrived or died each week such as the neutral article titled "Another shipwreck with 18 dead refugees near the Turkish coastline." ("*Νέο ναύαγιο με 18 πρόσφυγες νεκρούς κοντά στις ακτές της Τουρκίας*" Human Rights Watch, 2015). Neutral articles, such as the aforementioned, are not taking a stand towards refugees, such articles are purely informational, presenting facts.

In the following years, articles are turning towards a negative tone of voice which can be seen in the way journalists identify refugees. Interchanging the term refugee with the term immigrant or using the term "jihadist" is frequently seen. Particularly, in 2018, negative articles such as the following are making their appearance, "Horror movie with the jihadist arrested in Hungary, the chronicle of his arrival and his stay in Greece" ("*Θρίλερ με τον τζιχαντιστή που συνελήφθη στην Ουγγαρία- Όλο το χρονικό της άφιξης και της παραμονής του στην Ελλάδα, I efimerida*, 2019). Furthermore, articles in 2018-2020 are tending towards a negative tone of voice by presenting violent incidents conducted by refugees to either people of the same descent or Greeks. A representative example is provided by the negative article titled "Gory conflict among immigrants and foreigners between Afghans at Diavata – 4 injured" ("*Αιματηρή συμπλοκή μεταξύ Αφγανών στα Διαβατά -Τέσσερις τραυματίες*" *I efimerida*, 2019).

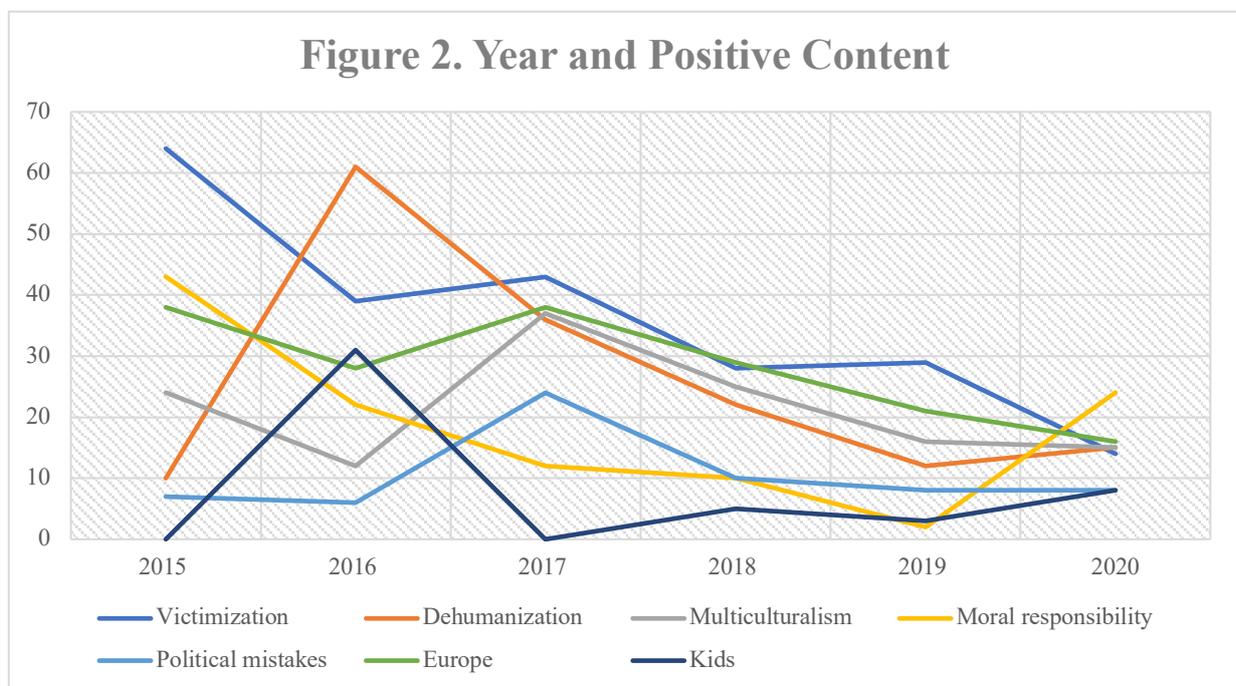
4.2 Content Codes

Content codes are categorized into positive and negative content codes. Positive content codes are assigned to quotations referring to the hurdles of the refugees, promoting sensitization, whereas negative codes are focusing on the complications caused by the arrival of refugees through either violent incidents towards Greeks and other refugees, or affecting the economy

of the country. More specifically, the codes *Victimization*, *Dehumanization*, *Multiculturalism*, *Moral Responsibility*, *Political Mistakes*, *Europe* and *Kids* appear only positively in the majority of the articles. Whereas the codes *Economization*, *Conflict*, *Threat*, *National Identity*, *Inability to manage* and *Deportation* appear negatively in the majority of the articles. Therefore, content codes are distinguished into positively and negatively connotated content codes and both groups are tested in correlation to the codes year and tone of voice.

4.2.1 Year and Positive Content

In order to determine the prevailing positive content codes, they are tested in comparison to the years 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020. The following graph indicates which codes are trending during which year as well as which are the least used codes.



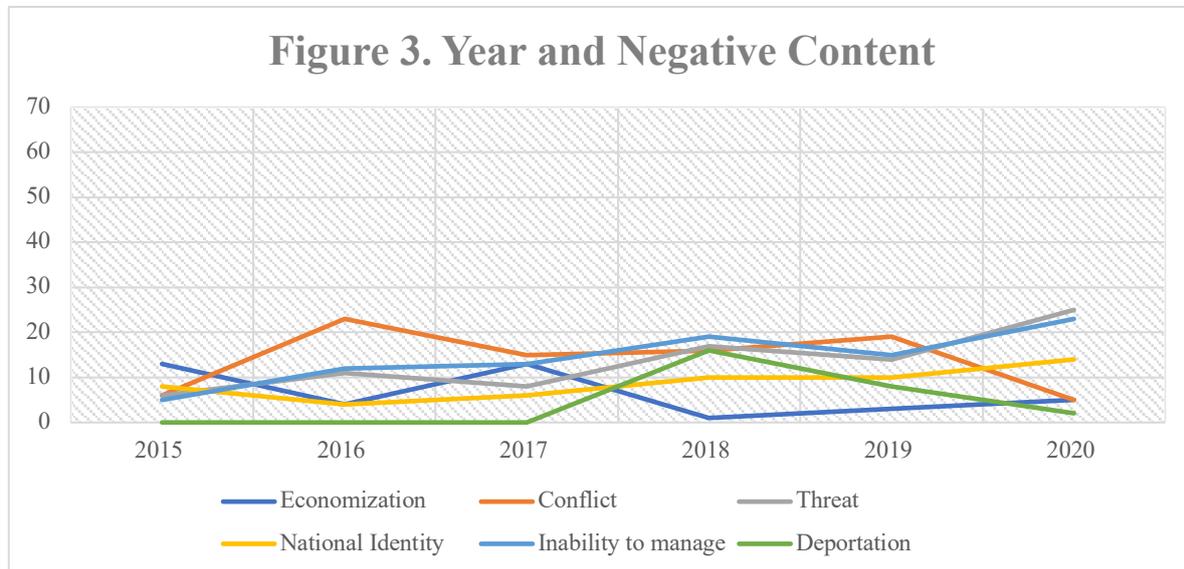
From the above graph, one can notice that 2015 is focusing mainly on two codes, *Victimization* and *Moral Responsibility* promoting a more sensitized image of refugees. Later on, in 2016, the code *Dehumanization* prevails which clarifies the situation dominating in refugee camps. The next codes used, yet with bigger fluctuations, are *Europe*, *Multiculturalism* and *Moral Responsibility*. The graph indicates that almost all codes ranked high in 2015, however, there is a gradual drop in the majority of the codes. The number of codes used per article, as well as the positivity established in every article, is dropping. Moreover, *Victimization* remains one of the most used codes. *Europe* appears to reach a peak in 2018 but is, however, dropping significantly in 2019 and 2020.

The code *Victimization* is the highest-ranked code marking 217 connotations in a total of 240 articles. Articles are extensively focusing on *Victimization* especially in 2015 due to the unfamiliarity of the refugee crisis. An example of *Victimization* can be seen in the following quote, by the newspaper “I Kathimerini”, “The barbaric civil war in Syria, raging since March 2011, has costed the lives of 200.000 people and has displaced more than half the population of the country. Of the displaced, approximately 3 million people have resorted to neighbouring countries, mainly Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan and Iraq. Significantly less are the people seeking asylum in Europe. (Ο βάρβαρος εμφύλιος πόλεμος της Συρίας, που μαίνεται από τον Μάρτιο του 2011, έχει κοστίσει τη ζωή 200.000 ανθρώπων και έχει εκτοπίσει πάνω από τον μισό πληθυσμό της χώρας. Από τους εκτοπισμένους, περίπου 3 εκατομμύρια άνθρωποι έχουν καταφύγει σε γειτονικές χώρες, κυρίως στον Λίβανο, στην Τουρκία, την Ιορδανία και στο Ιράκ. Πολύ λιγότεροι είναι εκείνοι που έχουν προσπαθήσει να αποκτήσουν άσυλο στην Ευρώπη). The previous example portrays an image of the pain and the difficulties refugees have had to go through while also empathizing with them.

The second most used code is *Europe* which is only slightly peaking in 2018, as can be seen by the following example from the newspaper “Protagon”, “It is unacceptable how certain countries are not accepting refugees. We need to share the weights and the responsibilities of the refugee crisis analogically” (Είναι απαράδεκτο κάποιες χώρες να μη δέχονται πρόσφυγες. Όλοι πρέπει να μοιραζόμαστε τα βάρη και τις ευθύνες, με αναλογικό τρόπο). Quotations assigned to the code *Europe* are indicating a sense of apathy and insensitivity of Europe as a whole to contribute to the refugee crisis. *Europe* is a positive content code due to the fact that Greece’s need for solidarity is expressed to provide refugees with opportunities to lead a better life. Europe could be perceived as a negative code towards the European Union however it is positive towards refugees. The third most used code is *Dehumanization*. In 2016, articles are focusing on the living conditions and the situation in refugee camps which is portrayed by the code *Dehumanization*. One of the articles states “The camp is drowning in mud. Families are piling in smaller tents while bigger ones are flooded. It is impossible for refugees to protect themselves with the available means.” (Ο καταυλισμός καθημερινά βουλιάζει όλο και περισσότερο στη λάσπη. Οικογένειες στοιβάζονται σε μικρές σκηνές που διατηρούνται σε καλύτερη κατάσταση, καθώς άλλες είναι εντελώς πλημμυρισμένες. Οι πρόσφυγες προσπαθούν να προστατευθούν με κάθε τρόπο από τη δυνατή βροχή, αλλά αυτό δεν είναι δυνατόν με τα μέσα που διαθέτουν.). Through presenting the inhumane living conditions, journalists are framing refugees in a way so as the audience is empathizing with them and creating positive feelings.

4.2.2 Year and Negative Content

In the following graph, negative content codes are tested in correlation to the years 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020. By checking content and year, trends are indicated as well as which are the least used codes over the years.



From the above graph, it can be observed that negative content codes are less prominent compared to positive with the two most prominent negative content codes being *Conflict* and *Inability to Manage*. The code peaking in 2015 is *Economization*, the code *Conflict* is peaking in 2016, 2017 and 2019 making it the highest-ranked code over the years and being assigned to in total 84 quotations. Lastly, the codes *Threat* and *Inability to Manage* are peaking in 2018 and 2020 respectively. Though the rest of the codes remain on a constant level over the years, *Conflict*, *Threat* and *Inability to Manage* appear to be predominant and most discussed by the media.

Delving deeper, in 2015, articles are discussing how the economic crisis and the refugee crisis have affected the Greek population as well as the economy. As the following example of *Economization* indicates, “34.4% of unemployed and 14.2% of the employed population living in poverty” (Σε συνθήκες φτώχειας ζει το 34,4% των ανέργων και το 14,2% των εργαζομένων). In 2016, the code *Dehumanization* is dominating with the majority of the quotations describing incidents occurring in refugee camps particularly by men towards women. An example of such is one of the statements by a 19-year-old woman in Moria, Lesvos: “Women report many incidents of sexual harassment in refugee camps. Men get drunk and try to enter our tent every night” (Οι γυναίκες ανέφεραν συχνά περιστατικά σεξουαλικής παρενόχλησης και στα τρία κέντρα υποδοχής. Οι άνδρες μεθούν και προσπαθούν να μπουν στη σκηνή μας κάθε βράδυ). Similarly,

referring to the code *Dehumanization*, a 21-year-old man stated to the reporters of the Newspaper “I efimerida” (2016): There are not only rapes, but I’ve also heard men talking about 12-year-old children which are prostituted in return for money. I’ve heard them saying that they bought a 12-year-old girl last night and describing what they did to her.” (*Συμβαίνουν πολλά... Κι όχι μόνον βιασμοί*», λέει. *Ο νεαρός Αφγανός, που διέφυγε επίσης από το Ιράν, αποκαλύπτει ότι έχει ακούσει άνδρες στον αυτοσχέδιο καταυλισμό εκτός της Μόρια να συζητούν για περιπτώσεις 12χρονων παιδιών, που εκδίδονται έναντι αμοιβής. «Τους ακούω να λένε "α, χθες το βράδυ αγόρασα ένα κορίτσι" και να περιγράφουν μετά με λεπτομέρειες ό,τι ακολούθησε.»*). Through the aforementioned examples, brutal incidents are being described, however, the journalist is presenting them to sensitize the audience and raise awareness rather than promote violent events by refugees.

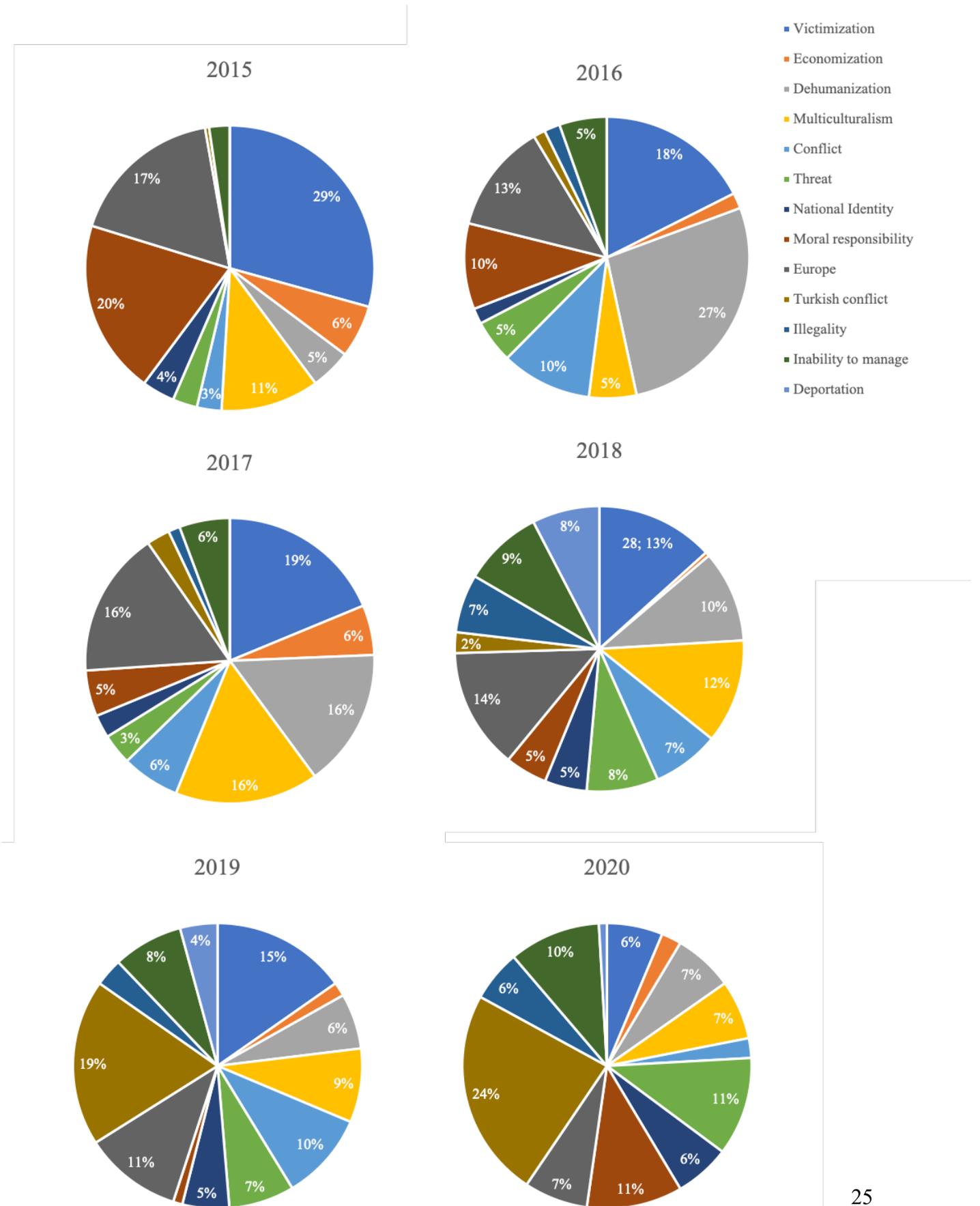
In 2019, the code *Threat* is dominating with conflicts occurring by refugees towards Greeks. For example, an American volunteer in Thessaloniki stated that three refugees tried to sexually harass her in one of the refugee camps at the West of Thessaloniki. Furthermore, events of violence from Greeks to refugees have also been addressed through the code *Conflict*. More specifically, areas in the mainland or the islands where refugees had to resettle to, have protested against them and have also set barriers to stop them. An example of such can be seen in the newspaper “To Vima”, “tension was overruled Monday night at Doliana when it was announced that 200 refugees will be arriving at the refugee camps. Inhabitants protested on the streets and tried to stop the busses from letting the people out” (*Ένταση επικράτησε το βράδυ της Δευτέρας στα Δολιανά Ιωαννίνων, όταν έγινε γνωστό ότι μεταφέρονται με λεωφορεία 200 πρόσφυγες στο κέντρο φιλοξενίας. Κάτοικοι βγήκαν στο δρόμο για να εμποδίσουν την άφιξη των λεωφορείων*). Referring to the code *Conflict*, all areas where it was announced that refugees would resettle to protested against it and at times refugees had to be relocated elsewhere to avoid conflicts with Greeks (Kathimerini, 2020 “In our country, there was not one local community that did not protest against the relocation of refugees to their area”).

4.2.3 Content codes in individual relation to years

While testing content codes it was observed that through the use of line charts, content code trends over time can be identified. However, codes that are not trending over the years yet are overall assigned to a larger number of quotations are not clearly depicted. More specifically, a certain code may have been assigned to more quotations but if it is not peaking during one of the years it will not be emphasized on the line charts. Therefore, the most prominent negative and positive content codes per year were individually tested. This allows comparisons between

graphs depicting the negative and positive codes individually and the following pie charts where negative and positive content codes are mixed.

Figure 4. Content Codes and Individual Year



From the above graph, it can be concluded that among both positive and negative codes, *Europe*, is the least accentuated code. Though Europe is among the most prominent codes for the years 2015-2019 it is only slightly peaking in 2018. The only year during which *Europe* is not among the most prominent codes, is 2020. Next to that, codes that have been prevailing during the first years of the refugee crisis such as *Victimization*, are decreasing after 2018. On the contrary, others such as *Economization* are slowly increasing.

The above-presented pie charts allowed a more spherical view of the results while showing how diverse or not diverse each year is. Particularly, in the last three years of the refugee crisis, namely 2018-2020, it can be observed that an increased amount of codes is being introduced. The years 2018 and 2019 are the two most broad years with the highest number of total codes.

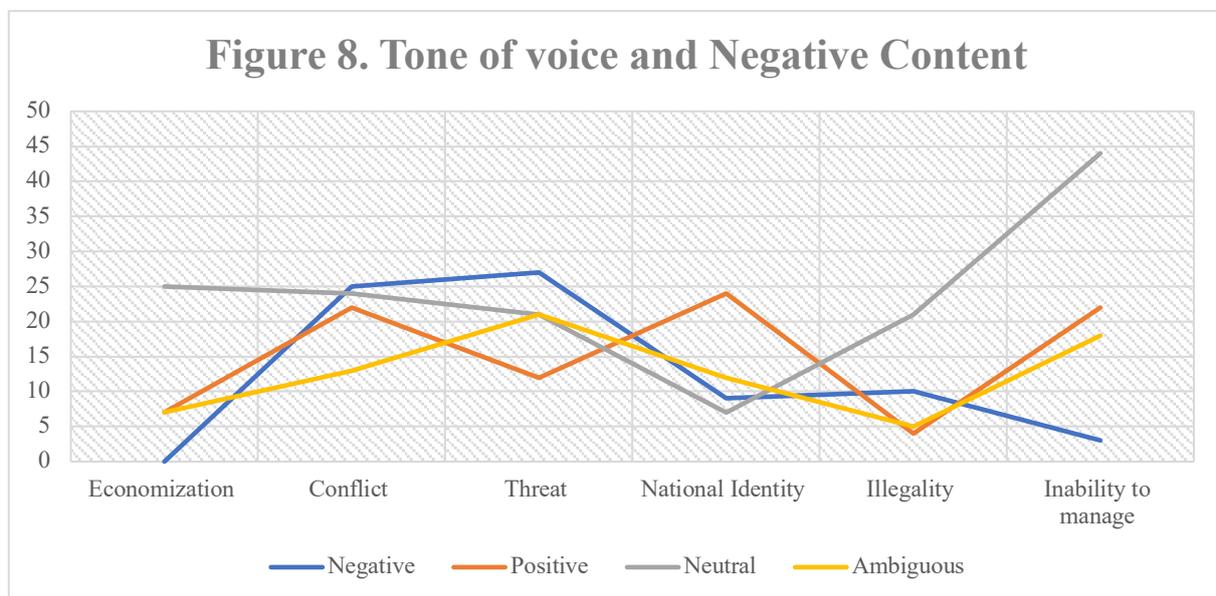
The trajectory of the refugee crisis changes quite a lot in 2019 and 2020 with *Turkish Conflict* monopolizing a big part of the year 2019 (25%) and the relative majority of the year 2020 (36%). In 2019 the second most used code is *Victimization* (20%), The difference in 2019 but mostly 2020, is the fact that the focus of all 6 newspapers has been taken away from refugees and are mostly focusing on Turkey. Through the pie charts, it can be observed that the code *Turkish Conflict* is assigned to barely 2-3% of the total codes in the years 2015-2018 whereas in 2019 and 2020 it becomes one of the most prominent codes.

Furthermore, in 2020 the second most used code is *Threat* (17%). The combination of *Turkish Conflict* and *Threat* is peculiar due to the fact that the focus has been taken away from refugees with the majority of the articles mostly focusing on Turkey. Delving deeper one can apprehend that the Greek population, especially people co-existing with refugees view them as a threat to the country, “Islanders from Lesbos, Samos and Chios view refugees as a source of great plight for the country”, (*Ως πηγή μεγάλων δεινών βλέπουν οι νησιώτες Λέσβου, Σάμου και Χίου τους μετανάστες, θεωρώντας μάλιστα σε μεγάλο ποσοστό ότι αποτελούν απειλή για τη χώρα*). Along the same lines, the incidents at the north of Greece have enhanced the code *Turkish Conflict*, however, refugees’ and immigrants’ invasions are being portrayed as a threat to the Greek population. Therefore, though the focus is being taken away from refugees, refugees are presented as the front of the actions of the Turkish government and are partially taking the blame.

4.3 Tone of Voice

4.3.1 Tone of Voice and Negative Content

Next, the cooccurrence of tone of voice and negative content codes was tested. The combination establishes which of the negative content codes were mostly mentioned in relation to different tones of voice. The tone of voice depends on the manner of speech that the journalist is utilizing, which is either positive, neutral, negative or ambiguous. The difference between the tones of voice is established by whether the journalist is favourable or not towards refugees and how he or she is framing them. Content codes are referring to the subject of the article and the facts presented in different articles. By testing the relationship between the two, insight is provided as to which codes were co-occurring with which tone of voice, as well as whether the negative tone of voice connotes with negative content.



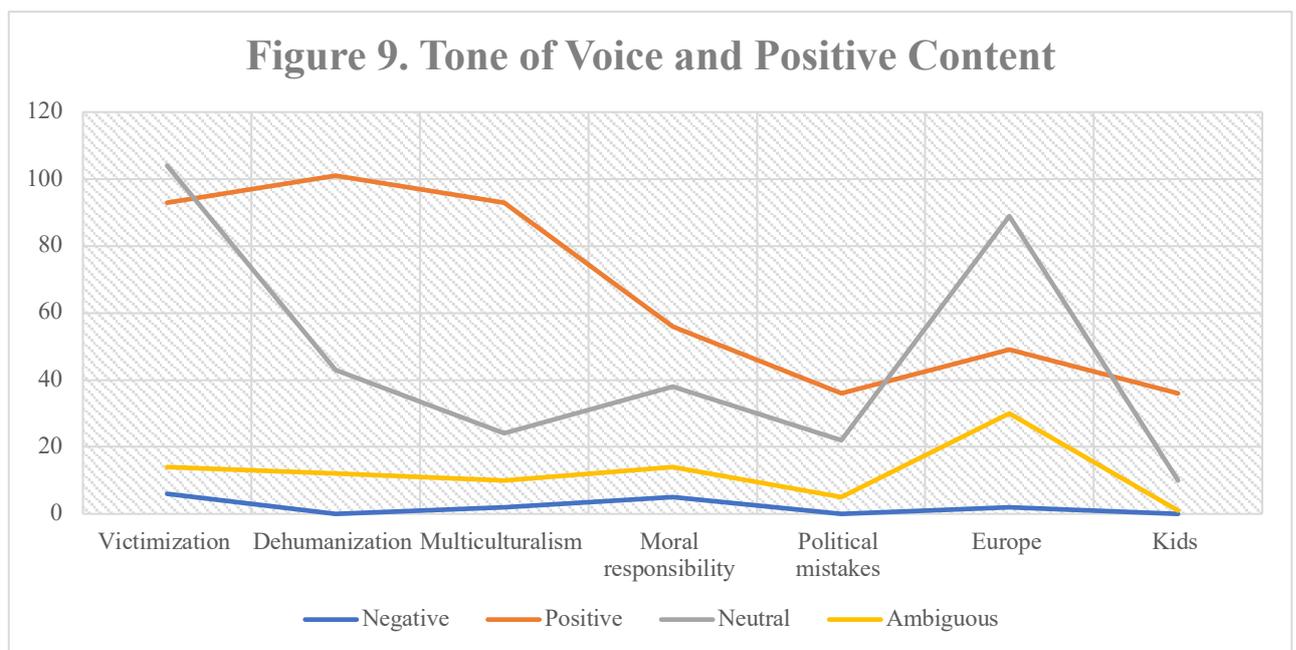
As portrayed in the above graph, the tone of voice negative and neutral are prevailing. Furthermore, conflict and threat are the only codes where the tone of voice negative is peaking while the majority of the articles are employing a neutral tone of voice. The most obvious examples, as previously mentioned, are the ones of *Conflict*, *Threat* and *Inability to Manage*. *Inability to Manage* is the highest code that peaks, with making the most appearance in neutral articles. However, though the content codes tested are negative they seem to have been assigned to quotations of positive articles as well.

More specifically, examples of tone of voice and the negative content code *Threat* can be seen in one of the articles from the Newspaper “Kathimerini”, “It was believed that immigrants drugged her by placing something in her drink. The victim said that she was defenseless, and the culprits were raping her consecutively” (Πιστεύεται ότι της έριξε κάποιο

χάπι στο ποτό της, αφού εντοπίστηκαν ίχνη της ουσίας. Το θύμα είπε ότι ήταν ουσιαστικό ανυπεράσπιστο όταν οι δράστες τη βίαζαν διαδοχικά). Similarly, examples of *Conflict* and *National Identity* such as “Inhabitants of Lesbos, Samos and Chios view immigrants as a source of plight and a threat to the country (Ως πηγή μεγάλων δεινών βλέπουν οι νησιώτες Λέσβου, Σάμου και Χίου τους μετανάστες, θεωρώντας μάλιστα σε μεγάλο ποσοστό ότι αποτελούν απειλή για τη χώρα) are appearing. A distinctive example of *Inability to Manage* is the statement mentioned in the newspaper “To Vima” by the mayor of Lesbos “I have no place to host refugees, people cannot live stacked one over the other” («Δεν έχω πού να πάω τους πρόσφυγες, δεν μπορούν να ζήσουν έτσι»).

4.3.2 Tone of Voice and Positive Content

After testing the tone of voice in relation to negative content, positive content codes in relation to the tone of voice were investigated.



The above graph illustrates which positive content codes were dominating in relation to the different tones of voice. The tone of voice positive and neutral are the ones peaking, whereas ambiguous and negative are not scoring as high. More specifically, the neutral tone of voice prevails for the content codes *Victimization* and *Europe*, while a positive tone of voice prevails for the content codes *Dehumanization*, *Multiculturalism*, *Moral Responsibility*, *Political Mistakes* and *Kids*. Alternatively, the content codes *Kids* and *Political Mistakes* have scored

the lowest together with the tones of voice negative and ambiguous which remain low for all positive content codes.

Delving deeper as to why positive and neutral were the most assigned tone of voice. One can see that the majority of neutral articles are referring to poor circumstances in refugee camps and thus the code *Dehumanization* (Refugees are asking for warm water, heating and generally better living and hygienic conditions. *Οι πρόσφυγες ζητούν ζεστό νερό, θέρμανση, συνθήκες υγιεινής και γενικότερα καλύτερες συνθήκες διαβίωσης*, Ta Nea, 2017), and the dangers of their trip to Europe with the code *Victimization*, (Mothers, children, young scientists piling up in plastic rafts, bearing the expenses of leaving their countries and hoping to a safe transition with falsification waiting for their every step. *Μητέρες, παιδιά, νεαρούς επιστήμονες που στοιβάζονται σε πλαστικές βάρκες πληρώνοντας αδρά τη φυγή από τη χώρα τους, ελπίζοντας σε μια τουλάχιστον ασφαλή μετάβαση, με τη διάψευση να περιμένει κάθε επόμενο βήμα τους*, Kathimerini, 2015). On the contrary, codes such as *Multiculturalism* and *Moral Responsibility* are focusing on the importance of solidarity and thus positive sentiment, such as the following example, “There is no room for etiquettes or categorization, as there is also none for racism and xenophobia or lack of respect towards otherness” (*Ετικέτες ή κατηγοριοποιήσεις κάθε είδους εδώ δεν χωρούν. Όπως δεν χωράει ρατσισμός, ξενοφοβία, έλλειψη σεβασμού στη διαφορετικότητα*).

The positive content code *Europe* is scoring high for the tones of voice neutral, positive and ambiguous. An example of *Europe* can be seen through the following quotation by the newspaper “I Kathimerini”, “Europe is witness to a systematic slaughter in the Mediterranean. How can we remain detached, whilst watching entire populations dying in an era when modern communication means allow us to be aware of everything”, (*Η Ευρώπη είναι μάρτυρας μιας συστηματικής σφαγής στη Μεσόγειο. Πώς μπορούμε να παραμείνουμε απαθείς, όταν βλέπουμε πληθυσμούς ολόκληρους να πεθαίνουν σε μια εποχή που τα σύγχρονα μέσα επικοινωνίας μας επιτρέπουν να γνωρίζουμε τα πάντα*). The previous example signifies the need for European solidarity which is reportedly absent as well as a favourable view towards refugees which, as mentioned in the example, should not be left to die.

5. Discussion

5.1 *Research Question*

The goal of this research has been to gain insight into the framing of the refugee crisis as portrayed by Greek media. This analysis researched the media framing of the refugee crisis in Greece as established using 6 Greek newspapers whilst trying to apprehend which frames and codes were dominating. Primarily, it was observed that in different years, different codes were prevailing. The most prominent codes at the beginning of the refugee crisis are *Victimization*, *Europe* and *Dehumanization* whereas during the last two years the focus shifts to *Turkish Conflict*. The general tone of voice is neutral, tending towards positive. It can be concluded that refugees have been neutrally framed throughout the refugee crisis. However, comparing the beginning to the end of the crisis the sentiment was less positive and more negative by the end.

5.2 *Theoretical contribution*

The present study aims at understanding and expanding the literature of the refugee crisis in Greece by solely employing Greek media and comparing the two refugee flows, in 2015 and 2020. Media framing appears to be instrumental in supplying interpretations of the refugee crisis, as was similarly established by Kuttschreuter, Gutteling and de Hond (2011). According to Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017), different countries have accentuated different perspectives, positive or negative, towards refugees. However, the present study only signifies an aiding approach towards refugees during the beginning of the crisis.

5.2.1 *Most prominent codes*

Victimization has been the most used code by the Greek media in the span of 2015-2020. In accordance to the study of Joris et al. (2018), which established the code “asylum seeker as a victim” as the most prominent one, the *Victimization* frame, over the years, appeared to be the most salient. Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017) found in their study a parallelization between refugees’ arrivals and an incoming threat. This contradicts the findings of the present study; it was observed that the code *Victimization* was emphasized to enhance sensitization towards refugees and not to present them in a negative light. This is in accordance with the study of Kourachanis (2018), where the code asylum seeker was similarly framed.

Another relevant implication of this research regards the framing of the conditions in which refugees are being kept in Greece. The code *Dehumanization* is one of the most prominent codes used and peaks in 2016. Similarly, to the study of Fotaki (2019), it has been

emphasized that the poor living conditions that refugees are exposed to have been extensively addressed by the media. The media are focusing on the dehumanizing conditions that refugees are forced to live under. However, through the code *Dehumanization* not only the hurdles of refugees are portrayed, but also the government's inefficiency is emphasized. Nevertheless, the code *Dehumanization* was mainly focused on between 2016-2018 while the focus is shifted to codes such as *Europe* for the following years.

5.2.2 Codes per year

Europe is one of the newly introduced codes which emerged after coding the first articles and also the second most prominent code. The use of the code *Europe* indicates the need for further support and solidarity by the European Union, which according to Greek media is lacking. It is interesting to observe that in 2019 and 2020 when all the European borders were closed and Greece had to individually face the second refugee crisis, the code *Europe* was not as prominent. Moreover, *Europe* is the only code which was assigned to a large number of quotations yet remained underlying for the period 2015-2020 without trending. Hence, indicating that *Europe* plays a key role in the Greek media, while media is simultaneously focusing on different codes per year.

However, the results of the present study are contradicting the study of Triandafyllidou (2017) to a certain extent. It was observed that negative content codes were not as prominent as positive content codes. Dinas, Matakos, Xefteris and Hangartner (2019) are referring to an increase in crimes with the arrival of refugees. However, as also established by Jensen (2019), the present study concluded that the majority of crimes committed by refugees were committed towards people of the same descent. Among the most prominent negative content codes are *Inability to Manage* and *Conflict*. This contradicts the findings of Triandafyllidou (2017) and Postelnicescu (2016) as both established that refugees are perceived as a threat to prospective societies and a culture of fear is promoted towards otherness and specifically refugees. Nevertheless, it was noted, that comparable to the results indicated by the study of Triandafyllidou (2017), there was increased negativity towards refugees relocating within Greece by Greeks. In Greece, according to newspapers published in 2020, there was no local community which did not protest over the resettlement of refugees in their areas, yet a very high percentage of Greeks is blaming Europeans of not accepting more refugees in their countries.

The present study compared the first and the second refugee flow, 2015-2018 and 2019-2020 respectively, in order to establish differences in framing and potential shifts in focus. In

2019 and 2020 the focus of the refugee crisis shifts from refugees to Turkey and hence the code *Turkish Conflict* appears to be the most salient for both years. The main focus of both years is the tense relationships between Greece and Turkey. It is, moreover, interesting to note that in 2020, the code *Threat* is peaking even though the focus has been taken away from refugees. One would expect that the code *Europe* and *Turkish Conflict* would co-occur given Greece's need for support. Delving deeper one can expect that as *Turkish Conflict* is the peaking code, refugees would not be viewed as a threat and rather Turkey would be blamed. However, at the Greek borders it is actually refugees trying to push through and not the Turkish authorities. Thus, the media are emphasizing on the acts of refugees portraying them as a *Threat* lurking at the Greek borders, whereas in reality refugees are being used and manipulated as scapegoats.

5.2.3 *Tone of voice*

Gortner and Pennebaker (2003) in their study identified that the first days of an incident indicate a positive tone of voice and the information presented is sensitized and more emotional towards the event. This is in accordance to the findings of the present study, as the beginning of the refugee crisis is met with increased sensitization and tone of voice appears to be positive. However, Kuttschreuter, Gutteling and de Hond, (2011) in their study indicate that as time passes, the tone of voice of articles becomes distanced and more rational. This can also be seen in the findings of this study. In 2017 the sentiment positive is decreasing while negative is increasing and especially in 2018 positive is decreasing considerably with negative additionally increasing. In 2019 there is additionally a noticeable difference in sentiment. The tone of voice neutral is peaking with negative being second, indicating that the sentiment of the year within 2019 is tending towards negative. In 2020 articles become slightly negative towards refugees, by interchanging the terms refugees and immigrants and framing their actions as threatening to Greece.

Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016), in their study, identified negativity towards refugees with only 13% of the population being positive towards them. Thus, negative content codes were expected to correlate with a negative tone of voice. Nonetheless, negative content codes are frequently noted in positive tone of voice articles. Next to that, negative content codes are scoring significantly lower compared to adequate positive content codes. Therefore, negative content is not necessarily connotated with a negative tone of voice as was initially expected. Per contra, a positive tone of voice is correlated with positive content. Lee and Nerghees (2017) and Heidenreich et al. (2019), dispute that negativity is increasing while positivity is decreasing over the course of the refugee crisis. Findings from this research

correspond to these insights. Overall, the sentiment of the news coverage is neutral towards positive, nevertheless, the sentiment over the years is changing towards negative as problems start appearing with refugees in Greece.

5.2.4 *Opinion Forming*

Post to identifying the most prominent codes in the process of coding Greek articles, the general feeling among the Greek public exposed to these frames can be predicted. It can be expected that the beginning of the refugee crisis was met with curiosity, sensitization and compassion. Due to Greeks' unfamiliarity with refugees and refugees' story, as framed by Greek media, it is believed that the Greek population felt for refugees. However, due to the appearance of difficulties in their integration and the increased number of refugees in camps, their perspectives might have turned to hostile. It was moreover noted, that Greek cities and villages protested against the relocation of refugees in different areas. Though it is not necessarily indicated that Greeks are unfavourable towards refugees, it is proven that refugees are not welcome in their areas. However, the perceptions of Greeks who have not been in direct contact with refugees, cannot be predicted.

Moreover, given the financial crisis in Greece, refugees might have also been seen as an additional problem to the already challenging climate. Though the *Economization* frame is not seen as prominent, the Greek population is already primed to fear financial burdens. Considering the contents supplied by Greek articles, the incidents occurring in refugee camps, as well as criminal acts in other European countries, a culture of fear is promoted. As the Greek government was not able to provide for Greeks, refugees were perceived as an additional burden. Thus, considerable attention being placed to the richer European countries which are portrayed as absent in the refugee crisis.

Moreover, it cannot be predicted whether tone of voice has had a considerable impact on the perspectives of refugees as the cues are not as apparent. Additionally, the dominant tone of voice is neutral and thus content codes are perceived to be more salient in the creation of schemas and perceptions towards refugees.

5.3 *Practical Implications*

Apart from theoretical implications, this research serves as stimuli for the political scene in Greece, as well as the European Union in regard to the refugee crisis. The main implication of the present study emphasizes the need for European countries and specifically for European leaders to address the second refugee wave. As refugees at the North of Greece are trying to

make their way to Europe, closing down all European borders obstructs their right to a better life and equal opportunities. Therefore, pro-active campaigns to raise awareness as per the second refugee flow would be highly beneficial. Equally dividing the number of refugees wishing to enter the European Union could be proven advantageous not only for refugees but also for Europe from a financial perspective.

Secondly, the present research allows the Greek government to acquire deeper insights into the Greek media landscapes and to attentively reflect upon the prevailing contents emphasized on. As the content presented by the media is subsequently influencing the public, inferences made by means of the present research could be used as food for thought as for example which would be the appropriate way to handle future refugee waves.

Conclusively, it is important to distinguish between refugees and the relationships between Greece and Turkey. Therefore, it should be mentioned here that Turkey's enablement of refugees to forcibly enter the European Union should not be taken lightly and should be reflected upon by European leaders as the consequences of the relationship between Greece and Turkey are unleashed upon refugees to a great extent.

5.4 *Limitations*

The present research has three notable limitations. First, for the purposes of this study, only 6 newspapers were chosen and a total of 240 articles was analyzed. In order to get a representative idea of the refugee crisis, a larger number of articles could have been employed. Furthermore, some years have a lower number of articles in total, whereas others have higher. This means that not all years are accurately represented as the number of articles utilized per year could have been proportional to the total number of articles per year. Furthermore, as only 6 newspapers are used, reliability and validity concerns as to the representativeness of the refugee crisis are raised. That is due to the fact that the Greek media landscape is very broad and conveys various different perspectives.

Second, it has been observed, that not all of the newly introduced codes were as frequently used during the coding process. Consequently, quotations were spread broader than if a lower number of codes was utilized which would be more inclusive. If the codes were merged, then a larger amount of quotations would be assigned per code and quotations would not be spread among an abundance of codes. In the present study, certain codes could be potentially merged to provide a clearer idea of the contents emphasized. Moreover, validity concerns are raised due to the fact that newly introduced content codes cannot be compared to

previous research. Therefore, a shorter number of codes would be more accurately portrayed in the results section.

Third, content codes had to be subsequently divided into positive and negative content codes. Thus, dividing the codes after the coding process might have influenced the direction of the results which could be potentially biased. Therefore, both the validity as well as the reliability of the conclusions are challenged.

5.5 *Future Recommendations*

For future research, three recommendations will be proposed. Firstly, in order to be able to establish the sentiments promoted through newspaper articles, further research would be advised. Either by means of qualitative research in the form of interviews or quantitative research in the form of surveys would be recommended to further investigate the actual sentiment of the population and how the media has affected the populations perspective.

Second, a shorter number of codes would be advised for future research. A shorter number of articles would provide a clearer idea of the most salient codes as quotations will not be spread as thin among codes. Furthermore, utilizing broader codes inclusive of various concepts would benefit the representativeness of the results.

Lastly, solely focusing on Greek media does not provide an accurate representation of the choice of frames to be promoted. For example, focusing on the increased number of refugees already inhabiting Greece in 2020 was not expected to be presented as an argument to not accept more refugees. In turn, it was expected that the code *Europe* would prevail and would be explicitly presented. However, this could only be identified by investigating the opinions of the Greek population in relation to foreign media. If as a subsequent part of this research foreign media was researched, more insights to countries which are negative to accepting refugees would be gathered.

6. Conclusion

Ultimately, the present research establishes the difference in sentiment in relation to the refugee crisis in Greece. A comparison is made between the first flow of the refugee crisis in Greece in 2015 and the second refugee flow in 2019-2020 for the first time. The main contribution of this research is establishing that the beginning of the refugee crisis focused on the adversity refugees had to surpass prior and post reaching the European borders, as well as the dehumanizing conditions they were kept under during their stay in refugee camps. However, the focus shifts by the end of the refugee crisis turning to the relationship between Greece and Turkey, yet negativity is also extended to refugees. The present research proves that refugees are not being framed in a negative light, yet facts presented by articles could be negatively affecting the sentiment of the population. Likewise, it was established that the second refugee flow in the years 2019-2020 appeared to be quite negative compared to the first refugee flow in order to establish Greece's inability to face sole another flow, given that all European borders are closed to refugees.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Appendix I

8.1.1 Study log

Criteria preferred materials

For the purpose of this research, peer-reviewed articles have been utilized. Articles are expected to be published in English or in Greek and published during the past six years, from the beginning of the refugee crisis till 2020.

Selecting Databases

The preferred database which was employed for the purposes of the present research is Scopus. The aforementioned database was selected as it allows researchers to specify their search depending on the desirable criteria and narrow down the results. Through refining the results, the year of publication, the subject area, the document type, keywords, country and language. Through Scopus, access is granted to peer reviewed scientific articles and refining search criteria ensures the reliability and the appropriateness of the results.

Table 1: Relevant Terms

<i>Concepts</i>	<i>Related terms</i>	<i>Smaller Terms</i>	<i>Broader Terms</i>
Refugee Crisis	Refugee Greece, Islands, Europe	Journey, Greek Camps	Refugee Migration, Harbouring
Media framing	Media, fabricate, emphasize	Construct, Frames, Codes	News, Articles

Table 2: Literature Overview

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Database</i>	<i>Search terms</i>	<i>Total hits</i>
1	31.05.2019	Scopus	“refugees AND crisis”	3,724
2	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “2015-2020”	2.706

3	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “Social Sciences”	1,843
4	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “articles”	1,363
5	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “Publication Stage final”	1,260
6	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “Keyword refugee”	351
7	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “Country Greece”	16
8	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “Language English”	16
9	31.05.2019	Scopus	Exclude: Adult, Migration	9
10	31.05.2019	Scopus	Limit to: “Asylum seeker, European Union	3

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Reflection

Reflecting on the results produced by Scopus it was observed that being able to narrow down the search terms resulted to three relevant articles in relation to the refugee crisis in Greece. The initial search term was merely enhanced by additional search details which were in relation to the codes utilized by the present study. The reliability, the validity and the appropriateness of the results was determined by assessing the amount of times each article was cited as well as whether Greece was included in the research. Nevertheless, to optimize the results, further research from other European countries could have been included in order to allow

comparisons between countries as the present study is solely focusing on Greece with minor additional references to other European countries.

8.2 *Appendix II*

8.2.1 *Codebook*

Codes	Sub codes	Definition	Example
Tone of Voice	Negative	Words and tones used, indicating an unfavourable position towards refugees	Using the word “migrant” to describe refugees
	Positive	Words and tones used, indicating an favourable position towards refugees	Correctly addressing people as “refugees”
	Neutral	Words and tones used, indicating no position taken towards refugees	“In the morning, the boat “Ariadni” arrived in Athens with 43 refugees from Lesbos and Chios.
	Ambiguous	Words and tones used to indicate an unclear position towards refugees	Mitilini has been made into Labedouza with 620 arriving.
Content	Victimization	Refugees as the victims of the crisis emphasizing the life-threatening conditions faced by refugees back home as well as during their journey. In other words, refugees are depicted as passive actors who are in need of help and are on the move as an inevitable response to what has happened to them	“3 times more Syrian people were forced to abandon their houses last year and 1.5 million more are estimated to flee their countries within 2018 and make their dangerous way to Europe.”

Economization	Potential economic wealth and growth by solving the problem of manpower shortage due to an aging population or concerns on unemployment rates, job competition, and the welfare system	“It is a good opportunity for small hotels to make some money” and “refugees were hiding in the back of my truck without me knowing, they were let go but I had to go to trial and I still don’t have my truck, I cannot feed my family like that”.
Dehumanization	Inhumane conditions refugees live under and their use for national interests	“Since Saturday afternoon it is raining non-stop in Eidomeni, throughout the entire day the 12000 refugees at the camp are forced to live in their overflowed tents.”
Multiculturalism frame	Effects of immigration by promoting cultural openness and societal diversity	“I don’t believe that our origin determines our friend as long as our characters agree, and we are having fun” stated a girl studying at the multicultural school in Lavrio.
Threat	Crimes by refugees as a means to capture the interest of the public presenting a criminal element as a threat to society and personal safety	“A girl was raped by two Afghans according to the police”
Conflict	The Greek population attacking in a form or way refugees.	“Women report many incidents of sexual harassment in refugee camps. Men get drunk and try to enter our tent every night”
National identity frame	Perception that refugees pose a threat to the national or local integrity because refugees coming from different ethnical and	“Violent fights were noted yesterday between people supporting the far right and people striking for refugees’ rights.”

religious backgrounds may fundamentally transform the historically formulated identity of the host society

Moral responsibility	General moral principles and universal rights that are claimable and acceptable by everyone, regardless of their cultural identity or particular interests and the attributed responsibility regarding refugee flows	The EU, member states, local authorities, private actors, individuals, NGOs, XXX
Political Mistakes	Political Mistakes made by the Greek government regarding the settlement of refugees	“Unfortunately, the government’s failure to cope with the refugee crisis is absolute and deafening.”
Europe	Europe’s indifference towards refugee flows and remaining idle	“Europe is a witness of a systematic slaughter in the Mediterranean, how can Europe remain indifferent when they witness entire populations die in an era where media allows us to be aware of everything?”
Turkish conflict	Turkey threatening the European Union	“Turkey proceeded to new threats towards Europe stating that they will open their borders to refugees.”
Illegality	Illegal acts performed by refugees in Greece	“There is information that one of the refugees is involved in the smuggling of fellow refugees and helping them to travel to countries of the European Union, with real documentation

which however belongs to other people.”

Inability to manage	Clearly indicating that Greece is unable to support the needs of refugees	“New arrivals of refugees were recorded in Lesbos, with the number of refugees on the island seeking for asylum reaching 5000, which exceeds in percentages the 15% of inhabitants of the island.
Deportation	Alluding to the repatriation of refugees	“NGOs are expressing their concerns regarding the deportation of refugees as is discussed by various host countries in Europe.”
Kids	Calling attention to unaccompanied kids	“No kid should be forced to return home, before home is safe to return to.”

8.2.2 Greek Codebook

Codes	Sub codes	Definition	Example
Διάθεση - στάση	Αρνητική	Δυσμενής διάθεση προς τους πρόσφυγες	Χρησιμοποιώντας την λέξη «μετανάστης» γθα να χαρακτηρίσουν τους πρόσφυγες.
	Θετική	Αισιόδοξη διάθεση προς τους πρόσφυγες	Ορθώς χαρακτηρίζοντας τους πρόσφυγες.
	Ουδέτερη	Ουδέτερη στάση απέναντι στους πρόσφυγες	«Τα ξημερώματα το πλοίο Αριάδνη μετέφερε 43 πρόσφυγες από την Λέσβο και την Χίο.»
	Διφορούμενη	Μη ξεκάθαρη στάση απέναντι στο πρόσφυγες	Σε Λαμπεδούζα μετατράπηκε η Μυτιλήνη με την απόβαση 620 προσφύγων.»
Περιεχόμενο	Θυματοποίηση	Παρουσίαση προσφύγων ως θύματα τονίζοντας της δυσμενής συνθήκες διαβίωσης στις χώρες τους και κατά την διάρκεια του ταξιδιού τους προς την Ευρώπη. Έμφαση ως προς την παθητικότητα και την επιβολή απομάκρυνσης από τις χώρες τους.	«3 φορές περισσότεροι Σύριοι αναγκάστηκαν φέτος να αφήσουν τα σπίτια τους και 1.5 εκατομμύρια ακόμα αναμένονται να εγκαταλείψουν τις χώρες τους μέσα στο 2018 και να έρθουν στην Ευρώπη.»
	Οικονομική επιρροή	Πιθανή οικονομική ελάφρυνση λόγω αυξημένου αριθμού ατόμων.	«Είναι μια καλή ευκαιρία για τα μικρά ξενοδοχεία να γεμίσουν.» και «Πρόσφυγες κρύβονταν στο πίσω τους φορτηγού μου και παρότι εκείνοι αφέθηκαν, εγώ

		δικάστηκα και ακόμα δεν μου δίνουν το φορτηγό, δεν μπορώ να βγάλω μεροκάματο.»
Εκβιομηχανισμός	Χρήση προσφύγων προς την ικανοποίηση εθνικών συμφερόντων	«Από το βράδυ της Κυριακής βρέχει ασταμάτητα στην Ειδομένη και οι 12000 πρόσφυγες αναγκάζονται να διαμένουν σε βρεγμένες σκηνές.»
Πολυπολιτισμικότητα	Επιρροή μετανάστευσης προωθώντας την πολιτιστική διαφορετικότητα	«Δεν πιστεύω πως η καταγωγή μας ορίζει τους φίλους μας, αλλά ο χαρακτήρας τους και να περνάμε καλά»
Εθνική Ταυτότητα	Οι πρόσφυγες αποτελούν απειλή ως προς την εθνική ταυτότητα των Ελλήνων ερχόμενοι από διαφορετικές χώρες.	«Βίαιοι τσακωμοί σημειώθηκαν χθες μεταξύ ακροδεξιών και διαδηλωτών για τα δικαιώματα των προσφύγων.»
Απειλή	Φόβος για διαμάχες μεταξύ προσφύγων	«Ένα κορίτσι βιάστηκε από δύο Αφγανούς σύμφωνα με την Αστυνομία.»
Εγκληματικότητα	Αυξημένη εγκληματικότητα μετά την άφιξη των προσφύγων	«Οι γυναίκες ανέφεραν συχνά περιστατικά σεξουαλικής παρενόχλησης και στα τρία κέντρα υποδοχής. Οι άνδρες μεθούν και προσπαθούν να μπουν στη σκηνή μας κάθε βράδυ»
Ηθική Ευθύνη	Ηθικές αρχές και καθολικά δικαιώματα απαιτητά και απαραίτητα από όλους και για	«Η Ευρωπαϊκή ένωση, Ευρωπαϊκές χώρες, τοπικές αρχές, φυσικά πρόσωπα, ΜΚΟ, XXX

όλους. Καθώς και ευθύνες για το ταξίδι των προσφύγων.

Πολιτικά Λάθη	Πολιτικά λάθη της Ελληνικής κυβέρνησης σχετικά με τους πρόσφυγες.	«Δυστυχώς η αποτυχία της κυβέρνησης στην αντιμετώπιση του προσφυγικού είναι συνολική και εκκωφαντική» ανέφερε χαρακτηριστικά ο πρόεδρος της ΝΔ.
Ευρώπη	Απάθεια από την Ευρώπη σχετικά με τις ορδές προσφύγων που έρχονται στην Ελλάδα.	«Η Ευρώπη είναι μάρτυρας μιας συστηματικής σφαγής στη Μεσόγειο. Πώς μπορούμε να παραμείνουμε απαθείς, όταν βλέπουμε πληθυσμούς ολόκληρους να πεθαίνουν σε μια εποχή που τα σύγχρονα μέσα επικοινωνίας μας επιτρέπουν να γνωρίζουμε τα πάντα;»
Τουρκική Διαφωνία	Απειλές τις Τουρκίας προς την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.	«Σε νέες απειλές προς την Ευρώπη ότι θα ανοίξει τις πύλες για τους πρόσφυγες προχώρησε η Τουρκία.»
Αδυναμία να αντιμετωπιστεί	Αδυναμία της Ελλάδας να υποστηρίξει τις ανάγκες των προσφύγων.	Οι νέες αφίξεις προσφύγων και μεταναστών έχουν δημιουργήσει περαιτέρω πιέσεις στα ήδη υπερπλήρη κέντρα υποδοχής των ελληνικών νησιών, δίως στη Σάμο και τη Λέσβο, σημειώνει ο διεθνής οργανισμός

Παρανομία	Παράνομες προσφύγων.	πράξεις	Συγκεκριμένα, οι Βέλγοι έχουν πληροφορίες ότι το άτομο αυτό πιθανόν να εμπλέκεται σε διευκόλυνση αλλοδαπών να ταξιδέψουν σε χώρες μέλη της Ε.Ε., όχι με πλαστά έγγραφα, αλλά με πραγματικά, που ανήκουν όμως σε άλλα πρόσωπα.
Απέλαση	Επαναπατρισμός προσφύγων		Οι ΜΚΟ εκφράζουν ιδιαίτερη ανησυχία για τα μέτρα τα οποία συζητώνται στην Ευρώπη, συμπεριλαμβανομένων της Δανίας και της Γερμανίας, τα οποία ενδέχεται να οδηγήσουν στον αναγκαστικό επαναπατρισμό Σύρων.
Παιδιά	Επαναπατρισμός ασυνόδευτων προσφύγων.	παιδιών	«Κανένα παιδί δεν θα πρέπει να αναγκάζεται να επιστρέφει στο σπίτι του πριν αυτό να είναι ασφαλές», ανέφερε η Τόρνινγκ-Σμιτ.

8.3 *Appendix II*

Cohen's Kappa prior to establishing the full codebook.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.727	.043	25.574	.000
N of Valid Cases		122			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Cohen's Kappa post establishing the full codebook

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymptotic Standard Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.727	.043	25.574	.000
N of Valid Cases		122			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.