MIGRATION IN THE GREEK-CYPRIOT PRESS BETWEEN 2011-2015

Visibility, topics, figures and the debate between pro-migrant and anti-migrant discourses

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Short biographical notes

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RE.CRI.RE

BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATION
OF THE CRISIS AND THE CRISIS
OF REPRESENTATION

University of Cyprus

Contents

1. Introduction

Migration[1] has gradually become a regular topic covered in the national and local Greek-Cypriot media. National media had to accommodate significant changes related to Cyprus'[2] gradual transformation in the 1990s from a country of emigration to a host country. Notably, from 2012 to the drafting of this report, a period of financial turbulence for the Republic of Cyprus (hereinafter RoC), net migration[3] turned negative, as the country exported more migrants compared to the number of migrants arriving in the country. Despite exceptions, Greek-Cypriot media have thus far been found to infuse with their coverage and reporting, anti-migration sentiments and ideologies. Anti-migrant reporting took place against the backdrop of restrictive migration policies (Trimikliniotis, 2013), inadequate integration policies and practices, including significant shortcomings of the asylum system. In this context, mainstream media and the Press specifically, continue to play a key role in constructing, monitoring, and framing the migration debate in the country, reflecting and/or reinforcing predominant ideologies and perceptions. For this reason, it is important to understand how the media report, frame and analyse migration issues in this specific social context and reflect on the implications of these representations and their diffusion in the society.

This report sketches the ways that Greek-Cypriot newspapers addressed the issue of migration between the second half of 2011 to the end of 2015.

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1   In the report the term migrant and migration is used in a broad sense to include all people in and types of mobility (refugees, immigrants, asylum seekers). Although recognising that people have different motivations for migrating and the circumstances of their mobility vary greatly, this research aimed to capture all different types of migration trajectories that were presented in the Greek-Cypriot Press during the reporting period.
2   Cyprus is used herein to mean the Republic of Cyprus (RoC). When referencing the entire Cyprus and/or the north occupied areas, this is explicitly noted.
3   Net migration is the balance between in-migration and out-migration. Negative migration means that the country exported more migrants compared to the number of in-migrants.

The report focuses on a period marked with financial turmoil for RoC, from July 2011–a year before the country applied for aid at the European Stability Mechanism (ESM)-to December 2015, when the so-called refugee crisis, which unfolded earlier on, was still at its peak[4].

The aim of this report is twofold. It firstly provides the reader with information about the visibility of the issue in the newspapers studied, for example it presents the number of articles published on issues related to migration and the specific topics that these articles covered along with information on whether their focus was on national matters, international and/or European. Within this section, the report provides information regarding the refugee crisis (2014-2015) and discusses differences with the earlier reporting period (2011-2013). Secondly, the report presents the pro-migrant/anti-migrant debate by exploring favourable and unfavourable arguments towards migration and migrants in the newspapers studied. Specific references are again made to the refugee crisis and how it affected the content of the pro-migration/anti-migration debate.

To assist the reader to follow the findings reported, the text includes relevant Tables/Figures and examples from the article data analysed in Greek and their English translations. The report is organized in four main sections: 1. Introduction, 2. Methodology, 3. Key findings and analysis and 4. Summary and future work.

The report developed as part of a wider research activity undertaken by Assistant Professor Irini Kadianaki, at the Department of Psychology, University of Cyprus under a Horizon 2020 project entitled *Representations of the Crisis, Crisis of the Representations*. The project (2015-2018), which consisted of a consortium of sixteen Universities and Research Centers, covering 13 European countries, aimed to understand social identity change at times of crisis (see section 1.2 for more details).

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4   Between 2014 and 2015 almost a million-people moved to the EU from Turkey through sea and land risking their lives while thousands were drowned in the Mediterranean Sea and continue to lose their lives to the drafting of this report. Amnesty International warned that 2017 will be the deadliest year for migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean (see Amnesty International, 2016 and Amnesty International, 2017)

1.1. A note on the Re.Cri.Re project

Re.Cri.Re is a HORIZON 2020 funded research project that aims to understand social identity change within European societies, considering that social identity influences the impact of policies, particularly at times of crisis. This entails analysing cultures of European societies and the impact of the socio-economic crisis on them, to frame better policies at local, national and European level. To this end, civil society, policy-makers and academics within the field of social sciences come together and contribute in the various Re.Cri.Re. actions. Overall, the project envisions to provide suggestions for improving the efficiency of policies operating in/for a positive post-crisis scenario. To this end, sixteen Universities and Research Centers, covering 13 European countries, are working together since May 2015. The project is to be completed by May 2018. For more information see project website: http://www.recrire.eu/.

Research presented here is derived from the work package three (3) of the program: *Multilevel Analysis of the Symbolic Universes*, which in Cyprus focused on the study of media representations of migration/migrants and the LGBTI community. Research partners across Europe chose to focus on one or more of the 9 topics of the project (e.g., solidarity, democracy, Europe, Islam).

Kick off meeting of Re.Cri.Re. team at Mesagne, Italy in June 2015

1.2. A note on the context:
Cyprus, migration trends and the refugee crisis

An increasing interest of the national media on migration relates to the transformation of Cyprus in the 1990s from a country of emigration to a host country, receiving mainly economic migrants (unskilled and semi-skilled workers) from the European Union (hereinafter EU) or migrants from third countries. This transformation relates to the country's economic advancement in the 1990s. Additionally, RoCs' EU accession in 2004 has probably also contributed towards this transformation. As deteriorating situations like conflicts, civil wars and third-party interventions in regions across the globe continue, people continue to look for refuge or better life conditions in other countries, including Cyprus. The arrival of asylum seekers in RoC from countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan, Ukraine, Iran and elsewhere increased gradually and specifically between the years 2003 and 2007 (see UNHCR, 2004 and 2014 statistics). In 2004, the year of RoC's EU accession, there were 9872 pending applications for asylum before the RoC's authorities, compared to 952 pending applications in 2002 (UNHCR, 2015). RoC's migrant population currently amounts to about 20% of its overall population (Statistical Service, 2013).

In terms of asylum applications filed in RoC during the refugee crisis, 1.887 new asylum applications were submitted in 2014 and over 2.000 new applications were filed in 2015. Yet, Cyprus was not a main transit or destination country for the thousands of people fleeing their turbulent countries in search of refuge in the EU. The Asylum Service's statistical data indicate a rather significant decrease in asylum applications between years 2007 to 2016[5].

The financial turbulence between the years 2011 led an increasing number of third country nationals and EU migrants to leave the country along with a significant number of Cypriot citizens. These numbers are shown in Table 1 (Statistical Service, 2015), which lists the number of emigrants (individuals leaving the RoC) by year from 2011 to 2015 and by citizenship (Cypriot citizens, EU citizens, non-EU citizens). As seen in Table 1, in 2011 a total of 4.895 people

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5   For more information see data provided by the Asylum Service and
     available here: http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/asylum/asylumservice.nsf/
     B6A3C841A14422DDC2257FE000358546/$file/2016%20Asylum%20Statistics_web.pdf

emigrated but the number of emigrants skyrocketed in year 2012 (18.105 people) and continued to increase significantly in the year 2013 (25.227) but then gradually started to drop in years 2014 (24.038) and 2015 (17.183) but still it remained significantly high compared to year 2011. Notably, in 2015 Cyprus had the second highest rate of emigration in the EU (Eurostat, 2017). According to the statistical service of the RoC net migration shifted from positive during years 1983 to 2011 to negative from 2012 to date. In 2015 specifically, net migration was estimated at -2.000. (Statistical Service, 2015, p.17).

Table 1. **Emigrants by Citizenship (Statistical Service)**

Υπηκοότητα / Citizenship	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Σύνολο / Total	4.895	18.105	25.227	24.038	17.183
Κυπριακή / Cypriot	242	1.050	3.579	2.096	1.025
Ε.Ε. / EU	643	5.078	8.745	7.068	2.829
Εκτός Ε.Ε. / Non-EU	3.615	11.977	12.903	14.874	13.329
Δεν δηλώθηκε / Non-stated	395	0	0	0	0

The RoC's migration policies have been characterized as restrictive and repressive (Trimikliniotis, 2013). For example, the RoC implements "penal measures of criminalizing, detaining, expelling, and banning the entry of third country nationals and simply blocking their access to obtaining long-term residence" (Trimikliniotis, 2013, p. 453). Yet, the access of foreign investors and high-skilled migrants is facilitated (Ibid.). RoC has recently been criticized in international media for "selling EU citizenship" (Guardian, 2017) to wealthy foreigners. They refer to RoC's scheme[6] to naturalize third country nationals, who invest at least €2.5 million in Cyprus through for example real estate investments; these investors by receiving Cypriot citizenship become simultaneously EU citizens.

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6   For more information on the Scheme for Naturalization of Investors in Cyprus by exception see http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/moi.nsf/All/36DB428D50A58C00C2257C1B00218CAB

Integration policies and practices by RoC have been consistently evaluated as inadequate (see for example Officer & Taki, 2013) while the country's asylum system is also characterized by shortcomings such as lengthy procedures for refugee status determination and lengthy detention of rejected asylum seekers (see for example Muižnieks, 2016)

As far as social attitudes are concerned, studies noted the existence of anti-migrant sentiments, racism and xenophobia since the 1990s (Trimikliniotis, 1999). These are substantiated by recent reports (e.g., ENAR Shadow Report, 2015/2016). Pro-migrant initiatives also developed since 1990s (Trimikliniotis, 1999) and continue to be recorded mainly in the form of solidarity activism, services to migrants by NGO's and other grass-root initiatives.

2. Methodology

This report presents a descriptive analysis of *how the Greek-Cypriot Press addressed the issue of migration between 2011 and 2015*. For this purpose, articles published between July 2011 and December 2015 in four daily Greek-Cypriot newspapers were collected and analysed: *Haravgi, Politis, Fileleftheros, Simerini*. The newspapers were purposefully chosen for representing different standpoints of the political spectrum. *Haravgi* is the official mouthpiece of left-wing AKEL, part of the *Dialogos* media group, *Politis* is characterized by liberal views particularly on economy, *Fileleftheros* is the oldest Greek-Cypriot newspaper part of *Phileleftheros Media Group* with the largest circulation not aligned to a specific party but found to be pro-government with exceptions, *Simerini* is a right-wing newspaper and part of *DIAS* media group. Cypriot media hold strong ties with political parties and/or the government. They tend to take a clear political stance towards major issues and conflicts and to frame them accordingly. One example is the longstanding Cyprus Issue (Avraamidou, 2017; Christophorou et al, 2010) and a second it is the recent financial crisis (Doudaki, Boubouka, & Tzalavras, 2016; Panayiotou, 2013).

The period of focus of the report is between the second half of July 2011 to the end of December 2015. This choice was made based on the availability of the searchable electronic media archives, starting from year 2011 and on criteria set by the Re.Cri.Re project.

It is imperative to define first a few methodological terms that the report uses, following Braun & Clarke (2006):
- **Data corpus** refers to all articles collected throughout the reporting period in all the newspapers studied.
- **Data set** refers to all the articles analysed for the purposes of the quantitative/descriptive analysis.
- **Qualitative data set** refers to all the articles analysed for the purpose of the in-depth qualitative analysis.
- **Extract** refers to a part of an article.

The research was conducted in three steps (see Figure 1), the collection of relevant articles which consists of the data corpus, the formation of the data set for the descriptive/quantitative analysis and its subsequent analysis and finally the formation and more in-depth analysis of a smaller data set, the qualitative data set. A small part of the qualitative analysis is presented in this report, while a more extensive analysis is presented elsewhere (see for example Kadianaki et al., 2018).

Figure 1. Data collection and analysis scheme

Step 1	Step 2	Stept 3
Formation of the data corpus.	Formation and analysis of the data set for the quantitative/ descriptive analysis.	Formation and analysis of the qualitative data set (ongoing).
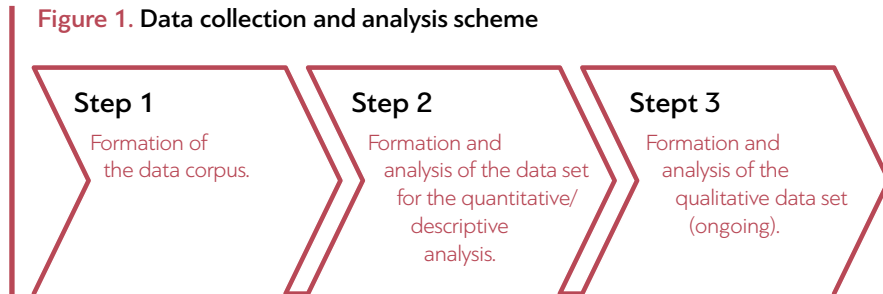
Step 1: Formation of the data corpus

Matrix Media company, a media monitoring company, assisted with data collection. Under the guidance of the research team, the company searched and stored electronically all articles published in the four newspapers during the reporting period on the topic of migration. To find data in the selected newspapers the following keywords were used: 'refugee', 'immigr-', 'migra-'. This search resulted to a total of 2.507 articles (data corpus, See Table 2): 109 articles for 2011 (July to December); 224 articles in 2012; 178 articles in 2013; 311 articles in 2014; and 1.685 articles in 2015.

Table 2. Data corpus

Year	Number of articles
2011	109
2012	224
2013	178
2014	311
2015	1685
SUM	2507

Step 2: **Formation and analysis of the data set for the quantitative analysis**

Because of the large number of articles in 2015, and particularly from May 2015 onwards (N=1.608), the research team followed a first sampling procedure to decrease the number of 2015 articles for the quantitative/descriptive analysis. To ensure representativeness the team sampled the articles of 2015 in a stratified manner, i.e., number of articles in the sample was proportional to the number of articles published in each month, and the choice of articles was made randomly, using the online random integer website[7]. This process concerned only the period after April 2015, for the previous months all data were included in the data set. The decreased number of the 2015 articles was 595. The data set for quantitative/descriptive analysis is comprised of the 595 data for 2015 and the 822 data for the year 2011 to 2014. The total number of the data set for quantitative/descriptive analysis is 1.417.

Table 3. **Data set for quantitative/descriptive analysis**

Year	Number of articles
2011 (2nd half)	109
2012	224
2013	178
2014	311
2015	595
SUM	1417

Table 4 provides the breakdown of articles per year and per newspaper.

Table 4. **Data set for quantitative analysis per year and newspaper**

| Newspaper | Number of articles | | | | | |
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Politis	24	59	38	43	94	258
Simerini	22	34	32	65	89	242
Fileleftheros	37	60	46	89	138	370
Haravgi	26	71	62	114	273	546
Total	109	224	178	311	595	1417

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7   For more information see RANDOM.ORG - Integer Generator

First, the research team aimed at further familiarizing with the data set and understanding the broader patterns of migration reporting in the newspaper articles. This entailed a review of the topics of articles across years and newspapers and the further organization of the data set in two broader categories based on journalistic genre and centre of interest of the content. During this process of categorization, non-relevant articles, that is, articles that were not relevant to migration despite containing one or both of the keywords (e.g. article concerning bird migration), were excluded from the data set.

Within the category journalistic genre, the team distinguished between news and opinion articles. **News articles**, were defined as articles covering or informing about facts (hard and/or soft news articles) whereas **opinion articles or commentaries**, were defined as articles conveying the author's views or the newspaper's stance (editorials) about a topic. Additionally, the research team categorized both opinion and news articles according to their length and identifying short articles as those of 100 words or less and long articles, those more than 100 words.

Within the content category, the research team distinguished between local, global/international, or mixed articles. **Local** articles were defined as those covering national news or issues and affairs concerning migration. In this category, the team included also articles referencing the occupied north. **Global/International**, were defined to be the articles covering news and opinions about migration that did not concern Cyprus. **Mixed**, were the articles covering both international and national issues of concern. When the focus was primarily on global/international issues, the research team categorized them as **Global/local** and when focus was mostly on local issues they were categorized as **Local/global**.

This process allowed illustrating the big picture on the coverage of migration in the Greek-Cypriot Press answering to questions of visibility, types of topics covered and other characteristics (see Section 3.2.).

Step 3: Qualitative data set for in-depth analysis

To delve deeper into the topic of how the Press represented migrants and migration in years 2011-2015 the research team opted to further reduce the data set for quantitative analysis to be able to perform in-depth analysis with a manageable number of articles (data set for qualitative analysis).

Specifically, the research team selected 240 articles from the data set after it excluded all short news articles (those less than 100 words). The sampling was done purposefully to ensure the following: (i) each year represented by the same number of articles (N = 40) with the exception of year 2015 which was represented with 80 articles, given the fact that the initial number of articles published in this year was more than double the number of articles published on migrants/migration in the preceding four years; (ii) each of the four newspapers was represented with the same number of articles (10 articles per newspaper between 2011 to 2014 and 20 articles per newspaper in year 2015); (iii) inclusion of both opinion and news articles in equal numbers: half of the articles per newspaper were opinion articles and the other half news articles. The sampling of articles per year, per newspaper, was done randomly (see Table 5).

Table 5. Qualitative data set per year and newspaper

Year	Haravgi	Fileleftheros	Politis	Simerini
2011	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles
2012	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles
2013	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles
2014	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles	10 articles
2015	20 articles	20 articles	20 articles	20 articles

These 240 articles were coded using ATLAS.ti[8] across as set of codes that the research team identified based on the data following the inductive approach, namely, inferring general themes out of particular references made in the articles. Codes, are "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the

8   ATLAS.ti a software for qualitative data analysis.

phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63). They more specifically identify a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that carries some meaning for the person performing the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Identifying codes and themes

The data set for qualitative analysis was coded into four main, broad codes:

1. **Migrants:** refers to descriptions of migrants (i.e., migrants, refugees and any other word to refer to people in mobility) that contain some forms of representations of this category e.g., victims, criminals, workers etc.;
2. **International actors:** refers to the primary and secondary actors, who are not national actors, found in the data to be related directly and/or indirectly with migration issues. Such actors were the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN);
3. **Cyprus:** references made to Cyprus as a country or its people including references to the occupied north in relation to topics of migration and
4. **Racism/ Xenophobia:** references to racism and xenophobia as social phenomena or individual stances and ideologies.

The research team developed sub-codes for each core code, which were again data-driven. For example, the code Migrants included 6 sub-codes (e.g., representations of migrants, consequences of migration, refugee crisis etc.). Similarly, the core code International Actors consists of five sub-codes (e.g., burden sharing, Europe/West and Other). For a full description of codes and sub-codes please refer to Annex I.

Each researcher coded a different part of the data set therefore to ensure coding consistency the research team took the following measures: (1) Code frame: designed a detailed code frame including the name of each code, a brief explanation and/or description and an example from the data set-extract of article (see Figure 2 below and Annex I (2) Pilot cross-coder coding: parts of the data set of these 240 articles were coded simultaneously by different researchers of the team and this allowed researchers to cross-check coding to ensure inter-rater reliability; and (3) Lengthy extracts: In choosing text segments we developed a strategy like that of MacPhail et al. (2015, p. 203) and coded segments that were relatively lengthy i.e., a paragraph or more. This allowed maintaining the context of the text enabling a rigorous analysis.

Figure 2. **Final frame: codes and sub-codes**

1	**Migrants**	Representations of migrants, Muslims, Consequences of migration, Refugee crisis, Countries of origin, Syrian war
2	**International actors**	Burden sharing, pre-entry, post-entry
3	**Cyprus**	Cypriot economic crisis, Cypriots/Cyprus, North, Local actors
4	**Racism & Xenophopia**	any references to the existence of xenophobia and racism

Codes and sub-codes provided a thorough basis for the subsequent analysis across a set of relevant themes. A theme, according to Braun and Clarke (2006) "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set" (p. 10). In effect, the analysis investigated a set of different themes that appeared in the newspapers under investigation and related to the research question. In practice, the analysis emerged through reading and re-reading the extracts consisting each of the four codes and their sub-codes (see Iosephides on cyclical process in qualitative analysis, 2008, p. 37).

Noticing that articles moved across a pro-migration/anti-migration axis, namely, that some articles represented migrants negatively whereas others took a pro-migrant stance, the research team decided to analyse these two oppositional themes examining their content and inter-relationship.

The next section begins with a description of the visibility of migration in the newspapers studied by presenting and commenting on the number of articles on migration per year, per newspaper (descriptive/quantitative analysis). It is organized in bullet points while tables and figures are provided. This is followed by the main findings of a more in-depth analysis of the content and the inter-relation of the pro-migration/anti-migration discourses. In this section examples from the data are presented. The text inside brackets [ ] is explanatory while brackets with dots [...], signify that parts of the extracts considered irrelevant to the analysis are missing.

The report concludes by outlining avenues for future research along with the research team's next steps to provide a more in-depth analysis of the migration/media nexus in the content of Cyprus.

3. Key findings and analysis

3.1. General remarks on the data corpus

- **Numbers across years:** A total of 109 articles were published across the four newspapers in the last six months of 2011. The numbers remained around the same in 2012, during which a total of 224 articles were published on the topic. Numbers dropped in 2013 by 46 articles compared to 2012. This could be a consequence of how in 2013 the public discussion was monopolized by the country's rapidly declining economy, which resulted in a haircut of unsecured deposits of its two systemic banks, which collapsed in that year. This is to say that, expectedly, the economy dominated the national media during that year. However, a steep increase of articles on migration in the subsequent two years is noted: In year 2014 the articles on migration almost doubled by comparison to 2013, whereas the numbers skyrocketed in year 2015, as shown in Figure 3. We contend that this growth in numbers reflects the growing concern over the refugee crisis which intensified from 2014 onwards.

Figure 3. Number of articles per year
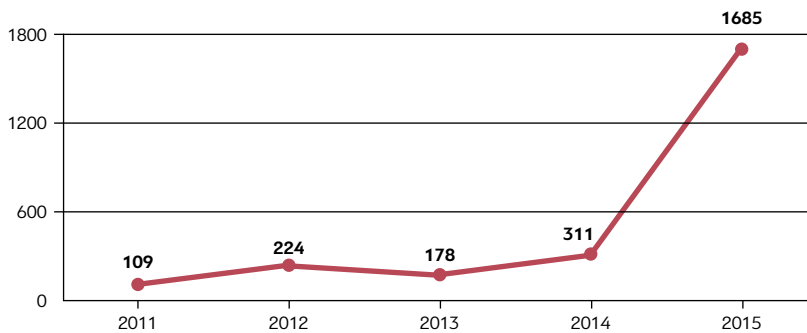
- **Number of articles per newspaper between 2011-2015:** With regards to number of articles per newspaper for all the reporting period, *Politis* published 455, *Simerini* published 413 and *Fileleftheros* published 628 articles each referencing issues related to migration throughout the

reporting period. Notably, *Haravgi* published over 1.011 articles during the same period (Figure 4). This is evidence of *Haravgi's* interest on the topic, at least compared to the other three daily newspapers. Specifically, it published more articles than *Simerini* and *Politis* together and almost double the articles of *Fileleftheros* during the same period. Given newspapers represent different standpoints in the political spectrum, and given *Haravgi* exclusively expressed the views of Cyprus's traditional left, it would be safe to assume that the topic of migration is more central to the political agenda and concerns of the country's left-wing.

Figure 4. Number of Articles per Newspaper 2011-2015
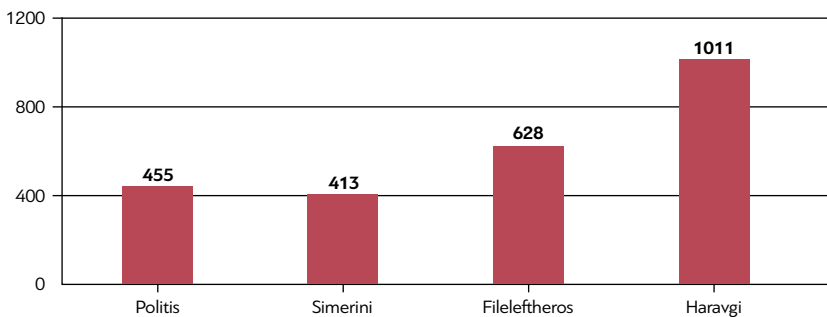
- **All newspapers** significantly increased their reports on migration in 2015 compared to earlier years (see Table 6). For example, *Politis* published 291 articles only in 2015 whereas between 2011 to 2014, it published a total of 164 (see Table 6).

Table 6. Number of articles per newspaper per year

	Number of articles					
Newspaper	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Politis	24	59	38	43	291	**455**
Simerini	22	34	32	65	260	**413**
Fileleftheros	37	60	46	89	396	**628**
Haravgi	26	71	62	114	738	**1011**
Total	**109**	**224**	**178**	**311**	**1685**	**2507**

3.2. Visibility: numbers, topics and figures

- **Type of articles[9]:** Most articles throughout the reporting period were news articles. As seen in Table 7 the number of news articles significantly outweighs the number of opinion articles in all years. Opinion articles show a steady increase throughout the years, except between 2012-2013 and a steeper increase in 2015 by comparison to earlier years. If we were to link this with the observation that the refugee crisis dominates as a theme in year 2015, this leads us to the conjecture that the augmenting interest on the refugee crisis not only as a news story but as a social, global phenomenon with a predominantly humanitarian angle. Opinion articles tend to comment and analyse important developments both for the author and the general society. The small number of opinion articles compared to news articles throughout the reporting period however, indicates that perhaps migration, although covered, it still did not trigger a dominant debate in the country.

Table 7. Articles by genre: news/opinion from quantitative data set

Year	Number of articles	News	Opinion	Non relevant
2011	109	90	18	1
2012	224	170	47	7
2013	178	131	38	9
2014	311	239	56	16
2015	595	407	175	13

- **Topic of articles Global vs. Local:** With regards to the content of the articles and more precisely whether the centre of interest was on Global vs. Local issues as regarding migration, the following was observed: whereas in years 2011 to 2013 migration was predominantly discussed in a more local framework, between 2014-2015 there was a decrease of local articles and a sharp increase of global articles (see Table 8). We contend that the rise of internationally-focused articles in Greek-Cypriot newspapers in year 2015 is a consequence of the increasing concern with the refugee crisis that did not, however, affect Cyprus unilaterally. In our data, reference to the refugee

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9   This section refers to the data set for descriptive/quantitative analysis.

crisis focused for example on deaths at Mediterranean Sea, especially in the shores of Italy, Turkey, and Greece, and the EU management of the crisis. Articles referencing deaths of refugees in the Mediterranean were published before 2014 as well but not with the same intensity.

Table 8. Articles by Local/Global focus from quantitative data set

Year	Number of Data	Local	Global	Mixed	Non Relevant
2011	109	61	16	31	1
2012	224	124	25	68	7
2013	178	86	57	26	9
2014	311	155	93	47	16
2015	595	95	382	105	13

- **Local news topics:** In general, topics reported by the Press concerning migration issues in Cyprus included the topic of irregular entry of migrants in Cyprus, issues of trafficking and smuggling, protection of unaccompanied minors, irregular crossings of migrants from the north, references to detention of migrants and detention centres, naturalization issues, labour and social security issues, NGO actions and activities for the integration of migrants, number of migrants, number of asylum applications and general issues pertaining to demographics. Also articles were concerned with topics such as social benefits/allowances paid to migrants by Cypriot authorities such as asylum seekers, integration issues in Cyprus, hunger strikes or other mobilizations organized by asylum seekers and/ or refugees to demand rights by the Cypriot authorities.

- **North topics:** Topics related to the occupied north included mostly references to irregular crossings through the Green Line[10] and in particular from north to south, noting numbers of individuals who cross, controls at check-points, problems policing the Green Line, references to the arrival of

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10 Green Line refers to the United Nations Buffer Zone separating the two sides since 1964 and extended in 1974 with the Turkish invasion/occupation when it remained hermetically closed to almost any human passage until 2003. Since 2003, certain check points have been created to allow crossings while since 2004 an EU regulation provides for the terms of human and goods cross across it.

migrants through the non-legal *Ercan* International Airport but also incidents with migrants in the north like deaths at sea and arrests of irregular migrants.

- **Global news topics:** Global topics beyond the refugee crisis were minimal and concerned for example terrorism such as the Charlie Hebdo events in France. EU topics usually had also a local/Cypriot and an EU aspect (categorized as mixed) particularly during Cyprus EU presidency in 2012.

- **EU and migration:** EU appeared as a prominent actor on migration issues throughout the reporting period but its role was highlighted in view of the refugee crisis. The most common issues reported with an EU link concerned pre-entry issues (e.g., smuggling, European border controls, conflicts at countries of origin and the role of the EU), post-entry issues (e.g., integration issues, rise of xenophobia) and burden sharing (i.e., equal distribution of weights across member states). Newspapers studied reported frequently on the topic of a fairer burden sharing of migration responsibilities across EU member states. For example, articles noted how Cyprus, a south European member state, received large number of asylum seekers contrary to northern EU member states. From 2014 to 2015 in view of the refugee crisis, the issue of burden sharing did not regard Cyprus exclusively or merely southern states but newspapers reported public disagreements between EU officials and heads of various other EU member states (see below, *Refugee Crisis and EU frustration/Euroscepticism*).

- **Other international actors:** Other international actors referenced in relation to the migration issue include the UN and specifically the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and Amnesty International. None of these, however, were as prominently present as the EU.

3.2.1. The refugee crisis during the years 2014 and 2015

- **The number shift:** The increase of articles in year 2014 and particularly in year 2015 is concurrent with the peak of the refugee crisis (see Table 2 and Figure 3). Evidently, the Greek-Cypriot Press reported systematically the unfolding refugee crisis through news and opinion reports written by local authors or by reproducing articles written by international authors.

- **The humanitarian shift:** In the data set of 2015 pro-migration/refugee articles

clearly outnumber anti-migration/refugee opinion articles. This is evidence of a rather humanitarian turn of the Press at least with regards to the refugee crisis. Overall, articles referencing the refugee crisis focused on burden sharing among EU member states, the role of the EU in the crisis, stories of peoples' journeys to seek asylum in the EU, rising of death tolls in the Mediterranean etc. Newspaper studied also reported on the arrival of Syrian refugees in Cyprus (i.e., September 6, 2015) covering complications caused for example when many of these refugees decided not to file an application in Cyprus but to instead continue their journey to other EU countries.

- **EU frustration and Euroscepticism:** Both news reports and opinion articles shared an understanding that the EU and EU member states failed to manage the crisis. The arguments used attributed the failure to effectively deal with the crisis mainly because of lack of coordination, disagreements between member states due to conflicting interests, weakness of the EU institutions to impose policies bypassing the national agenda of certain member states. The overarching argument was that Europe did not act as a real union and that it did not show solidarity, as expected, to refugees but watched, in an inhuman manner, the unfolding of the crisis at its shores. The use of adjectives such as "unwilling" or "puzzled" to describe European reaction amid the crisis are indicative. As regarding burden sharing, the basic idea emerging in the data is that with the augmentation of the crisis, reception of refugees could not be contained within the countries of the European south. The situation appeared complicated and conflicting as the Press was covering disagreements between Germany and Hungary for example on the controversial Hungarian fence to keep migrants out of the country. The exception was a few articles criticizing Europe for being too open to refugees and which represented refugees as a threat to Europe.

- **The European dilemma:** The few references to Europe with positive connotations were about material support to refugees i.e., through references to the EU budget allocated to the crisis and integration programs of reception countries. Also, positive connotations were noted in certain news articles quoting European leaders' willingness to effectively deal with the crisis. Still articles would evaluate the European reaction as poor. Other ideas put forward were that Europe was before a dilemma: whether to show solidarity or safeguard its own interests. Other, positive articles referenced grass-roots solidarity, that is solidarity from ordinary people or organizations

in European societies-showing a tolerant, human face of Europeans contra the dominant representation of an intolerant and inhuman Europe.
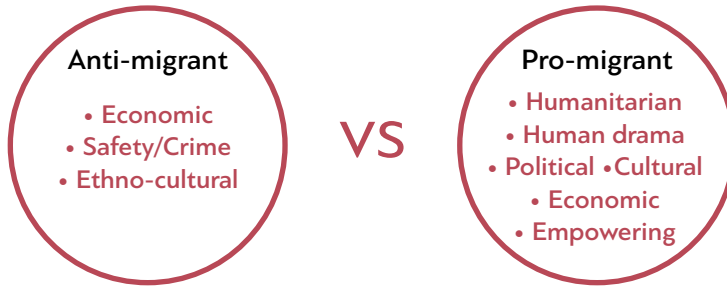
- **European institutions Vs. member states:** Often, articles and particularly opinion articles blamed certain member states for blocking the EU from adequately responding to the unfolding crisis and requested a more united Europe. The predominant idea noted was that, had the European states played by EU rules then tragedies could have been prevented and had all member states been willing to show solidarity, internally (to other EU states) and externally (to refugees), then the crisis would have been dealt with more constructively.

- **Refugee crisis globally (beyond the EU):** Attention to the migration or the refugee issue beyond Cyprus and the EU was rather minor. Exceptions are for example articles reporting on refugee population in certain states in Africa, in the Middle East or reports about conflicts in Africa that produced refugees and internally displaced persons. In some occasions, good practices of countries beyond the EU were mentioned, such as programs implemented for example in Canada.

3.3. The migration debate: pro-migrant/anti-migrant discourses

In dwelling further in the content of the smaller sample for the in-depth analysis, it became evident that newspaper articles were typically positioned across a pro-migration/anti-migration axis, some representing migrants negatively whereas others positively. In terms of article type/genre, positive and negative representations were noted in both news articles and opinion articles, but it is opinion articles that clearly assumed a positive or a negative stance towards migrants or the migration question in general. This study did not examine which side of the debate was more prominent across the reporting period[11] but instead identified the arguments used by each side and how each side represented or referenced the other side. This section describes these two oppositional themes mainly in terms of their content, presenting the main arguments of each of the two poles of the pro-migrant/anti-migrant debate as shown in Figure 5.

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11 Although it was observed that during the year 2015 articles focused predominantly on the refugee issue taking a human-interest angle.

Figure 5. **Summary of the arguments in the anti-migrant/pro-migrant debate**

Anti-migrant
- **Economic**
- **Safety/Crime**
- **Ethno-cultural**

VS

Pro-migrant
- **Humanitarian**
- **Human drama**
- **Political • Cultural**
- **Economic**
- **Empowering**

What follows is a more detailed analysis of the discourse each side developed and its implications in the overall representation of migrants in the newspapers studied.

3.3.1. Pro-migrant: general themes, lines of argumentation and examples

The arguments developed in pro-migrant articles are grouped in six themes (see Figure 6). First it is the **Humanitarian** theme organized in four interrelated sub-themes, that is **Human Rights**, **Equality**, **Progressiveness** and that **Racism is bad**. The Human Rights sub-theme is stressing that migrants-especially those perceived as most vulnerable like women and children- should enjoy basic Human Rights. The main line of argumentation of this sub-theme is that basic Human Rights should be respected for everyone. The **Equality** sub-theme is similar, but the emphasis is more on equality as a universal principle, a doctrine with a wider meaning rather than respect of specific, core Human Rights. Equality and Human Rights themes were often combined, and the main line of argumentation identified is that all humans are equal regardless of race, gender, nationality, sexual orientation etc.

Figure 6. Core themes and sub-themes of pro-migrant discourse

PRO-MIGRANT

Core theme & sub-themes	Definition/ description
1. Humanitarian	
1.1.1. Human Rights (HR)	concerns access to basic HR for all and specifically by vulnerable groups (women, children etc.) *Main line of argumentation*: HR should be respected for everyone.
1.1.2. Equality	emphasis on equality as a universal principle. *Main line of argumentation:* we are all equal regardless of race, gender, nationality, sexual orientation etc.
1.1.3. Progressiveness	safeguarding HR is about being progressive=a priori positive. *Main line of argumentation*: Being pro-migrant or migrant-friendly is about being progressive.
1.1.4. Racism is bad	racism is a priori bad or because of a certain reason. *Main line of argumentation:* Being racist is bad because it relates to Nazism, fascism etc.
2. Human drama	sympathetic references to migrants' journeys to safety, difficulties at country of origin (CO), integration problems etc. Emphasis on 'individual' suffering rather than collective. *Main line of argumentation:* these people suffer to reach their destination or they suffer upon arrival and they should be protected.
3. Political causes	
3.1. Conflicts at CO	migrants are victims of violence and conflicts at countries or origin.
3.2. Systemic	migrants are victims of the socio-economic system (global and national).
3.3. Internal politics/ policies at reception country	migrants as scapegoats or victims of internal politics and inadequate migration policies.
4. Cultural arguments	references to the benefits of inter-cultural/ multicultural mixing. *Main line of argumentation*: they benefit culturally the reception country.
5. Economic arguments	references to the sectors that migrants tend to work, cheap labor. *Main line of argumentation*: they benefit the economy of the hosting country.
6. Empowering	focus on activism/ migrants' own agency. *Main line of argumentation*: They try to improve their lives on their own.

One example, is the following opinion article published in *Fileleftheros* and in which the then Minister of Interior, Neoklis Sylikiotis, defended the governmental migration policies based on **Human Rights** principles and values and relevant European and/or international conventions:

> *Yet, above all, our immigration policy, is inspired [by] and promotes universal principles and values; it is completely harmonized with the European acquit, the international and European conventions and the European Pact on immigration and asylum; and it fully respects the human rights and dignity of all members of the society, without any discrimination or prejudice. No action or policy we adopt, either at European or national level, should be in conflict with this framework of principles and values.*
>
> **Neoklis Sylikiotis, Community Solidarity and Migration,**
> **17/10/2011, p. 6, *Fileleftheros***

> *Η μεταναστευτική μας πολιτική, όμως, πάνω απ' όλα, διαπνέεται και προάγει πανανθρώπινες αρχές και αξίες, είναι πλήρως εναρμονισμένη με το ευρωπαϊκό κεκτημένο, τις διεθνείς και ευρωπαϊκές συμβάσεις και το ευρωπαϊκό σύμφωνο για τη μετανάστευση και το άσυλο και σέβεται πλήρως τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και την αξιοπρέπεια όλων των μελών της κοινωνίας μας χωρίς διακρίσεις ή προκαταλήψεις. Κανένα μέτρο και καμία πολιτική που υιοθετούμε, είτε σε ευρωπαϊκό, είτε σε εθνικό επίπεδο, δεν μπορεί και δεν πρέπει να έρχεται αντιμέτωπο με αυτό το πλαίσιο αρχών και αξιών.*
>
> **Νεοκλής Συλικιώτης, Κοινοτική Αλληλεγγύη και Μετανάστευση,**
> **17/10/2011, σελ. 6, *Φιλελεύθερος***

The third sub-theme of the humanitarian discourse is **Progressiveness** stressing ideas that protection and acceptance of migrants is progressive. The main line of argumentation is that being pro-migrant is about being progressive and open-minded. For example, the following extract refers to an incident of racist attacks in Cyprus and explicitly argues that promoting racism is a disgrace for the country and a sign of social backwardness:

> *Some time ago, Cyprus had [sic] faced racist attacks by hooded men against immigrants in Larnaca. Every progressive and democratic person in this country wondered what had incited such attacks. On the other hand, however, some politicians, on the occasion of the episodes, found an*

> *opportunity to promote xenophobia and racism, bringing forth additional reasons for concern and vigilance. There is no doubt that the mass hysteria that was created at the beginning of the economic crisis, accusing foreigners for low wages and the sharp increase in unemployment, was catalytic for what followed. Such phenomena are not suited to a modern and democratic state like Cyprus. Extreme fascist organizations and those who indirectly or directly promote racism, discredit our country and promote social regression. They do not belong to a country from which thousands of [our] compatriots have migrated to all lengths and widths of the planet.*
>
> **Dr. Vassilis Mavrou, The phenomenon of racism and Cyprus,**
> **22/02/2014, p. 26,** *Simerini*

> *Πριν από λίγο καιρό η Κύπρος είχε αντιμετωπίσει ρατσιστικές επιθέσεις κουκουλοφόρων εναντίον μεταναστών στη Λάρνακα. Κάθε προοδευτικός και δημοκρατικός άνθρωπος του τόπου αναρωτήθηκε τι υποκίνησε αυτές τις επιθέσεις. Από την άλλη, όμως, κάποιοι πολιτικοί, με αφορμή τα επεισόδια, βρήκαν ευκαιρία να προάγουν την ξενοφοβία και τον ρατσισμό, δημιουργώντας επιπρόσθετο λόγο ανησυχίας και επαγρύπνησης. Δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι η μαζική υστερία που δημιουργήθηκε στην αρχή της οικονομικής κρίσης, με τις κατηγορίες κατά αλλοδαπών για τα χαμηλά ημερομίσθια και την κατακόρυφη αύξηση της ανεργίας, ήταν καταλυτική για το τι ακολούθησε. Τέτοια φαινόμενα δεν αρμόζουν σε ένα σύγχρονο και δημοκρατικό κράτος όπως είναι η Κύπρος. Οι ακραίες φασιστικές οργανώσεις και όσοι έμμεσα ή άμεσα προάγουν τον ρατσισμό δυσφημούν τον τόπο μας και προωθούν την κοινωνική οπισθοδρόμηση. Δεν αρμόζουν σε μια χώρα από την οποία χιλιάδες συμπατριωτών έχουν μεταναστεύσει σε όλα τα μήκη και πλάτη του πλανήτη.*
>
> **Δρ Βασίλη Μαύρου, Το φαινόμενο του ρατσισμού και η Κύπρος,**
> **22/02/2014, σελ. 26,** *Σημερινή*

In this example, there is a binary: Being anti-racist stands for being progressive and democratic whereas being racist, anti-migrant and xenophobic stands for being backward and anti-modern ("social backwardness"). Interestingly, the writer is also concerned with Cyprus' reputation internationally because he considers racist attacks as a disgrace for the entire country. The extract is also a characteristic example of how articles endorsing anti-racism alerted about the rise of xenophobia and racism in Cyprus particularly in view of the unfolding financial crisis. It is also a characteristic example of how the migrant identity of

Cypriots in the past is drawn to encourage migrant solidarity in the present. The previous extract endorsed also the discourse that **Racism is bad**, another interrelated sub-theme observed within the humanitarian discourse. In this regard, racism is bad because it hinders progress. Notably, in the data set all the seven reasons noted by Bonett (2000) as arguments used in anti-racist discourse were encountered. These are: racism is socially disruptive, it is foreign or imported, it sustains the ruling class, it hinders progress of the country/people, it is an intellectual error, it distorts, and erases people's identities and it is socially unjust and anti-egalitarian. In the following extract, from the same article as the abovementioned, to criticize **Racism as bad** it associates it with Nazism, fascism and fanaticism. As also argued in this extract, racism is not only an idiom of some backward people or of certain politicians, but it is rather institutionalized, taught, for example in schools, and it characterizes people or countries who lack culture/civilization:

> *Racism, unfortunately, is taught in schools and it is a consequence of the deficient education our children receive. It would be good [if students], apart from the achievements of our race, learnt also about the dark areas of European history, such as the rise of Nazism, fascism, fanaticism. To learn what is the Nazi ideology, what is the Holocaust, the causes of the two world wars. It is our responsibility to implement the common European vision, that "all the peoples of Europe live harmoniously and peacefully with each other, and equality reigns all over, regardless of color, country and politics."*
>
> **Dr. Vassilis Mavrou, The phenomenon of racism and Cyprus, 22/02/2014, p. 26, *Simerini***

> *Ο ρατσισμός, δυστυχώς, μαθαίνεται στα σχολεία και είναι επακόλουθο της ελλιπούς παιδείας που λαμβάνουν τα παιδιά μας. Καλό θα ήταν, εκτός από τα κατορθώματα του γένους μας, να διδάσκονται και τα σκοτεινά σημεία της ιστορίας της Ευρώπης, όπως την άνοδο του ναζισμού, του φασισμού, του φανατισμού. Να μαθαίνουν ποια είναι η ναζιστική ιδεολογία, τι είναι το Ολοκαύτωμα, τι προκάλεσε δύο παγκοσμίους πολέμους. Ευθύνη δική μας είναι να κάνουμε πράξη το κοινό ευρωπαϊκό όραμα, ότι «όλοι οι λαοί της Ευρώπης ζουν αρμονικά και ειρηνικά μεταξύ τους, και παντού βασιλεύει η ισότητα, ανεξάρτητα από χρώμα, θρησκεία, πατρίδα και πολιτική».*
>
> **Δρ Βασίλη Μαύρου, Το φαινόμενο του ρατσισμού και η Κύπρος, 22/02/2014, σελ. 26, *Σημερινή***

The second theme of the pro-migrant discourse is the **Human drama**, which includes sympathetic references to migrants' journeys to safety, difficulties at country of origin, integration and survival problems when they arrive at other destinations etc. It is similar to the first theme but the emphasis here is on individual suffering rather than group suffering. The main line of argumentation is that refugees suffer to reach safety in other countries or they suffer upon arrival. These arguments are used mainly in the context of human interest stories, which were mostly published in view of the refugee tragedies. This is one of the many examples in our data:

> *Aggalia, Kalloni, Lesbos, August 29, 2015. Ambet...a Syrian refugee, aged 9, travels alone to Germany. He walked 25 kilometers from Molivos, in clothes and shoes drenched from the sea, to reach "Aggalia" in Kalloni.*
>
> **Spiros Soteriou, Thoughts that I wish they will not turn into a vote, 01/09/2015, p.4, *Haravgi***

> *Αγκαλιά , Καλλονή Λέσβου, 29 Αυγουστου 2015. Αμπέντ... Σύρος πρόσφυγας, ετών 9, ταξιδεύει μόνος του με προορισμό τη Γερμανία. Περπάτησε 25 χιλιόμετρα από τον Μόλυβο με βρεγμένα, από τη θάλασσα, ρούχα και παπούτσια για να φτάσει στην «Αγκαλιά» στην Καλλονή.*
>
> **Σπύρος Σωτηρίου, Σκέψεις που μακάρι να μην μετατραπούν σε ψήφο, 01/09/2015, σελ. 4, *Χαραυγή***

The third theme of the pro-migrant discourse, **Political causes** used as its main line of argumentation that political reasons cause the suffering of migrants and/or refugees obliging them to abandon their countries of origin. These arguments include references to **Conflicts at the countries of refugees** and usually it is claimed that people have no option than to leave to save their lives because of these conflicts. Particularly when referencing the refugee crisis, articles tended to underscore that it was inevitable for refugees to escape their war-torn countries. The following are two characteristic extracts from *Haravgi* and *Simerini* published in 2014 and 2015 respectively. They are two of the many articles sympathizing with the refugees and underlining the turmoil of the Syrian conflict that prompted thousands of Syrians to seek refuge in European countries and reunite with their families in safety. Political reasons are coupled with the human drama discourse:

> *The whole truth is that some of them left Syria by a fish boat to search for their family in Italy. What is bizarre about this? Has anyone thought about the drama of these people living between bombs and rockets, between ruins and corps? Is it strange that they want to find their family, their parents, children and wives?*
>
> **Author Unknown, Half of the Truth,**
> **27/09/2014, p.4,** *Haravgi*
>
> *Ολόκληρη η αλήθεια είναι ότι κάποιοι εξ αυτών ξεκίνησαν από τη Συρία με μια ψαρόβαρκα για να πάνε να βρουν την οικογένειά τους στην Ιταλία. Πού είναι το παράξενο, δηλαδή; Σκέφτηκε κανείς το δράμα αυτών των ανθρώπων που ζούσαν μεταξύ βομβών και πυραύλων, μεταξύ συντριμμιών και πτωμάτων; Είναι παράλογο να θέλουν να βρουν την οικογένειά τους, τους γονείς, τα παιδιά, τις συζύγους τους.*
>
> **Άγνωστος συγγραφέας, Η Μισή Αλήθεια,**
> **27/09/2014, σελ. 4,** *Χαραυγή*
>
> ───────────────────
>
> *Ordinary people, family men, who have young children and wives who are pregnant, who are left without any trace of hope, without a motherland, whose only choice was to get out of the ruins, [get out of] fear and death, without return.*
>
> **Kikos Lanitis, Plans for people are not made by God, but by some people,**
> **30/09/2015,** *Simerini*
>
> *Απλοί άνθρωποι, οικογενειάρχες με μικρά παιδιά και εγκύους γυναίκες, που δεν τους απέμεινε ίχνος ελπίδας, αλλά και ούτε πατρίδα, με μοναδική επιλογή την έξοδο από τα ερείπια, τον φόβο και τον θάνατο χωρίς επιστροφή.*
>
> **Κίκος Λανίτης, Τα σχέδιά για τους ανθρώπους δεν τα κάνει ο Θεός, αλλά μερικά άτομα,**
> **30/09/2015,** *Σημερινή*

In *Simerini's* extract, it is evident that to raise support for refugees, the writer constructs their identities in non-threatening terms. Particularly reference to children and pregnant women functions towards this end.

Systemic criticism is another sub-theme and the main line of argumentation is that migrants are victims of the socio-economic system, which produces and reproduces inequality. **Internal policies** at reception country were also emphasized but as part of wider political agendas. The following extract demonstrates a case of systemic criticism of the specific form of neoliberal policies across Europe and

of austerity policies within which migrants are turning into scapegoats. Again, racism and intolerance are linked to Nazism through critical references about the superiority of the Arian race, warning that at times of crisis these ideologies revive:

> *Who is next? Following the Roma, the migrants, the unemployed, the poorer strata, who have no other way to survive but the meager state aid or petty crime... Following the abolition of social, labor and economic rights of workers applied by the political and economic ruling classes across Europe, a scapegoat had to be found to charge with responsibility. Will the disabled, the mentally and chronically ill, the beggars follow? The hatred against the "other" (the poor, he who has a different religion, or the foreigner) is effective in times of crisis and the supremacy of the Aryan race is retrieved from the shadows to put supremacist ideas in empty plates*
>
> **Vagelis Palas, The European continent is getting darker and darker, 18/12/2011, p. 67,** *Haravgi*
>
> *Ποιος έχει σειρά; Μετά τους Ρομά, οι μετανάστες, οι άνεργοι, τα φτωχά στρώματα που δεν μπορούν να επιβιώσουν παρά μόνο με τη γλίσχρα κρατική βοήθεια ή το μικροέγκλημα... Ύστερα από την κατάλυση των κοινωνικών, εργασιακών και οικονομικών δικαιωμάτων των εργαζομένων που εφαρμόζουν πανευρωπαϊκά οι πολιτικές και οικονομικές άρχουσες τάξεις θα βρισκόταν ο αποδιοπομπαίος τράγος για να του φορτωθούν οι ευθύνες. Θα ακολουθήσουν άραγε οι ανάπηροι, οι νοητικώς και χρονίως πάσχοντες, οι ζητιάνοι; Το μίσος εναντίον του «άλλου» (φτωχού, αλλόδοξου ή ξένου) κάπου πιάνει τόπο σε καιρούς κρίσης και η ανωτερότητα της αρίας φυλής ανασύρεται από τις σκιές για να γεμίσει με ιδέες υπεροχής τα άδεια πιάτα*
>
> **Βαγγέλη Πάλλα, Όλο και πιο σκοτεινή ήπειρος η Ευρώπη, 18/12/2011, σελ. 67,** *Χαραυγή*

The fourth but most rare theme of the pro-migration discourse is **Cultural arguments** which includes references to the benefits of inter-cultural/multicultural mixing. Its main line of argumentation is the idea that migrants benefit culturally the receiving (host) country.

Economic arguments constitute the fifth theme of the pro-migrant discourse. The main argument used, is that migrants benefit the economy of the hosting country. Economic arguments in favour of migrants were used specifically to confront economic arguments against migrants for example that migrants steal

the jobs of Cypriots (see below section 3.3.2). In one news article for instance, an EU official is quoted saying that Cyprus needs migrants and emphasizes that there were 50.000 foreign house keepers and only two Greek-Cypriots were registered as unemployed in this field. This is an extract from this news article:

> *"It is therefore clear that we need foreign labor. Foreign workers support local economy, working in jobs that Cypriots are not interested to do," said Ms. Kaminara, citing the typical example of 50.000 migrant housemaids working in Cyprus as opposed to merely two Cypriots registered as unemployed in this sector.*
>
> **Andreas Riris, On Hold Until When?**
> **30/11/2011, p.40, *Politis***

> *"Άρα είναι προφανές ότι χρειαζόμαστε τα ξένα εργατικά χέρια. Οι αλλοδαποί εργαζόμενοι στηρίζουν την εγχώρια οικονομία, εργαζόμενοι σε επαγγέλματα στα οποία οι Κύπριοι δεν ενδιαφέρονται να εργαστούν», τόνισε η κ. Καμιναρά, επικαλούμενη το χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα των 50.000 αλλοδαπών οικιακών βοηθών που εργάζονται στην Κύπρο και των μόλις δύο ανέργων Κυπρίων στον συγκεκριμένο τομέα.*
>
> **Αντρέας Ριρής, Μέχρι πότε στην αναμονή;**
> **30/11/2011, σελ. 40, *Πολίτης***

Another pro-migrant technique used by news articles was to give voice to migrants themselves to refute arguments against them. These constitute the last theme of the pro-migrant discourse, the **Empowering references**, which are again rarely encountered in the Press, and focus on activism and migrants' own agency describing how migrants struggle to survive and improve their lives with their own means. In the following extract, from the same news article as the previous extract, a migrant man in his own words (direct quotation) rejects that he and other migrants constitute an economic threat to Cypriots and is self-represented in a non-threatening way-as an ordinary family man:

> *"We did not come here to get benefits, as many argue on TV. We want to build our future in Cyprus, to work and raise our families [here]," another refugee noted. [...] "We want to live a normal life," he concluded.*
>
> **Andreas Riris, On Hold Until When?**
> **30/11/2011, p.40, *Politis***
> *«Δεν ήρθαμε εδώ για να παίρνουμε επιδόματα, όπως λένε πολλοί στην*

τηλεόραση. Θέλουμε να κτίσουμε το μέλλον μας στην Κύπρο, να δουλέψουμε και να μεγαλώσουμε τις οικογένειες μας», σημείωσε άλλος πρόσφυγας.

Αντρέας Ριρής, Μέχρι πότε στην αναμονή;
30/11/2011, σελ 40, *Πολίτης*

3.3.2. Anti-migrant: general themes, lines of argumentation and examples

Anti-migrant discourse centred around three main themes (see also Figure 7):

1. **Economic arguments**, for example that migrants are a burden to the welfare state, contribute to unemployment among locals and in general contribute to the worsening of the local economy;
2. **Safety and crime** related arguments, in which migrants are connected to illegality or irregularity;
3. **Ethno-cultural** arguments that migrants, due to their different culture and/or religion, contribute to the loss or alteration of the local culture and identity. In effect, the Press when employing these arguments was representing migrants as a threat and an out-group. Construing immigrants as a threat to the ingroup is a commonly identified mechanism connected to anti-migrant sentiments in the literature (e.g., Newman, Hartman, & Taber, 2012; Stephan, Ybarra, Bachman, 1999).

Figure 7. Core themes and sub-themes of the anti-migrant discourse

ANTI-MIGRANT	
Themes & Sub-themes	**Definition/ description**
1. Economic arguments	
1.1. Welfare state	burden on the welfare state (benefits, health etc)
1.2. Unemployment	take jobs out of Cypriots
1.3. Other	salaries sent to their countries of origin
2. Safety/crime related arguments	
2.1. Administrative violations	bogus asylum claims, enter in irregular manners
2.2. Criminal/penal violations	specific references to convictions or general links of migrants with crime
3. Ethno-Cultural arguments	threat to local culture/identity

The following extract, written at the onset of the financial crisis in Cyprus, uses the financial crisis to exacerbate ideas that migrants live on the expense of Cypriots and are in effect a burden to the Cypriot struggling economy. It is an example of

the **Economic arguments**. The main idea is that Cypriots suffered from the financial crisis due to salary and social benefit cuts whereas migrants remained unaffected:

> *The Cyprus economy is troubled and suffers turbulence because of the global financial crisis, which has been knocking our door for quite some time. On a daily basis, we witness the efforts and the plans of the Government but also [sic] of all economic actors, cutting the wages, benefits and allowances provided to Cypriot citizens, aiming primarily at saving public money and at the subsequent reduction of the budget deficit. And while people endlessly endure economic and social cuts, no one considers curtailing or reducing public benefits and allowances that continue to be provided without skimping and beyond reason to asylum seekers, political refugees, the so-called beneficiaries of subsidiary protection etc. etc.*
>
> **Andreas Morfitis, Benefits to Cypriots and foreigners,**
> **01/12/2011 p.18,** *Fileleftheros*
>
>
> *Η Κυπριακή οικονομία ταλανίζεται και υφίσταται κλυδωνισμούς από την παγκόσμια οικονομική κρίση, η οποία εδώ και αρκετό καιρό κτυπά και τη δική μας πόρτα. Καθημερινά γινόμαστε μάρτυρες των προσπαθειών και των σχεδιασμών της Κυβέρνησης αλλά και όλων των φορέων της οικονομίας για περικοπές στους μισθούς, τα ωφελήματα και τα επιδόματα που παρέχονται στους Κύπριους πολίτες που στοχεύουν κυρίως στην εξοικονόμηση του δημόσιου χρήματος και στη συνεπαγόμενη μείωση του δημοσιονομικού ελλείμματος. Και ενώ ο λαός υπομένει αγόγγυστα τις οικονομικές και κοινωνικές περικοπές, ουδείς λόγος γίνεται για περιστολή ή μείωση των δημόσιων βοηθημάτων και των επιδομάτων που συνεχίζουν να παρέχονται χωρίς φειδώ και πέρα από κάθε λογική στους αιτητές ασύλου, τους πολιτικούς πρόσφυγες, τους ούτω καλούμενους δικαιούχους συμπληρωματικής προστασίας κτλ κτλ.*
>
> **Ανδρέας Μορφίτης, Επιδόματα σε Κύπριους και αλλοδαπούς,**
> **01/12/2011 σελ. 18, Φιλελεύθερος**

In the extract, austerity is not criticized but is rather considered as necessary for overcoming the crisis whereas the blame is attributed to migrants, presumably for being an additional burden to the state's suffering economy. The above extract therefore, criticises the "generous" benefits granted to different types of migrants, while Cypriots silently suffer under strict financial policies and specifically austerity. This extract is also characteristic of how the us Vs other binary is constructed within the economic theme at times of financial crisis and

austerity. The following extract from an article written when the financial crisis was on-going, proposes the expulsion of "illegal" migrants and restricting entry to new ones to confront the rising unemployment and the financial turbulence. The arguments expressed in it fall under the economic arguments and they propose that migrants do not only take jobs away from Cypriots but that they also send their salaries to their own countries. The underlying idea is that a restrictive immigration policy should be the first and decisive step towards addressing and solving the economic hardships:

> *To solve our unemployment and financial problems, start from the migrants. Expel illegal migrants, stop giving new permits. The results will be immediate with new jobs for our own workers. Learn how much money they send abroad every year. A hundred millions, two hundred? This does not circulate in the economy, it does not create active supply, it does not help the market, it does not create jobs. That is why you need to start from the migration issue.*
>
> **Panikos Arsalidis, On migration policy,**
> **09/02/2013 p. 35,** *Fileleftheros*

> *Για να λύσετε το ανεργιακό και οικονομικό μας πρόβλημα αρχίστε από τους μετανάστες. Διώξτε παράνομους, κόψετε νέες άδειες. Τα αποτελέσματα θα είναι άμεσα με νέες θέσεις εργασίας για δικούς μας εργάτες. Μάθετε πόσα εμβάσματα στέλλουν στο εξωτερικό κάθε χρόνο. Εκατό εκατομμύρια, διακόσια; Αυτά δεν ανακυκλώνονται στην οικονομία, δεν δημιουργούν ενεργό ζήτηση, δεν βοηθούν το παζάρι, δεν δημιουργούν απασχόληση. Γι' αυτό πρέπει να αρχίσετε από το μεταναστευτικό.*
>
> **Πανίκος Αρσαλίδης, Για τη μεταναστευτική πολιτική,**
> **9/02/2013, σελ. 35, Φιλελεύθερος**

The following extract is also characteristic of the idea that migrants should leave Cyprus for the sake of struggling Cypriots during times of financial turmoil:

> *Cyprus cannot bear more foreigners. They need to decrease [in numbers]. Given the intensity of the economic crisis, they cannot help themselves and we cannot help them either. Our youth, either they do not return from their studies or they leave from this country due to lack of jobs.*
>
> **Yiannos Charalampides, The Bull's Horns and the Deceived Citizens,**
> **01/07/2013, p.4,** *Simerini*
> *Η Κύπρος δεν αντέχει άλλους ξένους. Πρέπει να μειωθούν. Εφόσον η*

> *οικονομική κρίση σαρώνει, ούτε οι ίδιοι μπορούν να βοηθήσουν τους*
> *εαυτούς τους, αλλά ούτε και εμείς μπορούμε να τους βοηθήσουμε. Εδώ, οι*
> *νέοι μας, είτε δεν επιστρέφουν από τις σπουδές τους είτε φεύγουν από τον*
> *τόπο λόγω έλλειψης εργασίας.*
>
> **Γιάννος Χαραλαμπίδης, Τα κέρατα του ταύρου και οι απατημένοι πολίτες,**
> **01/07/2013, σελ. 4, *Σημερινή***

In some articles migrants were explicitly or implicitly associated with crime and rising insecurity. The following extract from the same article as the previous one, links migration to the increase of crime without providing facts. It nevertheless carefully balances between attributing blame to migrants and attributing blame to the state for failing to integrate migrants. Additionally, this opinion article attributes rising xenophobia among Cypriots to the failure of multiculturalism, due to lack of integration policies. It argues that as migrants have not integrated, they turned to crime, causing Cypriots to turn to xenophobia. In response to this, the article calls the state to protect its citizens:

> *Multiculturalism does not have the positive consequences [sic] that*
> *internationalists expected it to have in the society and the economy,*
> *because there was [sic] no strategy or policies for a smooth inclusion of*
> *foreigners in Cyprus. As a result, there is an increase in xenophobia, especially*
> *due to the economic crisis, as well as to criminality. Especially thefts and*
> *burglaries by gangs of foreigners and locals. Besides, crime cannot have a*
> *national identity. It is always a crime, no matter where it comes from. Social*
> *conditions are de facto changing and the state must adapt its own security*
> *system to protect its citizens.*
>
> **Yiannos Charalampides, The Bull's Horns and the Deceived Citizens,**
> **01/07/2013, p.4, *Simerini***

> *Η πολυπολιτισμικότητα δεν έχει τις θετικές επιπτώσεις, που οι διεθνιστές*
> *προσδοκούσαν να έχει στην κοινωνία και στην οικονομία, διότι δεν υπήρχε*
> *στρατηγική και πολιτικές ομαλής ενσωμάτωσης των ξένων στην Κύπρο.*
> *Αποτέλεσμα τούτου, είναι η αύξηση της ξενοφοβίας, ειδικώς λόγω τη*
> *οικονομικής κρίσης, καθώς και της εγκληματικότητας. Και δη των κλοπών και*
> *διαρρήξεων από σπείρες αλλοδαπών, αλλά και ημεδαπών. Άλλωστε, στο*
> *έγκλημα δεν μπορούμε να κολλάμε εθνικές ταυτότητες. Είναι πάντοτε έγκλημα*
> *από οπουδήποτε και αν προέρχεται. Εκ των πραγμάτων, λοιπόν, οι κοινωνικές*
> *συνθήκες αλλάζουν και η πολιτεία οφείλει να προσαρμόσει το δικός της*

> *σύστημα ασφάλειας για την προστασία των πολιτών της.*
>
> **Γιάννος Χαραλαμπίδης, Τα κέρατα του ταύρου και οι απατημένοι πολίτες.**
> **01/07/2013, σελ. 4, *Σημερινή***

In effect, the above extract portrays migrants as not integrated to the society, which is why they consist a security threat. Another example of the **Security arguments** is one opinion article which, when commenting on the rise of migrant numbers, noted that: "Concerning, safety, I hope that we will not reach a point that we will not [be able to] get about, safely at least, after the sun sets. (Dinos Constantinou, Immigrants, legal and illegal, 27/11/2011 p. 29, *Fileleftheros*). The following is an example that explicitly links migrants to terrorism and written entirely in the Cypriot dialect:

> *All these people, they are not migrants, and they are most probably deserters, thieves, drug addicts, jihadists, and when the right time comes and they start cutting heads in Europe or commit suicide attacks, frau Merkel will [understand]*
>
> **Louis Koutroukides, I Evropi Pote Enna Vali Romanisi? (When Will Europe Lock its doors?)**
> **06/09/2015, p.59, *Politis***

> *Τούτοι ούλλοι έννενι "μετανάστες", τζ'αι πολύ πιθανόν να είναι λιποτάκτες, κλέφτες, ναρκομανείς, τζιχαντιστές, τζ'αι που εννά 'ρτει η κατάλληλη στιγμή τζ'αι ξεκινήσουν τζ'αι κόφκουν κκελλέες μες την Ευρώπη ή να κάμνουν επιθέσεις αυτοκτονίας η φράου Μέρκελ εννά ακκάννει το ένα δάκτυλόν της τζ'ι εννά πονούν ούλλα. [...].*
>
> **Λούη Κουτρουκίδη, Η Ευρώπη πότε εννα βάλει ρωμανίσι;**
> **06/09/2015, σελ. 59, *Πολίτης***

In this content, the article rejects that people arriving in Europe in masses were migrants and argues that they are in fact defectors, thieves, drug addicts and Jihadists who would eventually turn against Europeans. In effect, it communicates the idea that all migrants arriving during the refugee crisis were potential terrorists.

Other articles promoted explicitly the idea that migrants could not integrate to the host country's culture due to their foreign culture and/or religion (**ethno-cultural arguments**). The following extract is an indicative example in which also the use of the word invader is exacerbating representations of

migrants as a threat to Cypriots:

> *Of course, the problem is not just the ratio of population. Just as "misery loves company," the "invaders do not come alone," but they carry with them their own habits and their own culture, a fact which will inevitably bring about various consequences, such as economic, demographic, labor, social, cultural, educational and other consequences.*
>
> **Dinos Constantinou, Legal and Illegal Migrants,**
> **27/11/2011, p.29,** *Fileleftheros*

> *Βεβαίως το πρόβλημα που δημιουργείται δεν είναι μόνο η αναλογία του πληθυσμού. Όπως «το γήρας ουκ έρχεται μόνον», το ίδιο και «οι εισβολείς ουκ έρχονται μόνοι», αλλά κουβαλούν μαζί τους τις δικές τους συνήθειες και τη δική τους κουλτούρα, γεγονός που αναπόφευκτα θα μάς δημιουργήσει συνέπειες και επιπτώσεις ποικίλες, όπως οικονομικές, δημογραφικές, εργατικές, κοινωνικές, πολιτισμικές, εκπαιδευτικές και άλλες.*
>
> **Ντίνος Κωνσταντίνου, Μετανάστες, νόμιμοι και παράνομοι,**
> **27/11/2011, σελ.29, Φιλελεύθερος**

Although not a recurrent theme, some articles included explicit fears of 'islamization' (in Greek *μουσουλμανοποίηση*) of Cyprus warning that Cyprus could be Islamized if many more Muslim migrants would arrive. The analysis dwells on this theme through examining two indicative extracts. In the first one, there are concerns that the naturalization of third country nationals would cause a rise of the Muslim population:

> *Let me remind you of your indifference when Mr. Sylikiotis prepared lists of 80.000 third country foreigners, that is Pakistanis, Iraqis, Iranians etc. to whom he intended to gradually give the Cypriot citizenship. Can you imagine where this would lead? They would bring their spouses from their countries and their children of course, in the blink of an eye we would have 300.000 legal and new Muslims with the right to vote in our small free country. And if this had happened, based on what argument would we deny nationality to the settlers of the North?*
>
> **Panicos Arsalides, About Migration Policy,**
> **09/02/2013, p.35,** *Fileleftheros*

> *Σας υπενθυμίζω την αδιαφορία σας όταν ο κ. Συλικιώτης ετοίμασε λίστες για*

> *80.000 αλλοδαπούς τρίτων χωρών, δηλ. Πακιστανούς, Ιρακινούς, Ιρανούς κ.λπ. στους οποίους προτίθετο να δώσει κυπριακή ιθαγένεια προχωρώντας βήμα-βήμα. Φαντάζεστε πού θα οδηγούσε κάτι τέτοιο; Θα έφερναν συζύγους από τις πατρίδες τους και τα παιδιά τους βέβαια και εν ριπή οφθαλμού θα είχαμε 300.000 νόμιμους και νέους μουσουλμάνους με δικαίωμα ψήφου και στη μικρή μας ελεύθερη πατρίδα. Και αν γινόταν κάτι τέτοιο, με ποιο επιχείρημα θα αρνούμαστε την ιθαγένεια στους έποικους του Βορρά;*
>
> **Πανίκος Αρσαλίδης, Για τη μεταναστευτική πολιτική, 9/02/2013, σελ. 35, Φιλελεύθερος**

The extract is an example of how the religion/cultural argument that Islam threatens Cyprus was combined with the number games discourse (see Van Dijk, 2000) which is often used in anti-migration rhetoric: the article alarms the public that numerous third country, Muslim migrants were to be naturalized by the responsible Minister. Therefore, Muslim migrants are associated with ethnocultural threats in terms of quantity. These naturalized Cypriots would subsequently bring to Cyprus their families and their number would rise to hundreds of thousands. Notably the expectation of a naturalization of 300.000 Muslim people equals to about 40% of the current population of the RoC. As was the case in other articles, this opinion article emphasizes that Cyprus is even smaller given that RoC only controls part of the island. Cyprus' small size is used to foreground further that it cannot take such a disproportional number of Muslim migrants. In effect, the extract brings to the surface the national issue of Turkish occupation and infiltrates it with anti-Muslim rhetoric. The claim it makes is that naturalizing Muslims would create a precedent for settlers in the occupied north who are Turks and therefore Muslims. Notably, Islam is reinforced as the religion of two threatening groups for Greek-Cypriots: Turkish settlers and migrants. More interesting perhaps is how all these countries mentioned in the article and their people are all considered Muslims. Yet, the religion of the dominant Cypriot community to which the article is addressed to, is not explicitly referenced.

Like the above extract, the following extract contains references to the Turkish occupation and falls within the ethno-cultural theme:

> *Yet, at the same time, we owe to think about the future of our own people and decision-makers should sit down and find solutions. Because the prospect, as it is being recorded in numbers, with the rapid increase of*

> *foreigners and parallel to that, the low birth rate that devastates our country, is a nightmare. [...] Therefore, the prospect is nightmarish: There is a massive settlement [going on] by Turkey in the occupied part [of Cyprus], which tends to completely eliminate the Turkish Cypriot element. And on the other hand, there is a constantly and rapid increase of foreigners in the free areas. According to the latest population census, foreign nationals reach 180 thousands and account for more than 21% of the country's population. How can the Cypriot Hellenism survive within this suffocating ring created around it, both in the occupied and in the free areas?*

Kostakis Antoniou, We Are Going to Have a Cyprus State without Cypriots, 31/12/2011, p.9, *Simerini*

> *Όμως, την ίδια στιγμή, οφείλουμε να σκεφθούμε και το μέλλον του δικού μας λαού και οι αρμόδιοι να καθίσουν και να βρουν λύσεις. Διότι η προοπτική, όπως αυτή καταγράφεται με αριθμούς, με την αλματώδη αύξηση των ξένων υπηκόων και την παράλληλη υπογεννητικότητα που μαστίζει τη χώρα μας, είναι εφιαλτική.[...] Συνεπώς, η προοπτική είναι εφιαλτική: Υπάρχει ο μαζικός εποικισμός από την Τουρκία στο κατεχόμενο τμήμα, ο οποίος τείνει να εξαφανίσει παντελώς το τουρκοκυπριακό στοιχείο. Και από την άλλη, υπάρχει στις ελεύθερες περιοχές μια συνεχής αλματώδης αύξηση των ξένων. Σύμφωνα με την τελευταία απογραφή πληθυσμού, οι ξένοι υπήκοοι αγγίζουν τις 180 χιλιάδες και αποτελούν πέραν του 21% του πληθυσμού της χώρας. Πώς θα μπορέσει να επιβιώσει ο κυπριακός Ελληνισμός μέσα στον ασφυκτικό κλοιό που δημιουργείται γύρω του, τόσο από τις κατεχόμενες όσο και από τις ελεύθερες περιοχές; [...]*

Κωστάκης Αντωνίου, Θα έχουμε κυπριακό κράτος χωρίς Κυπρίους, 31/12/2011, σελ. 9, *Σημερινή*

The number games discourse is again used to create a threatening representation of migrants but also of Turkish settlers. In effect, both Cypriot communities, the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot community are under threat by non-Cypriots/foreigners. The extract finishes off with a very Hellenocentric reference, reproducing ideas that Greek-Cypriots are Greeks who are simultaneously threatened by migrants and Turks and voicing a major concern regarding the survival of the Cypriot Hellenism.

The following extract is part of an announcement by the National Popular Front (ELAM), published in *Simerini*. The far-right party, is in 'dialogue' with left-

wing Minister of Interior, responsible for migration at the time. ELAM expresses explicitly fears of islamization:

> "Regarding the issue of islamization, for which he claims there is no problem, we will just suggest to him to take a walk in the center of Nicosia and on the coastal fronts of Limassol and Larnaca in the evening and [then] share his views on the matter. We believe that the islamization of our island will not happen from one day to another, but it is a process that is going to take years."

Author Unknown, ELAM is insisting about illegal migration, 10/01/2012, p.5, *Simerini*

> "Για το θέμα της μουσουλμανοποίησης, που ισχυρίζεται πως δεν υπάρχει πρόβλημα, απλά θα του προτείνουμε να κάνει μια βόλτα στο κέντρο της Λευκωσίας και στα παραλιακά μέτωπα της Λεμεσού και της Λάρνακας το βράδυ και να μας πει τις εντυπώσεις του. Θεωρούμε πως η μουσουλμανοποίηση του νησιού μας δεν πρόκειται να συμβεί από τη μια μέρα στην άλλη, αλλά είναι μια διαδικασία που πρόκειται να πάρει χρόνια."

Άγνωστος συγγραφέας, Επιμένει το ΕΛΑΜ για λαθρομετανάστευση 10/01/2012, σελ. 5, *Σημερινή*

The article implicitly notes that Muslims can be identified by their appearance, but it does not, however, clarify what makes somebody a Muslim: that is, which characteristics, physical or cultural, signify when someone is a Muslim and which marker distinguish Muslims from the local population. The author nevertheless expects the readership to resonate with these ideas. The article aims to alert the minister (and the public) that the process of us being taken over by Muslims is a slow and gradual one. One may not be able to see it in everyday life but can detect it in nuanced contexts (e.g., waterfronts, city centre in the night).

In the following extract, cultural-religion arguments are again used to claim that some ethnicities are fundamentalist and cannot "assimilate" in the receiving country:

> The problem however is that they stay together in ghettos and do not mix with the natives. They maintain their religion and customs constituting a foreign element among [sic] the various European countries [...] foreigners should try to assimilate into the country that provided them with hospitality, to learn its language and to mingle with its residents. Yet, some ethnicities

> *adhere fanatically to their religion, their customs, which results in their inability to assimilate in the country in which they fled. They remain a foreign part in society, creating unrest and sometimes serious episodes within the country.*
>
> **Christos Achilleos Theodoulou, The problem with Migration in Europe, 12/07/2011, p. 44,** *Politis*

> *Το πρόβλημα όμως είναι ότι παραμένουν μεταξύ τους σε γκέτο και δεν αναμειγνύονται με τους γηγενείς. Διατηρούν τη θρησκεία τους και τα έθιμα τους αποτελώντας ένα ξένο στοιχείο ανάμεσα στις διάφορες ευρωπαϊκές χώρες [...] οι ξένοι πρέπει να προσπαθήσουν να αφομοιωθούν στη χώρα που τους έδωσε φιλοξενία, να μάθουν τη γλώσσα της και να αναμειχθούν με τους κατοίκους της χώρας. Ορισμένες όμως εθνικότητες μένουν φανατικά προσκολλημένες στη θρησκεία τους, στα έθιμα τους, με αποτέλεσμα να μην μπορούν να αφομοιωθούν με τη χώρα στην οποία κατέφυγαν.*
>
> **Χρίστος Αχιλλέως Θεοδούλου, Το πρόβλημα με την μετανάστευση στην Ευρώπη, 12/07/2011, σελ. 44,** *Πολίτης*

Herein, the writer uses cultural and religion-based arguments to differentiate migrants from the local population. What keeps the out-group forever an outsider in European societies is not their race but their culture, which is used as an analogous of race to justify anti-migrant positions (see also Malik, 1996). Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2006) also noted a media portrayal of migrants as having alien cultures and religions which threaten Cypriots.

It is interesting to dwell further on fears that soon migrants would outnumber Cypriots, turning the later into a minority. The following extract does not use specific numbers or statistics to justify that migrants are increasing but relies on the writers' own experience and based on that claims that migrants flooded Cyprus:

> *Wherever you look, you will see migrant foreigners [sic], who (some legal and others illegal) have overwhelmed Cyprus. The presence of immigrants and illegal immigrants in our country is increasing in such a rate that one cannot imagine where we will find ourselves in a few years, and who will be the majority in this place, us or them.*
>
> **Dinos Constantinou, Legal and Illegal Migrants 27/11/2011, p.29,** *Fileleftheros*
> *Όπου κοιτάξει κανείς θα δει μετανάστες ξένους, που (άλλοι νόμιμοι και*

> *άλλοι λαθραίοι) έχουν κατακλύσει την Κύπρο. Η παρουσία μεταναστών και*
> *λαθρομεταναστών στον τόπο μας αυξάνεται με τέτοιους ρυθμούς, έτσι που δεν*
> *μπορεί να φαντασθεί κανείς πού θα βρεθούμε μετά από μερικά χρόνια, και ποιοι*
> *θα αποτελούν την πλειοψηφία σ› αυτό τον τόπο, εμείς ή εκείνοι.*
>
> **Ντίνος Κωνσταντίνου, Μετανάστες, νόμιμοι και παράνομοι**
> **27/11/2011, σελ. 29, Φιλελεύθερος**

The wording used in the extract reinforces the threatening representation of all migrants. Specifically, the liquid metaphor of a flooded Cyprus is characteristic and is common in negative media depictions of migration internationally (e.g., Cohen, p. xxiv; Van Dijk, 2000, p. 44, respectively). Also, the small deictic words (see also Billig, 1995) in the last sentence such as "our land" and "us or them" note clearly that it is either us or them and that it is us who belong here.

4. Summary and future work

The visibility section of this report illustrated the topics and the main ways with which the newspapers addressed the migration issue from the second half of 2011 to the end of the year 2015. This illustration highlighted that all newspapers' interest in the topic increased significantly in the years that the refugee crisis was at its peak, namely 2014 and even more so in 2015. It has also showed that international angles to the issue were minimal and that the migration issue was represented mainly as a national i.e., Cypriot and/or European topic rather than international.

As regarding the migration debate, the analysis included in this report revealed that pro-migrant discourse frames the issue using a humanitarian lens, stressing human rights respect and highlighting the aspect of human drama in migrants' journeys from their countries of origin to their destinations. In this regard, migrants are depicted in non-threatening terms. The pro-migrant discourse further emphasizes the reasons for peoples' migration and their contribution in receiving societies and the economy. On the other hand, the anti-migrant discourse capitalizes on a perceived negative impact of migration to the economy of the country and to other threats that migration is thought to elicit, like the distortion of the country's demographics, the rise of crime and culture-related threat-in the context of Cyprus, such as the possibility of Islamization.

In what follows, based on the findings discussed, the report outlines topics and areas that could form avenues for future research in the field of media and migration within Cyprus, but also beyond. It also presents, when appropriate, how the research team has proceeded thus far with the more in-depth analysis of the media/migration nexus-work that is published in academic journals or is currently under preparation.

National, European topics and the refugee crisis

While migration with a national and secondarily with a European focus were the prevailing themes of articles published in years 2011-2013, in year

2014 and particularly in year 2015, the prevailing topic became the refugee crisis, which had primarily a European focus rather than a national. Beyond a quantitative observation, a qualitative shift is also observed: representations of migrants as a source of threat are more prevalent in years 2011-2013, compared to 2014 and 2015 when migrants and refugees are represented with more humanitarian-oriented ways. Overall, articles focused on Cypriot and European topics, without referring to other regions. Therefore, they overall failed to provide the wider spectrum of migration as a global phenomenon. Exceptions of course to this trend were noted. *Further research*, preferably of a mixed method approach could look for the visibility of the issue in the different newspapers, the content of topics and themes before and after the reporting period to shed light to how reporting on migration has developed in the Greek-Cypriot Press throughout the years.

Scepticism and criticism towards the European Union

Articles demonstrated a tendency to represent positively migrants' dramatic journeys to Europe in search of refuge particularly in the years 2014 and 2015, while at the same time they represented the EU, as an actor related to migration, in negative terms. For example, both news reports and opinion articles had recurrent references to how the EU as well as EU member states proved unable to effectively deal with the crisis because they lacked humanity (failed to show solidarity to refugees) or because it/they (member states) failed to act in union and show solidarity to each other. Another critical argument in relation to the EU and certain member states was that it/they had never seized behaving as imperialist actors and therefore continue putting their own interests above the lives of people of other countries, cultures and regions who were now in need of assistance. The research team is at the time of writing this report preparing a more in-depth analysis of the representations about Europe in the Cypriot Press.

Pro-migrant/anti-migrant discourses

The report presented the themes of the main arguments of what it delineated as a pro-migrant/anti-migrant debate. The identification of the main stances towards migrants/migration provides evidence that despite the prominence of the one or the other theme at certain periods, overall the migration issue is a rather debated and controversial topic for the Press and by extent the society. Having identified that the topic of migration was framed in oppositional

terms, the research team performed a dialogical analysis on a smaller data set (see Kadianaki et al, 2017) that looked at the interrelation of these two stances. Specifically, it examined how each article referred to and dealt with the opposing representations of the migration issue. Our analysis showed that favourable representations engaged more clearly and in more detail with opposing representations of migrants and migration by comparison to the unfavourable representations of migrants. The latter were more engaged with countering views about authors being racists because of expressing negative views about migrants. This was predominantly done through disclaimers (i.e. we are not racists, but...). Authors of favourable representations on the other hand, managed opposing views by stigmatizing those who expressed them and did not elaborate on their arguments further. Our analysis concluded that the debate was mostly framed in terms of casting or refuting charges of racism rather than critically discussing the issue of migration. Future work, could examine this debate in other forums and particularly in social media to look for the variety of representations in the society and perhaps compare with the mainstream media representations. Shedding light into the exchange of ideas in other forums will exemplify whether the debate is the same as in the Press or if other arguments are used and whether the dialogue between opposing views is similarly superficial or more in-depth. Additionally, future studies could examine which stance, the pro-migrant or the anti-migrant, is more prevalent in each of the newspapers studied and associate it with its respective political/ ideological identity.

The migration debate and the financial crisis

Two crises took place during the reporting period, the refugee crisis, which directly relates to the topic of the report and the financial crisis. Although outside the focus of the report, it was apparent that to an extent the financial crisis and the migration topic were perceived as inter-related in the Greek-Cypriot press. More specifically, from a first analysis of the data studied, the financial crisis, in Cyprus and across the Eurozone, was used by authors of opinion articles especially to support or criticize migrants. For example, the financial crisis intensified or supported/justified representations of migrants as threat, yet it also intensified their representations as scapegoats for the current economic/political elites. This interrelation deems separate investigation.

The national issue vis-a-vis the migration issue

The report provided examples and described certain ways in which the national question or the so-called Cyprus Issue was used to make sense of the migration issue. Again, a bipolarity is noted: in pro-migrant articles, the refugee identity of the internally-displaced Greek-Cypriots due to the 1974 Turkish invasion or their migrant identity of the past were invoked to promote solidarity to contemporary refugees and migrants. On the contrary, in the anti-migrant articles, Cyprus' invasion and occupation by Turkey was used to exacerbate threats related to migration and especially the migration of Muslim migrants. As regarding the latter theme, this report provided examples of how anti-migrant and nationalist discourses were used in the Press to substantiate each other. In this regard, it is interesting to investigate in more depth how different positioning/identifications of Greek-Cypriots are constituted vis-à-vis migrants and the extent to which they relate with Cyprocentric and/or Hellenocentric national identifications (Avraamidou, 2017; Pachoulides, 2007; Panayiotou, 2011; Papadakis, 1998) and the acceptance of others. This is in line with the conclusions of the following topic.

Us Vs. other

The report provided evidence of how the binary of us vs. other was represented particularly within the anti-migrant news and opinion articles. The evident function of this binary is that it reinforces ideas that migrants live on the expense of the in-group (Greek-Cypriots), or threaten their culture and eventually their survival. Additionally, the report showed examples of an Islamophobic discourse delineating ideas that Muslims should not be welcomed. In this context, being a Muslim is considered a-priori a negative and non-Cypriot trait, expected to carry negative connotations for the specific readership. Future research could look in more depth into social identity construction of Cypriots in media reports about migration tracing for example the link between racist and nationalist discourses in the mainstream media.

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Annexes

Detailed coding scheme: description of core codes and sub-codes

Code name	Sub-code name	Description
Migrants	Representations of migrants	References to descriptions of migrants (e.g., victims, criminals, illegal etc).
	Consequences	References to consequences/impact of migration at various levels such as political and social (e.g., reactions by the local population), economic consequences (e.g., unemployment) and other consequences (e.g., demographic changes).
	Countries of Origin	References to the countries of origin of migrants/ refugees.
	Muslims	References made explicitly to Muslim migrants and/or Islam.
	Refugee crisis	Explicit references to the 'refugee crisis' (e.g., rising death toll, waves of migration, shipwrecks etc.).
	Syrian war	References to the Syrian war linking it to migration and refugees.
International actors	Burden sharing	References to if and how the international community, key institutions (e.g., EU), or specific countries and regions share or should share 'burden' regarding migration.
	Pre-entry	References to policies/actions concerning reception of migrants (entry points, detention centres, refugee camps, rescues at sea, border surveillance etc).
	Post-entry	References to policies/actions concerning mainly integration (welfare benefits, education, citizenship etc.).

Code name	Sub-code name	Description
	Europe/ West	References to Europe as a cultural system/ construct and the West.
	Other	All other references to international actors which did not fit into the previous sub-codes.
Cyprus	Cypriots/ Cyprus	References made to Cyprus as a country and/or its people (Cypriots) in relation to the issue of migration/ refugees.
	Cypriot economic crisis	References made to the worsening conditions of the Cypriot economy.
	Local actors	References to policies/actions concerning reception of migrants (e.g., asylum, detention centers, refugee camps) by local actors such as the Cypriot government, Cypriot parliament, local NGOs.
	Integration	Policies/actions concerning integration (welfare benefits, schooling, citizenship etc.).
	Other	References to policies/actions by local actors that did not fit into the previous sub-codes such as dealing with issues of trafficking, irregular movement, migrant related crime etc.
	North	References issues related to the north-areas not controlled by the RoC (migration movement, settlers etc.).
Racism/ Xenophobia		References to racism and xenophobia as social phenomena and/or individual stances and ideologies.